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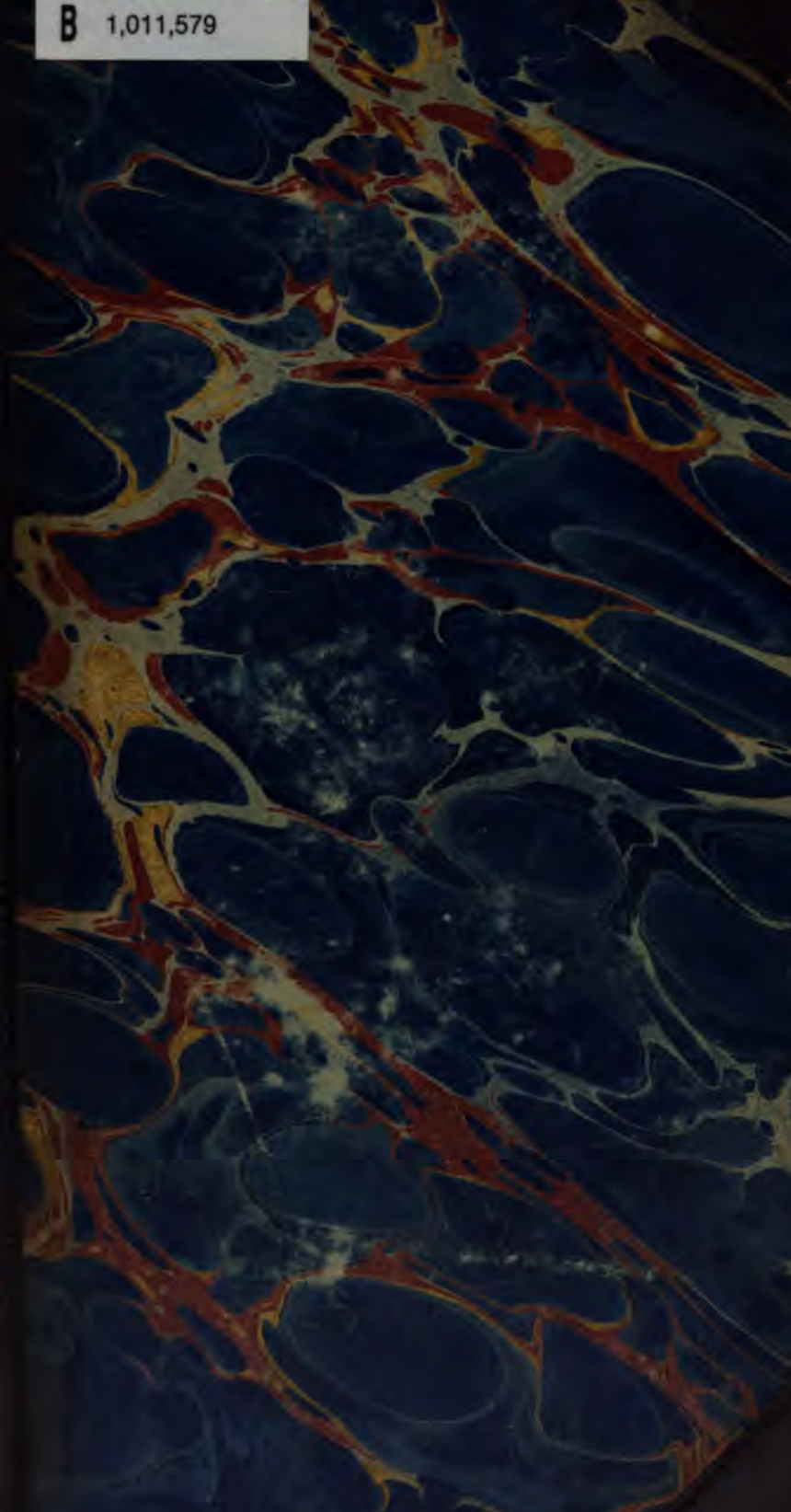
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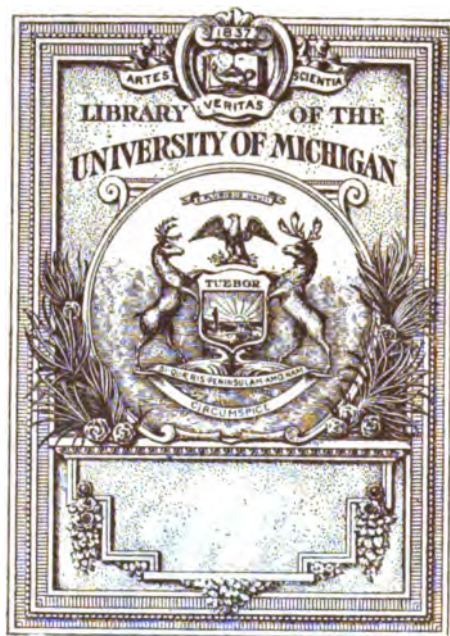
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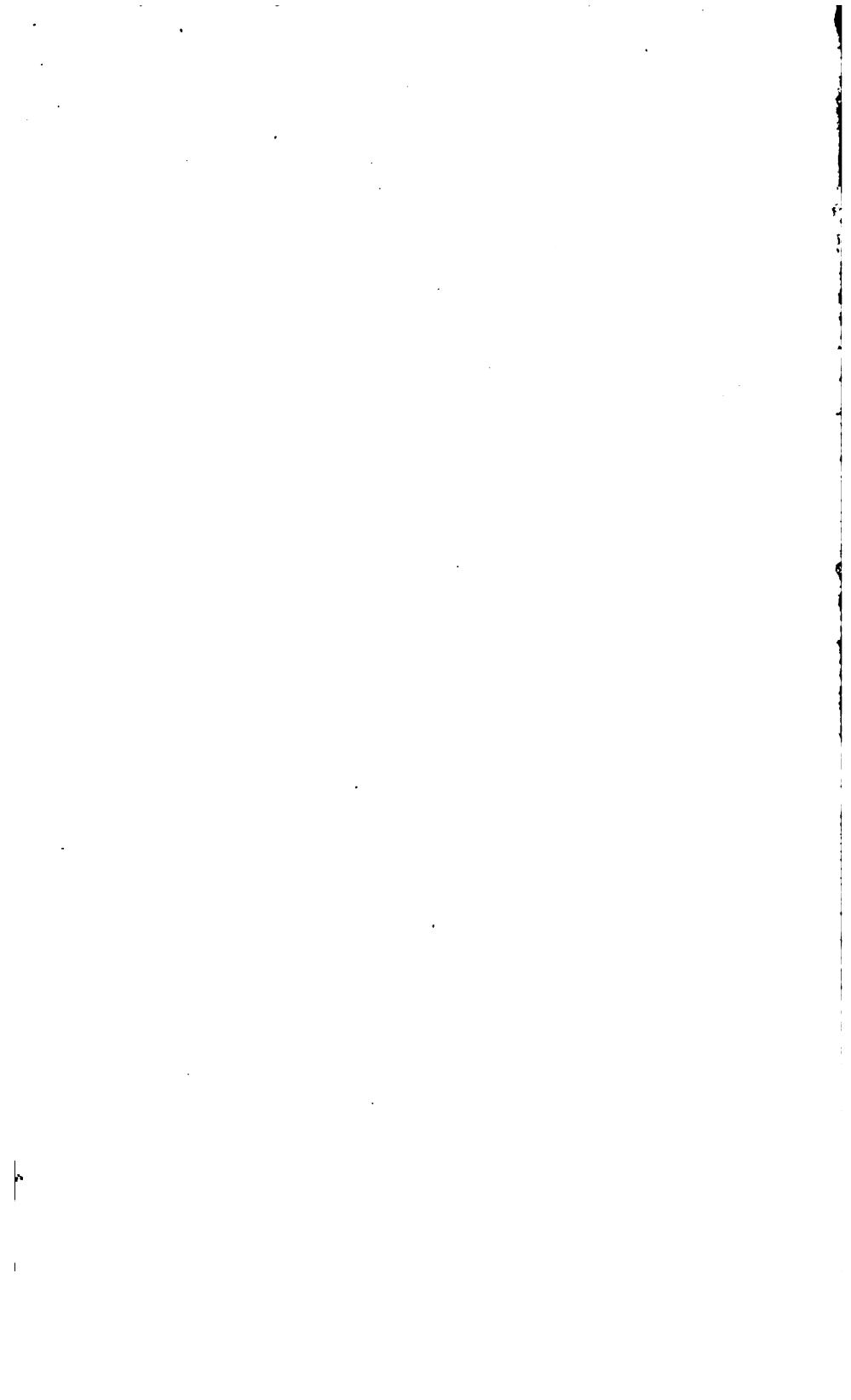


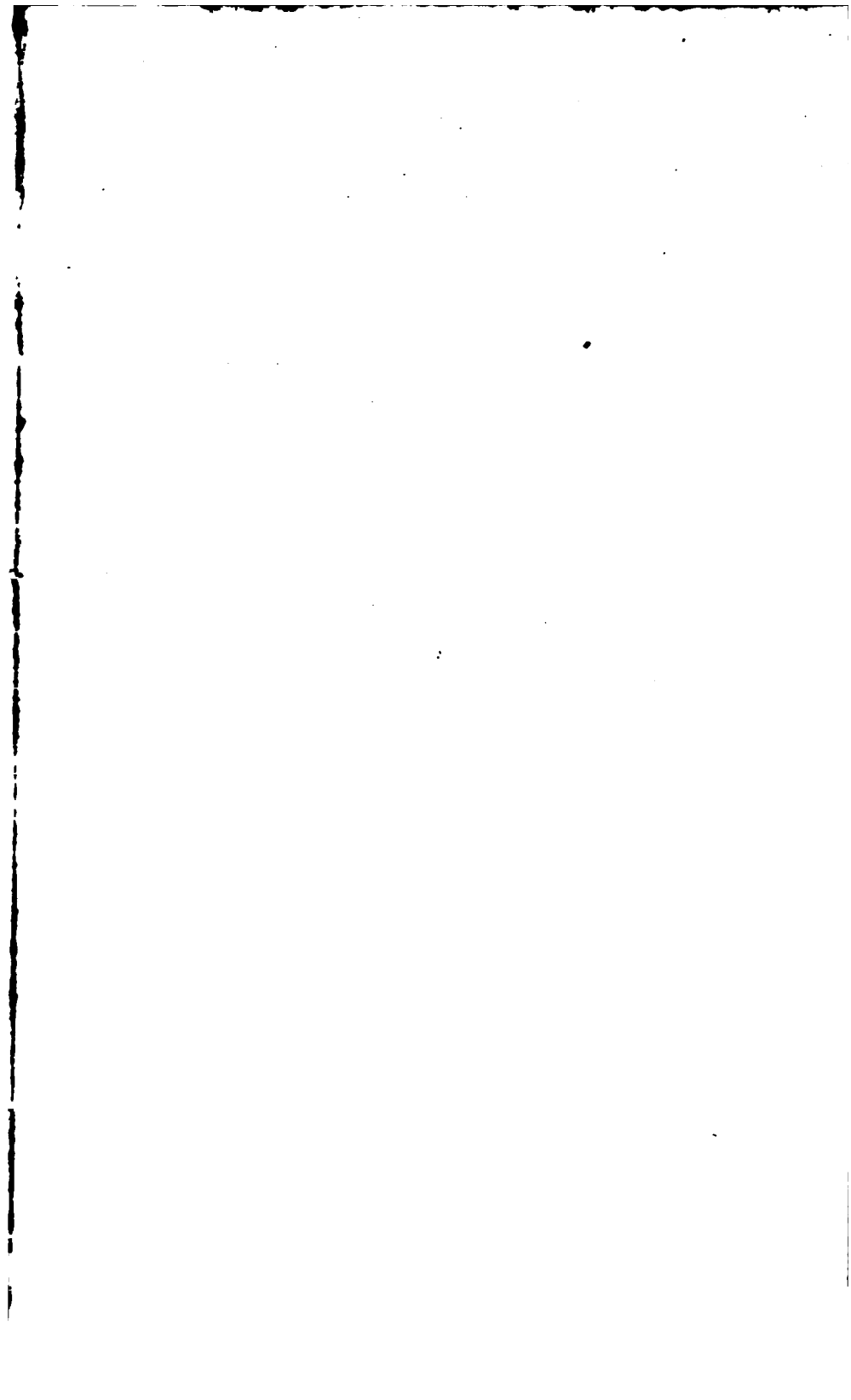
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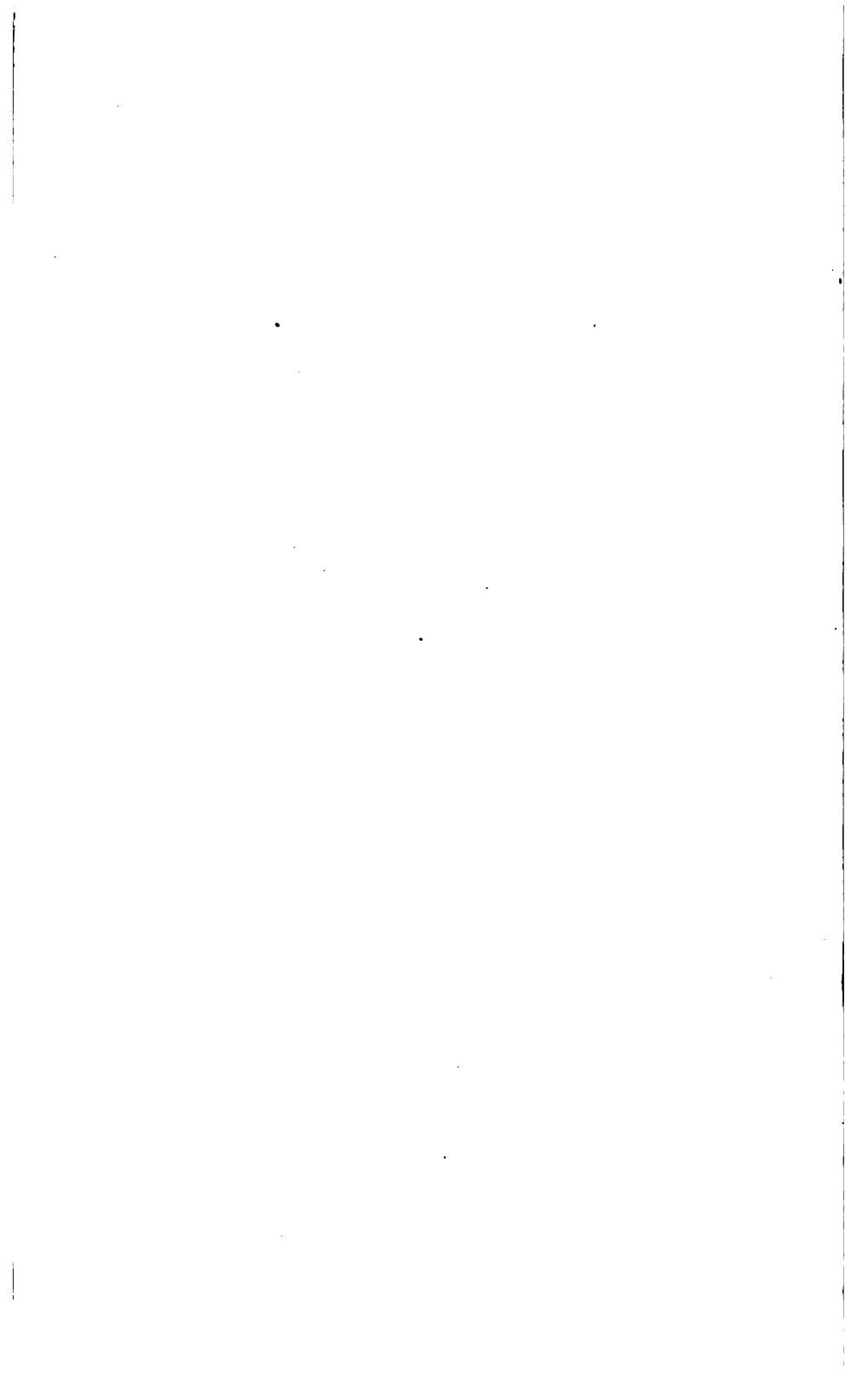
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THE

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THE
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MDCCCL.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

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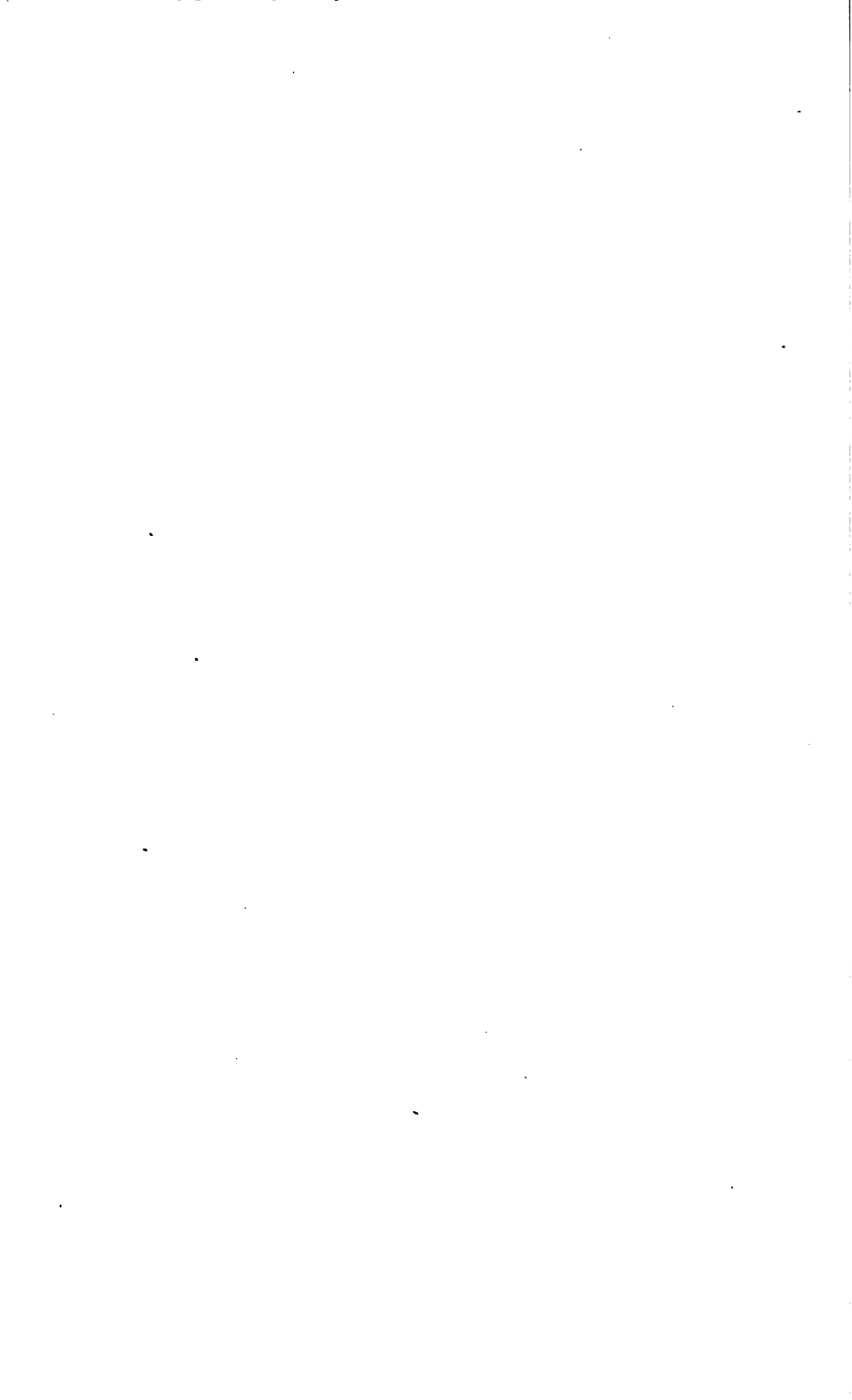
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THE
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1849.

ART. I.—*What is Life Assurance? Explained by Practical Illustrations of its Principles; with Observations on each description of Assurance, and on the Rates of Premium charged by the different Offices.* BY JENKIN JONES, Actuary to the National Mercantile Life Assurance Society, Author of a "Series of Assurance Tables, calculated from a New Rate of Mortality," &c. &c. London, 1847.

THE question which forms the title of this Tract is one which a daily increasing number of persons are beginning to ask with interest. It is of some consequence that they should be supplied with a satisfactory answer. By many, perhaps by the majority of those who ask the question, the information afforded by the author will be held to be sufficient; on perusal they will thankfully follow the directions given by him, and, repairing to the Office to which they may be inclined on some accidental ground of preference, will effect, in due form, such a policy as meets their views. If thereafter they are not very profoundly acquainted with the principles of Life Assurance, they at least know its practical working in their own case, and having satisfied their sense of duty by providing in adequate measure against the consequences of their premature decease, they are no longer inclined to resume the general question, or to do more than probably take their share in the conventional gossip which may prevail regarding the comparative progress of their own and other and rival Institutions. Another class of inquirers we are persuaded considerate not only practical directions how to effect a Life Assurance, and information as to the official machinery and working of Assurance Institutions, all which Mr. Jenkin Jones' small volume sufficiently supplies, but also a fuller development of the nature and

principles of Life Assurance as a system. Cordially recommending Mr. Jones' directory to all who have arrived at that ripened stage of conviction at which its information will be as useful as it is acceptable, we shall, in a more general manner than suited his purpose, endeavour to supply an answer to the question, "What is Life Assurance?" In doing so, we shall have occasion to deal with several important matters of principle touching the constitution and rules of Assuring Associations, upon which it is eminently desirable that the general community, and the classes who avail themselves of assurance in particular, should be at least preparing to think for themselves, that when requisite they may act with intelligence and decision in the support and establishment of sound views.

Banks, Assurance Companies, and other Associations established for the purpose of preserving and accumulating the surplus wealth of individuals, will only take root under the shadow of just and long-established Governments. They will only flourish in communities where integrity and confidence alike prevail. Other conditions are necessary to their growth and prosperity. They must be based upon sound principles, conducted with intelligence and energy, and their whole affairs and interests arranged and adapted to the varying exigencies of their progress. We cannot in this country boast of entire freedom from either blundering or fraud; but, generally speaking, Life Assurance, in its origin and history in Britain, presents a pleasing example of the combined operation of these several elements of success.

In other countries, Life Assurance has been little practised. France has been too careless and unstable, Holland has been too busy, Germany too unpractical, and America too youthful and self-confident, to cultivate the frugal and forecasting arts of a wise economy, among the chief of which we may reckon Life Assurance. In Britain alone has there been found the intelligence to appreciate, and the wisdom to secure the full benefits of the system.

It would be an interesting and instructive exercise to trace minutely the origin and progress of Life Assurance in this country. To do so thoroughly it would be necessary to take notice of the advances made at different times and places in collecting the facts regarding human life and mortality, which, while they form the basis of Life Assurance, have, at the same time, other important uses. It would be requisite also to shew the progress made by successive writers in the development of the science of Life Probabilities, as deduced from these data; and, finally, to mark the growth of Life Assurance as a scheme of business gradually gaining acceptance with the community, and now covering the land with prosperous institutions, which

are yearly dispensing their benefits among innumerable families. To furnish a detailed history of these several departments of the subject would more than exhaust our space. A cursory glance at its prominent features, under the several heads referred to, will suffice for our present purpose.

In regard to Mortality Bills and Mortuary Registers, the main fact which it is important to impress upon the mind of any one asking for the first time, What is Life Assurance? is that such collections of facts have been made as to afford a satisfactory standard of the duration and value of human life. This, of course, forms the grand foundation of the system, and if any great error or fallacy had been retained in the hypotheses of mortality, the fortunes and wellbeing of innumerable families might be put in peril. No such disastrous result is possible from this cause, the basis of facts on which the system has been reared being deeply and securely laid. A brief enumeration of the principal Mortality Tables which have been constructed within the last century and a half will, perhaps better than a general assurance on our part, shew how extensive and various are the facts from which the law of mortality can now be deduced.

A Record of the Births and Burials in the city of Breslau from 1687 to 1691; the Mortality Bills of London from 1728 to 1737; the Register of Assignable Annuities in Holland for 125 years before 1748; Lists of the Tontine Schemes in France and the Necrologues of Religious Houses; the Mortality of *Northampton* for 46 years prior to 1780; of *Norwich* for 30 years prior to 1769; of *Holycross* for 30 years prior to 1780; of *Warrington* for 9 years; of *Chester* for 10 years; of *Vienna*, *Berlin*, and *Brandenburgh* for long periods, and seven enumerations of the entire population of *Sweden*, with similar materials from the *Canton de Vaud*; a very carefully constructed Table of the Mortality of *Carlisle* for 8 years prior to 1787. To these have now been added Tables of the Experienced Mortality in the *London Equitable Office*; and, latterly, of seventeen different Offices, embracing assured lives to the number of 83,905. The mortality among the annuitants to whom the Government sold annuities has supplied a very valuable Table, in which male and female life is separately treated. To all those materials, which, with due allowance for the operation of those causes which might be expected to produce variation, may be said in their general results to confirm and corroborate each other, there has now been added the "English Life Table," constructed by the Registrar-General from the Records of England and Wales, established in 1839, and now in full operation, from which the value of life on an average of the whole community has been satisfactorily obtained.

We are warranted, therefore, in asserting, without qualification, that the law of mortality has been ascertained so accurately from sufficient data as to admit of the most confident reliance on its general operations.

These various materials have been from time to time rendered subservient to important uses and applications by those philosophers and writers who have devoted their attention to the study and development of the science of Life Probabilities. To Dr. Halley belongs the credit of first unfolding a general formula for calculating the value of annuities, whereby he supplied the germ of all subsequent developments of the science. De Moivre contributed greatly to advance the subject, although the hypothesis on which he proceeded was soon found to be incorrect. Thomas Simpson and James Dodson, in their several works, aided in extending the application of the facts and laws of mortality, as then ascertained, to many useful purposes, and especially in promoting the business of Life Assurance. The successful and patriotic labours of Dr. Price, in destroying the bubble schemes set afloat during the latter half of last century, are known to many, and deserve ever to be held in honourable remembrance. The publication of the fourth edition of his work on Annuities and Reversionary Payments, in 1783, with the valuable tables which enriched it, marked the commencement of a new era in the business of Life Assurance. Mr. Morgan's labours, both in the business and authorship of Life Assurance, are still remembered in connexion with the London Equitable Society.

Francis Baily, in 1810, published a work on Annuities, distinguished by scientific beauty, and calculated for daily use in the business of Life Assurance. A similar work, comprehending all that was valuable in previous writers, was produced in 1815 by Mr. Joshua Milne. The standard compilation of David Jones, published under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, is now, perhaps more than any other work, in daily use by Assurance Companies. To a student of principles, however, we would recommend the simpler work of Baily.

It might be invidious, and it is not necessary, to notice and estimate in comparison the services of eminent actuaries of our own generation, such as Ansell, Finlaison, Davies, Neison, Edmond, and the Joneses, or to dwell on the contemporary authorship of such writers as Babbage and De Morgan, whose works will abundantly repay the careful perusal of any one desirous of fully understanding the theory of Life Assurance.

The first Life Assurance Society established in this country was the Amicable Corporation of London, founded during the reign of Queen Anne in the year 1706. Centuries before that time there existed in England ancient associations known as

gilds, fraternities, mysteries, and brotherhoods. These possessed more of the character of friendly societies than of Life Assurance institutions; but they discover even in the early developments of society those prudent and benevolent tendencies of the English community, which have rendered it in later times so favourable a soil for the cultivation of Life Assurance.

Anterior to the bubble schemes exploded by Dr. Price, only five Life Assuring Associations had been established in England. These earlier societies began by charging an annual premium of £5 per cent. on every life assured, without reference to age—so rude were the first ideas of the risk undertaken in a policy of Life Assurance. Even when they discovered how very rough and inequitable this mode of regulating the contributions was, the first attempts to graduate rates to the age of the assured were made upon calculations of the probability of life greatly below its actual value, while the premiums were still further enhanced by the ignorant, but perhaps wholesome jealousy of Government, which refused to issue licenses, (then much desired by the societies as a guarantee of their soundness,) because the rates were not considered sufficiently high.

From the publication of Dr. Price's work, before alluded to, until the end of the last century, there were instituted only two new Assurance Societies which survived any length of time.

Since the commencement of this century, companies and societies of all kinds have sprung up and flourished. From 1800 to 1810 inclusive, thirteen were established. For the next ten years till 1820, only four were set up. During the succeeding decennial period till 1830, twelve new companies attested the return of a fresh interest and impulse in the direction of Life Assurance. The next ten years, ending in 1840, were signalized by still more abundant evidences of the zealous cultivation of Life Assurance, no less than thirty-one associations having during that period effected a permanent establishment in the country. Since 1840 a still larger number have appeared. Altogether, the whole societies and companies now doing business in Life Assurance in the United Kingdom are about ninety-three. We say Companies and Societies; for under these generic designations may be classed all the proper Life Assurance Institutions. *Society* is the name appropriate to those associations which, composed exclusively of assuring members, depend on the contributions of those members alone for the fulfilment of their policies, and which retain, for the benefit of the members, all surplus funds arising from the excess of contributions. In short, the Society is constituted and worked on the principle of Mutual Assurance. The *Company*, in its pure, unmixed character, consists of an association of proprietors or shareholders

subscribing, and partially paying up, an aggregate capital on which they trade with the public (at least the healthy portion of it) in assuring lives at certain specified rates,—thus affording to the assured the guarantee of a separate capital, but appropriating to the shareholders, in addition to the interest which that paid-up capital produces, the profit arising from their assuring trade. The Proprietary Companies now, however, with not more than one or two exceptions, offer to assurers the option of either paying merely the rate for which the Company is willing to insure the life, and so acquiring no after-benefit beyond the exact sum in the policy; or paying a somewhat larger rate, and thereby obtaining some participation in the profits of the business. Having thus introduced into their original proprietary constitution the more popular principle of mutual Assurance, they may be said with more correctness to belong to a new and mixed genus, partaking in about equal proportions of the proprietary and mutual elements. In fact, Life Assurance Associations are generally and familiarly classified under the three heads of “Mutual,” “Proprietary,” and “Mixed.”

We shall not attempt to analyze or comment upon the various institutions which offer the benefits of Life Assurance to the public. This has already been done with a free hand by such writers as Babbage and De Morgan and their several reviewers. Neither shall we at any length discuss the merits of those measures by which such associations as the London Equitable have been managed to the great profit of a privileged class. These proceedings have already been canvassed until something very like unanimity on the subject prevails. We shall merely give a general view of the principles of Life Assurance, and of the advantages peculiar to different classes of associations, leaving our readers to exercise their own judgment as to the plan which appears to them most advantageous. It is desirable, and it is, moreover, high time, that the public should for themselves acquire a knowledge of the elements of the subject. The pretensions of rival establishments would then in some measure be subjected to an independent test; and public patronage, guided by better lights than puffing advertisements, would quietly and steadily move in the right direction.

We have already glanced at the foundation of the system, and seen that the force of mortality in this country has been ascertained, and may be relied upon with all the confidence which mankind repose in the operation of a general law. While, however, we hold that the law of mortality has been so well ascertained as to relieve both assurer and assured of all apprehension of any serious and disastrous mistake in the tables on which Assurance is conducted, the subject is one to which

continued attention should be earnestly and patiently directed, with the view of working out its minuter applications. There is still much to be done even in the best conducted institutions towards adjusting equitably the contributions of the several classes of their members. A vast advance has been made since the period when the youngest and most select lives were rated, without any distinction, with the old and infirm. But although the excessive and unequal charges of those early times of ignorance and over-caution have gradually given place to rates, generally speaking, graduated according to the ages of parties, there yet remains room for improvements in applying the facts of ascertained mortality, so as to do justice to the several ages of the assured; and, in the sale and purchase of annuities and reversions, to meet with more accuracy the different degrees of contingency.

Life Assurance is based on the principle, or rather on the fact, that human life, proverbially uncertain as it is in the individual, is in respect of a multitude of individuals governed by a fixed and well-ascertained law, in virtue of which it can be safely and accurately calculated how many of them shall die in each year, until the whole become extinct. Proceeding upon an ascertained or assumed rate of mortality, it is not difficult to find by calculation what single or annual payment by each of a multitude of individuals would provide a certain specified amount to be paid over on the death of each. Money, however, does not, in a commercial community, rest a single day unproductive, and the interest to be derived for the use of the money while it remains in the common fund, thus manifestly forms the other main element, along with the rate of mortality, in determining the scale of premiums on which Assurances are effected by any association.

When a body of individuals associate together with the view of assuring lives, either on the plan of a Proprietary Company or a Mutual Society, the first thing to be done is to fix the *rate of mortality* on which their tables shall be constructed. It may safely be asserted that the Northampton Table has been proved to be erroneous, and that the associations which retain it in any department of their business, however prosperous and extensive, are in so doing clinging to an antiquated hypothesis which must operate in producing inequitable results to large classes of their contributors. The true rate of mortality is one which runs somewhere within the limits of the Carlisle, the Government Annuity-table, and the English Life Table. These, along with information derived from experience in regard to assured lives, afford a correct and satisfactory basis on which to construct a table of mortality graduated so as to suit all ages; and were any parties

proposing to found a new institution upon an assumed mortality differing materially from these tables, we should not only be disposed to challenge their intelligence, but to doubt their integrity.

The next thing to be settled is the *rate of interest* at which the aggregate funds of the concern may be expected to be improved on an average of their whole investments. On this point it is impossible to set up a standard so sure and well ascertained as that which now regulates the rate of mortality. Limits, however, may be assigned, and if past experience could be relied on with absolute confidence as indicating what may be calculated upon for the future, it would not be difficult to fix the average rate at which all the calculations should be made. We shall not here start the question as to the probability of interest being permanently maintained in this country. It is enough to state as facts, that hitherto the average of the investments of Assurance Companies have yielded a close approximation to five per cent., and that the calculations of most of them are based on an assumption of three per cent. It is obvious that unless some great and permanent depression of interest shall ensue, and supposing the funds to be farmed with a fair degree of skill and attention, three per cent. may be confidently taken as the basis of calculation. It is equally evident, that, apart from considerations of a more general kind, as losses arise on investments of the securest order, and the chances of loss increase as the per centage rises, the assumption of more than four per cent. as a constant aggregate rate would be speculative and hazardous, and sufficient of itself to warn away the confidence of the public from any associations adopting it.

These two matters of fact—the rate of mortality and the rate of interest being ascertained and assumed, the groundwork is laid for proceeding to the business of actual assurance, and to all transactions in which the pecuniary interest of individuals is dependent on the value of life.

In every office additions are, of course, made to the net calculations to provide against contingencies and for expenses of management.

Applying to the proper data the formulæ evolved by mathematicians, tables have been constructed showing the price of assurances at all ages, both by single and annual payments of premiums; single and joint lives are appreciated in all modes of combination, and there is no species of deferred, contingent, or reversionary interest or expectancy which cannot be measured and valued with accuracy, so as to form the subject of purchase and sale. The variety of transactions so arising is very great, and the benefits consequently accruing to many whose interests

have thus become tangible are very considerable. In the small volume named at the head of this article, tables are given and illustrations are supplied of a variety of the more ordinary transactions entered into by Life Assuring Associations.

It should now be easy to explain how what are called "Profits" arise, and to show how important it is that these should be divided upon sound and equitable principles. Profits are the surplus contributions of the assured above what is found to be necessary to meet the risks undertaken by the assuring office. In the case of a proprietary company these may correctly be denominated "profits," because the fund so arising is just the free balance on their books after fulfilling or providing for all their obligations; but in the case of a mutual society they are not properly speaking profits at all, but surplus capital, being proportional advances by the members more than the purposes of the society required from them. In both cases the fund must arise either because the mortality assumed in fixing the rate of contribution has proved higher than the actual deaths among the members, or the rate of interest obtained has been more than was calculated upon. In practice, as may be inferred from what has been already said, the hypothesis on which tables for practice are generally constructed is considerably within the line of actual probability in both these respects. Profits therefore arise because the mortality is not so great, and the per centage on investments is greater than was assumed in fixing the rates of contribution. If mortality could be measured and predicted with as much certainty (as to any thousand individuals for example) as the setting of so many suns, and if interest could be meted and recorded in its flowing with accuracy as absolute as that which registers the progress of its concurrent stream of time, and were Assurance business done upon net calculations thence deduced, no profits would ever arise, the contributions being fixed at the precise sums necessary to meet the relative risks. Every separate assurer would from the first pay exactly what was just and needful, and no more. The scheme of business would work out its results like Babbage's famous machine, and thus all the contest and confusion which have attended "distribution of profits," and "declaration of bonuses," in so many associations, would be avoided. Every member would receive just what he was entitled to, and no more—there being no occasion or temptation, or even possibility, in a society so constituted and worked, for one member getting more than he ought, because it would visibly be taken from another, who would in consequence receive less.

Such, however, is not the case. We have to deal in the matter not wholly with mathematical elements. Mortality may have its general laws ascertained, but can never be accurately predicted

in its special operations within the limits of a comparatively small body of assurers. Interest may be assumed on an average based on the experience of the past, but can never be assigned with arithmetical precision in tables constructed as a guide for future operations. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that both the rate of mortality and the rate of interest shall be assumed. The charges of management, and the chances of loss, have also to be taken into account upon a probable estimate. The business of Life Assurance must, therefore, in all cases be conducted upon a hypothesis. Common sense and ordinary prudence at once dictate that the hypothesis shall be a safe one, and such as to cover all the fluctuations and uncertainties arising from the several elements of mortality, interest, expenses, and loss, which enter into and affect the actual business result.

Premiums for assurance are, therefore, charged, and prices for annuities are taken in all cases somewhat higher, and in some cases considerably higher, than the net sums required in the first calculation. In consequence of this excess of charge a surplus fund arises, which is called "profit."

If this account of the origin and nature of profits be carefully kept in view, it should serve to correct several crude and false notions which are apt to prevail on the subject. It shows at once that the surplus fund has properly been contributed by *all the members in proportion to the amount of their payments*, and therefore ought, as far as practicable, to be divided among all in a like proportion: That profit is not, and cannot be, the excess of the premiums paid over the sum assured; and that to give the *whole* of such profit to those who have so paid up is not to equalize life among the contributors, but to confer a bounty on long life, and, in as far as the surplus fund is concerned, to act on a principle the very opposite of that on which Life Assurance is founded.

If our readers experience any difficulty in understanding or assenting to what we are now laying down, we only ask them to exercise a little reflection on the subject. What is the special object of Life Assurance? What is that for which it and it alone provides? Not the accumulation of savings merely—that may be secured by depositing in a bank, as well as by paying premiums to an assurance office. Manifestly and confessedly that which is peculiar to Assurance is that it provides against premature death, and is intended to equalize life among all the contributors. In the very nature of the case some must pay more than they ever receive back, that others may receive back more than they pay. Let this fundamental fact be borne in mind, and it will at once be seen that what is called profit does not arise because *some* members pay more than they receive, but because

all the members from the beginning have contributed on a scale higher than proves to be necessary. To talk of the members who die early causing a "loss," and to punish them by exclusion from all share in the surplus fund, is not only unjust, but absurd. The death of one who dies the day after he effects his policy, is no more a loss to the institution, in the true sense of loss, as used in an association for assuring lives, than that of the man who has paid premiums for half a century. Is it not the very pride and glory of the system that the one case is provided for as fully and ungrudgingly as the other? Even in the case of a party who dies after paying only one premium, is it not clear that he would have paid *less* than he actually did if the rates had been fixed with absolute accuracy according to the risk? Even he, in the single payment he has made, must have supplied a fractional contribution to the surplus fund. Loss does not arise because members die early, that having been contemplated from the first, and provided for in the calculation. Loss in the true sense would arise if the mortality was greater than was assumed, or if the interest realized was less, or if an investment should be lost, or if expenses of management proved excessive. In short, loss would appear if the rates were fixed on a scale insufficient to cover all contingencies. It follows, on the other hand, that "profit" arises because the rates have been fixed on a scale more than sufficient to cover all contingencies.

It further follows, that in proportion as the rates charged for Assurance are high, the surplus, or profit fund will be swelled and aggrandized. In some of the Societies which are still pleased (or we should perhaps rather say, which are compelled by their constitution, which they have no power to alter) to use the Northampton Table of Mortality, the surplus arising annually is very great. In proportion to the amount of such surplus is the power of an office increased to give one class the advantage over another in the division, and by the declaration of large bonuses to dazzle the public with imaginary benefits. The amount of the bonuses periodically declared cannot form a true test of the prosperity of any institution. That amount may arise from using a false mortality table, and exacting large rates, as much as from getting good lives and fortunate investments.

The first question in any investigation with a view to a division, is the ascertainment of the *amount* of profit at any given period. This is a matter requiring very careful treatment. A mercantile firm, however extensive and varied may be their property and affairs, or a bank, however speculative may be a portion of its investments, proceed to a valuation of their assets upon rules and principles which ordinary intelligence and prudence suggest, and any considerable mistake will at once become

apparent to those concerned ; but a Life Assurance Society, from the peculiar nature both of its property and obligations, might readily fall into errors, which, while they were of a very serious kind, might not be even suspected to exist for a long series of years. On the one side of the balance-sheet stand as the property of the Society its realized funds and investments, with the present value of all the premiums due by the members ; on the other side as debt stands the present value of all the sums assured. In these valuations very great fallacies may sometimes lurk. It is notorious, that a large and respectable Society in England, at two successive septennial periods, divided, as profit, the whole surplus fund which could arise on their policies during the entire period of their currency, thus anticipating twice over, on a great number of their policies, profits not then realized, and appropriating to one class, with real (though perhaps not intentional) injustice, what belonged to another.

It would be out of place to enter here upon a full exposition of the principle and methods of a correct valuation of premiums and policies. These are now well understood, and in general are honestly applied, although error and injustice still result in some offices from the use of the exploded mortality of Northampton as the criterion of value.

When the amount of the profit or surplus fund has, at the assigned period, been ascertained, the question next in order, and not inferior in importance, is, how is that fund to be divided ? The question of amount is one of scientific calculation—the question of distribution is one of equity. As might be supposed, the latter is emphatically the *questio vexata* among assurers and assured, upon which every office professes to hold and apply the only true principle of division, and upon which it is, perhaps, impossible in practice to realize perfectly the full results of the most unexceptionable theory.

Although absolute and exact equity may be unattainable, the principle of division should be sound, and such as to afford in its application the nearest approximation to evenhanded justice.

By special compact, the whole parties interested may be bound to a particular method of Division, as, for instance, by the deed of constitution, or the bye-law of the association, it may be provided that the first 5000 policies shall alone participate in the surplus fund, or that none shall share in such surplus until they have paid premiums equivalent with interest to the sum assured. In such cases it may be admitted, that as all parties know the rule before they join the body so constituted, none of the members can fairly complain when they find the laws consistently carried out. Others, however, are entitled to maintain, in the name of sound principle, that by so agreeing to conduct business,

the effect is to divide among a favoured class what was contributed proportionally by all, and that to the extent of the surplus the principle applied is not that of equalizing life and providing against premature death,—the great and proper object of Life Assurance,—but of conferring a bonus and bounty upon long life, which is the gambling principle of the Tontine.

Farther, and without dwelling upon this subject, we may venture to say, that no little suspicion exists, that in several very prosperous and otherwise ably conducted institutions, the older lives engross the lion's share of the spoil. No competent defence has ever been made of the system by which the long lives reap their enlarging shares of benefit at successive periods of investigation, by profits being allotted to them in proportion to the amount both of their original assurance, and of additions made by previously declared bonuses. Still less can the system be upheld by which they draw profit at *each* successive period of division, according, not merely to the premiums paid subsequent to the date of the previous division, during which period the profit to be divided arose—but in proportion to all the premiums paid from the very commencement of the policy. The long standing and numerous policies of associations conducted upon these plans, so far from being attractive to new members, will probably, with increasing experience, be found to be the reverse. The oftener the periods of allocation recur, the greater the evil and the injustice under such a system of division. This accumulative system of bonus additions, if brought into action, every ten or every seven years, is bad enough; but when it is carried into effect every five years, our astonishment is, that it does not produce results more startling than any that have yet appeared in advertising type; and as it is impossible to invent a new mathematics, but quite a possible thing to cook a bonus, we are led to ask, whether in the offices to which we refer, arbitrary accommodations have not been resorted to already, to disguise and counteract the inevitable results of their own vaunted principle? In truth, it needs no prophet to predict, that if this accumulative plan of heaping up bonuses on the old policies were rigorously and permanently carried out, the discouragement to new entrants would become so great, that few would be attracted to such offices—that with a decreasing or even a stationary business, the fallacy would become more apparent than it does, or can do, so long as business is flowing in with an annually increasing volume; and that thus an accumulative process of decline would ensue, and the office would effectually wind itself up, and shut its own door.

Still, however, it must be admitted, that the offices which, within endurable limits, favour the old lives, will in all probabi-

lity retain a strong hold on the support of many. Most men are apt to think well of their own prospects of longevity. The assured who dies after paying only a few premiums, is, from narrow views and a mistaken application of the ordinary mercantile analogy, regarded as causing a "loss" to the Society. The pure principle of Life Assurance is, it is thought, very well so far; but in the estimation of some, it is rendered all the more attractive by having superadded a bonus-lottery, in which the long livers draw the prizes.

We reassert as a demonstrable fact, that the profits have arisen out of the contributions of *all* the members. Each several policy-holder, therefore, from the youngest to the oldest, has a right to participate in what each has had a share in creating. The interest of each in the surplus fund is just the difference between the payments actually made, and those which would have been demanded, had the precise rate of interest, and the precise rate of mortality been foreknown. That scheme of division, therefore, is certainly the most equitable and most in accordance with the strict principles of Life Assurance, which distributes the profits among all the policy-holders, without preference of classes, and so as to include the members who die early as well as those who live long. That means exist, and that computations are practicable for so dividing, is undoubted, and it is hoped they will be brought into more extensive use when true principle shall be thought a safer guide than false popularity, and when the interests of the long livers, always a powerful class, are postponed to the demands of enlightened equity.

The importance of the views we are now urging is much greater than may at first sight appear. The prevailing systems are, in reality, most unfavourable to the spread of Life Assurance among the general body of society. The grand object should be to promote its extension among all who can avail themselves of its benefits. Instead of doing this by offering Assurance at low but safe rates, these are kept so high as to deter many from attempting to assure, and to defeat many more who make the attempt, all in order to produce a surplus fund for the long livers. New entrants not only pay an adequate premium, but in addition what may be called a Tontine-tax, in the distribution of which they may never share; and thus Life Assurance, instead of being simplified, and cheapened, and popularized, as it might be, within the limits of perfect safety, is clogged and complicated, by the super-addition of an expensive system, the very opposite to Life Assurance in its nature and tendency.

We cannot escape noticing, however briefly, the question raised as to the comparative merits of the Improved Proprietary, or "Mixed" Company, and the Mutual Society. As usually

happens in matters involving the pecuniary advantage of rival establishments, extreme views have been keenly maintained on both sides. To reach the truth we may disregard equally the interested statements of proprietary partisans and the overstrained arguments of the mutually-assured. We cannot seriously believe, on the one hand, that there is any risk of a well-conducted mutual office making good at least the sum in the policy, or that the value of the guarantee against such risk is of the last consequence. Neither can we see, on the other hand, that capital is in all cases an encumbrance and more absorbent of profit to the loss and detriment of the assured.

It is quite manifest, although it is often overlooked, that if a body of proprietors get only an average rate of interest on their paid-up capital, they do not thereby withdraw a single farthing of the surplus or profit fund arising on the payments of the assured. They merely receive the interest which their capital has itself yielded, and it is only in so far as they draw a higher rate of interest than the average of that borne by the company's investments, or make slump bonus additions to their paid-up stock, that they trench upon the Assurance profits, and so withdraw what in a mutual office is divided wholly among the assured themselves.

The Proprietary Companies were in the early times of Life Assurance in the habit of appropriating the whole profits, by which the shareholders were greatly enriched. The Mutual offices, more especially those instituted during the present century, have, by their vigorous competition for business, given a check to this monopolizing system. Too many of the Proprietary Companies still discover some remains of the old tendency, but, generally speaking, they are now alive to the necessity of offering to the public advantages bearing a comparison with those held out by the Mutual offices. What competition has forced them to adopt as a necessity, equity confirms and demands as a right; and any Proprietary Company which henceforth shall attempt to appropriate the profits, or a large part of them to the shareholders, will, we doubt not, find, as they ought, that they are behind the market, and must either better their terms, or shut their doors.

The Mutual Societies have thus established a strong claim on the gratitude of the community, their correction of the abuses of the Proprietary System having given them great acceptance with the public. Still the Proprietary System prevails in point of extent, and if liberally carried out, possesses great advantages. The allocation of large bonuses upon the capital stock is as indefensible in principle as it must henceforth be shortsighted in policy;—but supposing such practices to be finally abandoned,

we should say that so far as the mere element of constitution is concerned, the Proprietary form is the best. Taking other circumstances into account, however—such as extent of business, good management, favourable investments, and the like, particular offices of a different constitution may surpass, both in success and security, one which may be framed on what we should regard as more eligible principles. Our reasons for preferring the Proprietary constitution (apart from the guarantee afforded by the subscribed capital) are, that it possesses several advantages in the practical working of its affairs, which a Mutual Society cannot command. The Directors (representing the shareholders principally) are more likely to act impartially in the distribution of the surplus fund among the policy-holders than the Directors of a Mutual Society who generally represent the old policy-holders, the powerful and ruling class in all such associations. A Proprietary Company can modify and vary the tables and rates according to advancing information, or their own experience or change of circumstances. A Mutual Society, on the other hand, cannot pass from an erroneous to a correct system of contribution. If they have begun upon a wrong table, they must persevere in the face of all reason and conviction. A large class of members come, at a certain point, to have a substantial and annually increasing interest in the maintenance of the erroneous hypothesis. Of course, their rights under the deed of constitution are indefeasible, and so the only remedy for the evil is the forlorn one of a *felo de se*. The society can get quit of its erroneous scale of contribution by winding up, and not otherwise.

Moreover, under the Proprietary form the non-participating rates may be most largely diminished. We doubt if the advantages which they possess in this respect are sufficiently appreciated either by themselves or the public. It will perhaps come more into view in succeeding years, as one of the methods of obviating in part the difficulties of meeting the premiums which recently have produced so very large an amount of surrendered and forfeited policies. It seems pretty clear that a set of proprietors can with more safety sell Assurance at a price which will barely remunerate them, than a society whose solvency depends on the calculations proving adequate, and which ought therefore in all cases to charge rates undoubtedly sufficient.

When we consider the vast amount of business now transacted by the Assurance Offices of this country, and the immense and still rapidly accumulating capital to which their operations give rise, it is scarcely possible to over-estimate the importance of their being soundly constituted and honestly conducted. It is computed that five millions sterling is paid annually into the whole Life

Institutions of the kingdom, by which perhaps £135,000,000 is secured to families and representatives at death.

The management and application of funds so large, and the effect of this comparatively recent accumulation upon the monetary interests and prospects of the community, might suggest several interesting questions and speculations, upon which, however, we forbear to enter. Looking at it merely in its direct bearings, Life Assurance presents one of the most pleasing features of modern society. The benefits of a system of provision so extended and admirable, adapt themselves to the various exigencies of life with peculiar effect. They have been felt in many a widowed chamber and orphan's home—in alleviating the anxieties of many a dying parent—in fostering the spirit of self-reliance—and, generally, in moderating the cares and mitigating the calamities of life. Indeed, we hesitate not to assign a very powerful influence to Life Assurance among the institutions and elements of that higher civilisation which in later times has been evolved and enjoyed beyond all historical precedent among the upper and middle classes of this country. Among these classes the tendency is evidently to an increase of Assurance. With increasing business we may be allowed to express a hope that the offices of every kind now established may make the best use of their prosperity, and increasingly deserve it by improvements both in principle and practice, such as the new data of mortality and the better understood principles of equity warrant and demand; and that so doing they have before them a career of honour and wide-spread social advantage which shall be coeval with that national prosperity which they contribute to promote and adorn.

Before closing these remarks, we shall advert to the prospects of the *extension* of Life Assurance in this country, and to some interesting views of the subject, which are beginning to occupy the attention of thinking and philanthropic men.

The benefits of which we have been speaking have hitherto been confined almost exclusively to the upper and middle ranks of society. The lower grades of the latter, and the whole body of the working-classes, have yet to learn that Life Assurance is adapted to them also; that under suitable modifications in its plan of working, it is calculated to diffuse its comforts and advantages throughout all the families in the land, however humble, and that its economic benefits and happy influences may be brought within the reach and commended to the acceptance of all. The time seems to have fully come, when among all the other means of raising and ameliorating the condition of the working people of Britain, Life Assurance should be recognised and advocated in a manner befitting its undoubted importance.

It will serve to explain why in time past Life Assurance has done nothing for the lower classes, and at the same time indicate the line of future advancement in this respect, if we consider for a little one feature of Assurance as now almost universally practised by the classes who avail themselves of it. Business is almost wholly done on the plan of annual or bi-annual premiums. Now, great as have been the benefits of this system, and prosperous as are the many institutions which practise upon it, it is certain that to some it has always been attended with disadvantage, and that it cannot be suited to the circumstances and capabilities of all. The persons for whom it is peculiarly adapted belong chiefly to the middle ranks of life,—persons of limited but certain income,—Clergymen, professional men, annuitants, and salaried employees of every grade; and generally all who, while not possessed of realized property, have the means by their incomes of paying annually the premiums necessary to secure the desired fund at their death. The laws of primogeniture and entail have also rendered Life Assurance on this plan a very valuable source of provision for the younger children of the landed aristocracy.

For the lower grade of the middle classes, the struggling and embarrassed among professional men and shopkeepers, and for the whole body of the working-classes, the system in its own nature is not suited, and never can be made to adapt itself. Through the activity and canvassing of rival establishments, it has already been carried into these latter classes farther than it can perhaps be permanently maintained. The point of incompatibility lies in this, that while it is absolutely essential to the safety and sound working of the whole system, that the premium should be paid punctually and without fail at *every* return of the periodical day of payment, under the penalty of forfeiting the Assurance altogether; the classes referred to are subject to fluctuations in their means and circumstances, which deprive them of the power of meeting the calls for premium, and so compel them on some unlucky day to forfeit the advantages to which they may have been directing the exertions and the hopes of many years. Relaxations may and ought, in equity, to be made in the stern and unsympathizing rules of the offices in regard to forfeited policies; and we are glad to observe that the highest of them are beginning to show some consideration in the matter; still, principle forbids their going beyond a fair allowance for surrender value; and the sad fact remains unmodified in its substantial truth, that under the premium system of Assurance, hundreds of policies are, each year, in every large office, surrendered or forfeited. The offices themselves, in their annual reports, do not assign much prominence to this fact. Their interest is to conceal it.

It is our duty to bring it forth into the broadest light, not that we consider it in any respect a blot or a stigma on these institutions, but that the public are interested in observing and thoroughly understanding what Life Assurance, on the prevalent premium plan can do, and what it cannot do. Not that we grudge the happy contributors, whose steady flow of means never forsakes them when the inevitable premium day returns, their large policies and plethoric bonuses, and comfortable congratulations on the annual day; but that we feel it to be the part of both humanity and wisdom to cast an eye of careful regard towards the crowd of their less fortunate brethren, who, instead of sharing in the success, have been consigned to the lean limbo of defeat and disaster. It is a great and a growing evil. It may startle some to be told, that in the year 1848, and within the Edinburgh offices alone, policies assuring sums to the amount of *more than a million sterling* were *surrendered and forfeited*! This fact proves at once and conclusively that the poorer class of the assured avail themselves of the benefits of the present system under great risks and disadvantages; and surely no one can doubt the grave and serious consequences arising to parties so disappointed, and their families. Loss of heart,—disgust with all methods of provident accumulation,—and the encouragement of speculative tendencies, are among the moral evils which greatly outweigh the mere pecuniary loss incident to such forfeitures. It is high time that those who are competent to direct public opinion on this subject, and who wish well to Life Assurance as an important instrument of social benefit, should give earnest attention to what, if not met and mitigated, must become ere long a stumbling-block to thousands among the classes to whom we specially refer in the very threshold of the best institutions.

A remedy, partial at least, and perhaps as complete as any single specific could supply, is furnished by the Life Assurance system itself, upon a different plan of operation.

Persons whose policies have been forfeited or surrendered on account of their inability to continue paying the premiums, have, as the result shows, been attempting to secure benefits beyond their reach. Tempted by the desire to secure at once a considerable sum in the event of premature death, they have undertaken the equivalent obligation which they have not been able to fulfil. They have wagered their circumstances against their life, and the latter has gained to their own loss. The transaction has been too speculative in its character for them. In attempting to secure more than their means and circumstances rendered possible, they have lost all. Such a disadvantage as this, however, is by no means incident to Life Assurance under every form. It is inseparable from the premium plan, where the sum in the policy is equivalent to all the premiums which the assured is

expected to pay, as on an average life; but it is entirely obviated on the plan of single payment, by which the full price of the Assurance is paid at once. By this method a much smaller sum in proportion to the payments actually made is secured at first; but to the extent of the payment, the full benefit of the equalization of life is secured, which is the essence of Life Assurance, while no risk of forfeiture can possibly defeat what has once been attained. To a large extent this system would supply the desideratum which is evidently felt among the classes most exposed to forfeiture. Dying *under* the average age, they would have secured a smaller sum than their single payments, paid as premiums, would have obtained for them. Living up to the average age, the benefits on both systems should be equal. Dying *beyond* the average age, the single-payment-depositor would have the advantage. For many purposes, such as securing or attempting to secure debts and provisions under marriage-contracts, and the like, this mode of Assurance would not be found suitable. Neither would it be possible, under any system, to obviate or prevent altogether the evils of forfeiture; but certainly it does appear that deposit or single payment Assurance would suit the views and circumstances of a very large and increasing class, who are now straining beyond their strength to share in the benefits of a more promising, but also to them more hazardous system.

To the working-classes, the plan to which we refer might, by extensive adoption, prove an invaluable boon. That the Savings' Bank does not meet all their wants, is proved by the existence of those numerous benefit and sickness societies which have been had recourse to by them. That they still need to be directed into the right method of applying their savings, so as best to meet future contingencies, is too sadly apparent by the all but universal confusion and disorder which have recently overtaken these societies. The exertions of Government to aid them in the reconstruction and right management of these societies are every way laudable; but it is evident that their limited numbers and small funds give them no chance of obtaining the advantages of favourable investments, or a sufficient average of mortality among their members, while the element of self-government will always expose them to serious risks.

The plan of Deposit Assurance, carried out extensively among the saving and industrious classes of the community, would powerfully promote all the ends which benevolent and patriotic men most earnestly desire to accomplish. It would familiarize them with a plan of saving and accumulating in all respects the most easy, safe, and suitable for them which they have ever known, and in their own sphere and degree would make them partakers with their richer brethren in the comforts and dignity of independence.

- ART. II.—1. *Draft Report by LORD MONTEAGLE on the Irish Poor-Law.* 1849.
2. *Sixth Report of the LORDS on the Irish Poor-Law.* 1849.
3. *Second Annual Report of IRISH POOR-LAW COMMISSIONERS.*

IN our former communications on the subject of Ireland we endeavoured to impress upon the public the desirableness of getting rid of the existing laws of entail, and in this way enabling the owners of land to bring it into the market at such times, and under such circumstances, as would, in their own judgment, most tend to relieve them. We felt that, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the same feeling which led to the creation of the entail would still be sufficient to preserve property, wherever it could be preserved, in the same line of inheritors. We endeavoured to show, that against the improvidence of the tenant for life, entails could seldom be effectual in preserving property for his children or grandchildren. To produce this effect entails should be for a vastly greater length of time than the laws of England permit. The existing system is, we think, even in the case of large and unencumbered estates, a system, from first to last, demonstrably vicious, and, in the case of small and encumbered properties, altogether absurd. To declare the owner for life of an estate, where the inheritance is entailed on his children, actual owner of the fee, would, we think, be a course, however apparently violent, the only one that could give any chance of saving for the families still called their owners the properties of four-fifths of the gentry of the south and west of Ireland.

The Encumbered Estates Act of the last Session is, perhaps, seemingly a more just measure, as the price of an estate sold under its provisions is made subject to the same trusts, and divisible among the parties who would have been entitled to the estate under the entail. This advantage will, we have little doubt, be deceptive. Many of these estates, adversely sold, will not bring more than seven or eight years' purchase, if so much. Under our plan, when sold, they would more probably have brought some four or five-and-twenty years' purchase; but they would, we think, not have been, for the most part, sold. Money could have been obtained by the owner of the fee, when the same person, as a mere owner of a life estate in the lands would have been unable to procure it. The property, relieved from the en-

tail, would in many cases be preserved without difficulty. No injustice would have been done to the heir of entail, for the surplus which is secured to him by the Encumbered Estates Act, will, in most cases, be imaginary, and—unless we greatly mistake the common impulses of human nature—had our plan been pursued, the estate, in almost all cases where it could have been preserved, would have been his.

There can be no doubt, however, that on the subject legislation of some kind had become necessary. The Legislature, for some years past, has been influenced by a feeling that the removal of the old proprietors would be of use, and efforts seem to have been made to increase their embarrassments for the purpose of producing this effect more speedily and entirely. This was, perhaps, a mistake. We think it was. The creation of a new proprietary is not quite as easy a thing as may be imagined. If the transfer of property alone could have effected a change in the character of a people, nowhere has the experiment been more frequently or more violently made than in Ireland, and with what success the past history and present condition of that singular country and strange people pretty plainly exhibits.

We are glad that in the debates in both Houses of Parliament this measure has been treated as one of confiscation. Sir Robert Peel, when first introducing it, spoke of twenty-one bankrupt Unions as being forfeited by inability to support their poor, and his plan, as first enunciated, was to declare these Unions the property of Commissioners appointed by the State—to make estates to such persons as might purchase from the State any portions of the lands so forfeited. The project was in theory identical with the old plantation systems of the 16th and 17th centuries. The magnificent project, however, has dwindled down into something like ordinary bargain and sale; and we are inclined to think that the sole advantage gained by the new Act will be, that in cases where individuals are anxious to relieve themselves from inextricable difficulties they may find it possible to get rid of what is called their property without losing half a life-time in the effort. We have no doubt that, with a reasonable poor-law, the south and west of Ireland will present as safe a field for the investment of capital as the world can afford, and we wish Mammon were wide awake to its advantages, instead of muttering in dreams wild and vain hopes, which will but end in disappointment. That Ireland may become a prosperous and a happy country, nay, that before the potato disease, and the strange legislation that followed the potato disease, it was becoming so, is, we think, free from doubt, but the difficulties with which all classes of persons connected with landed property have to contend are but little appreciated. The

citizens of London, it would seem, think that to convert the wilderness into a garden nothing but their money and their presence is wanting. The first would be useful, no doubt, but we cannot think the security of its investment would be increased by their coming with it, which yet appears to be their design. Count Strzelecki tells of many instances where "traders and shopkeepers from London have manifested a strong desire to be informed of the progress of the Irish business in the south and north-west, in order that they may be alive to what is going on there, and be quite ready to go and settle in Ireland, and cultivate the land there."—"Only a few days ago a trader told me that he is conscious that a time is at hand when such a premium on English capital will be offered by the sale of lands in Ireland that it will be worth the while of every one to emigrate, and that he is quite ready and prepared to emigrate and to invest his money in the purchase of land, which in England he cannot get without paying very dear for it."*

There can be little doubt that great tracts of land will be soon exposed to sale in Ireland. The gift of the whole produce of their lands to the poor, which has now been the case in some districts for the last five years, would alone have been sufficient for the destruction of a wealthier class of men than the Irish proprietors. This, whether antecedently to the famine their estates had been encumbered or not, must have created a load of debt, with which it would be in vain to struggle, and the existing Poor-Law must be altogether reformed, or any persons who may be rash enough to speculate in the purchase of Irish lands will soon find it impossible to create or preserve property in the kind of partnership with all the destitute of a district often extending some thirty or forty miles round. There have been often attempts at settlements and plantations of the natives of other countries in Ireland, but at no former time had the possessor of land to contend with this formidable torrent of pauperism, each day increasing, and each day certain to increase yet more. At no former time had he to contend with taxation absolutely indefinite in amount, and, in all cases where the Union is under the management of Vice-Guardians, imposed without even the legal fiction of the rate-payers being, in any sense whatever, represented by the persons to whom this power, greater than the most arbitrary prince ever affected to claim, is intrusted. We transcribe from Lord Monteagle's Draft Report some evidence that may assist our readers in forming an opinion on this subject.

* *Lords' Fourth Report*, p. 861.

“STATEMENT showing the EXPENDITURE of the undernamed UNIONS, during the years ended 29th September 1846, 1847, and 1848, respectively:—

Name of Union.	Expenditure, 1846.	Expenditure, 1847.	Expenditure, 1848.	Rates Collected.
Ballina, . .	£2939	£6197	£52,282	£10,177
Ballinrobe, .	1132	4328	37,653	8,533
Castlebar, .	1417	2273	27,008	4,216
Clifden, . .		612	23,405	2,529
Galway, . .	2926	7298	33,810	7,457
Glenties, .	608	2333	8,072	3,256
Kenmare, .	2162	3334	12,663	6,014
Westport, .	2970	3539	27,418	6,013”

It is plain, that if the support of the poor be thrown on lands in such districts as these, lands at whatever price purchased, must, unless means of employment be devised to absorb and root out pauperism, be attended with ruinous loss; with loss, in all probability, vastly greater than the amount of capital expended in their purchase. Cultivation is ceasing in these districts; and each new rate adds new inmates to the poorhouses, or sends fresh groups of ruined farmers to break stones on the highway. Talk of the encumbrances of the proprietor, and the exactions of the landlord, here! No rent is paid, or can be paid, or is thought of at all, except by some unfortunate intermediate landlord whom fatal accident may have connected with the locality, and who must supply it from his own capital. In the west of Galway large tracts of land lie waste. A witness, Colonel Archer, is asked—Is this owing to demands of rent? and he answers—“Rent is the least objection, because that is the last thing the people consider. It is the rates for which the poor-rate collector and the cess-collector can come and lay hold on whatever a poor man has got.” The population of Mayo is reduced by more than one-fourth. Many have gone away—many have died. The Reverend Peter Daly, Roman Catholic vicar of Galway, and parish priest of Rahoon in that district, tells us, that in his parish one-half the people have died. “I had a population of 12,000 before the famine commenced, and now I have not more than 6000 people.” The table we have given exhibits the small amount of rate collected in Galway in proportion to the expenditure, and yet nothing can be greater than the efforts to collect as much as is at all possible. “The collection,” says the same witness, “has been attended with enormous ex-

pense in many cases. I have seen it myself. I saw, in passing along the road the other day, a regular encampment of 100 soldiers, and a magistrate, an officer, a troop of horse, and fifteen or twenty cars along the road. I was astonished at seeing it, and I inquired of the magistrate what it was about. He told me that it was to collect the poor-rate in a village of five houses, that were within a few yards. I knew every one of the persons living there: they were all in a state of starvation; and the result of this would be, that the miserable things they used as beds, that is, two or three stools standing up, would not fetch ten shillings when they brought them to Galway to sell for the poor-rates of that village. As a proof that the people there were starving, I may observe that I had a soup-kitchen, in the year previous to that, in my own house; and, with the help of the Sisters of Mercy, whom I sent there to superintend it, I had 2000 people relieved there every day with soup and bread, and every one of the people of that village I thought it necessary to put on the relief." The evidence of this intelligent witness is, that the Poor-Law was quite inadequate to do anything in relief of the famine. It broke down the employers of labour, and, we are convinced, made things absolutely worse than if it had not existed at all. Under the administration of out-door relief, Mr. Daly tells us that the people in the union of Galway have died in thousands. "I have walked," he says, "along the streets and roads through living corpses. I have seen the people lying along the road-side dying at the moment, notwithstanding all this; and they have dropped dead at the very doors of the workhouses when seeking for entrance there. More would scarcely have died if there had been no such relief than have died; and I am quite convinced that there would have been less human misery, although the people would have died less quickly perhaps." It would not be fair to consider these exceptional years of famine as proving what the country is at an ordinary time; but we think there can be no doubt that property will be in districts like these—perhaps in any districts—but a name, where the laws secure out-door relief for the able-bodied.

It is probable that the early Poor-Law of Mr. Nicholls was adequate to its purpose. There were no deaths from starvation, and extreme destitution was relieved. The truth is, it did little good or evil at first in its practical operation. "The rates were low; and except that it worked uselessly at its commencement, and therefore produced dissatisfaction in the minds of the people, it scarcely produced any sensible change."* In that first Poor-Law of Mr. Nicholls, however, and in his measure of giving the

* Daly—Commons' (9th) Report

occupant a right to deduct a proportion of what was paid as poor-rate from his landlord as rent, was an element of mischief which Mr. Nicholls little suspected—which has led to tricking of every kind in valuations—which has done more than it would seem possible for any proposal apparently so harmless to do in depopulating and leaving waste some of the richest land in Ireland, and, in combination with a clause of a Second Poor-Law Act, introduced in the same spirit, which makes the immediate lessor exclusively liable for premises rated under £4, has exposed the proprietor of land in Ireland, without any fault of his own, to enormous fraud, and to the expenses and grievance of ruinous litigation. Mr. Nicholls, in his first report, recommended, that after the Irish people had become familiar with Poor-Laws, the law should be assimilated to that of England, and that the occupier should be alone chargeable; and in Committee on the extended Poor-Law Act, Lord George Bentinck had nearly carried the measure. The whole evil latent in the Irish law was as yet unsuspected.

By the Irish Poor-Law Amendment Act of 1843, it was provided, that in relation to any rate recoverable from a lessor, in respect of any property occupied by one or more occupiers, it should be levied from him by all or any of the following remedies:—*1st*, By action in any of the superior courts of record; *2dly*, By civil bill in the Assistant Barristers' Court; *3dly*, By complaint before a justice, and a warrant of distress. Suppose the first course adopted, and a judgment against him, "the judgment becomes a lien on his real property, wherever situated, the real estate of the party may be sold in satisfaction of poor's-rate."—*Lord Monteagle*. Lord Monteagle adds, that "in England the remedy is of a personal kind;"* and he reasons strongly against freehold estate being thus indirectly made liable for the poor's-rate. Supposing, he says, such an alteration to be expedient, it ought not to be sanctioned by a "mere inference from a provision in an Act of Parliament passed with a different intent, an inference contrary to the intentions of the framers of the Act, and apparently unknown to the Legislature which passed it, and yet involving an entire alteration in the principle of the law." The inference is however, we fear, an inevitable one; and the fact that the Legislature little knew what it was doing when passing the Irish Poor-Law Act, would have small weight with the Court of Queen's Bench in either England or Ireland. The Committee of the House of Lords have recommended that the mode of proceeding for rates should hereafter be only in the Assistant Barristers' Court, or before the justices of peace

* The proceeding in England is against the temporary occupant, who alone is charged with the rate. The land itself is not, as in Ireland, charged with it.

at petty sessions. They recommend, that in all holdings, of the rated value of £30 and upwards, power be given for voluntary arrangements between landlord and tenant, and throw the whole payment of the rates on the latter. Since the Report of that Committee, the Legislature has repealed the provision in the Irish Poor-Law, which made covenants between landlord and tenant on the subject of poor-rates void; and parties are now enabled to make bargains by which either is chargeable with the whole rate. It would be wise to have gone farther, and in these respects assimilated the law to that of England. The Legislature, with Lord Monteagle's reasoning fully pressed upon them, have deliberately given to the decree of the assistant barrister in poor-law cases the effect of a judgment in the Superior Courts.

The evidence given by Mr. O'Shaughnessy, the assistant barrister of the county of Mayo, exhibits, in a very striking manner, the grievances to the owners of property of the existing Poor-Law of Ireland. In this, as in a hundred other instances, a deceptive analogy is suggested by the use of language that seems to imply that the laws of England and Ireland are the same. The tenant has in Ireland a right to deduct a fixed proportion of the poor-rates from his rent. The amount of the sum to be deducted varies, the proportion depending on the difference between the rent and the Poor-Law valuation. Thus the landlord, who, when he has once parted with the possession, cannot interfere in the employment of labour, or do anything to prevent the destitution which throws able-bodied paupers on the rates—who, in fact, has no control whatever over the management of the farm or the workhouse—may easily have to pay the whole rates. The deduction from rent which the tenant is entitled to make is a half-poundage rate from every pound of rent paid; and cases perpetually arise where the amount deducted for poor-rate is greater than the whole poor-rate paid. "This state of the law," says Lord Monteagle, "has led to a disposition, more or less prevalent, by lowering the valuation below the rent, to cast the greater amount of charge on the landlord. If a half valuation be adopted, it is obvious that the entire rate will fall on the lessor; and if, under any circumstances, the valuation be reduced below fifty per cent., the landlord will be compellable to allow the tenant even more than the tenant has paid." The Committee suggest the true remedy for this—supposing the law not assimilated to that of England—in their recommendation, "that no greater proportion than one-half of the poor-rate actually paid shall in any case be deducted from the person receiving rent."* We take it for granted that the evil is most often

* By an Act of the last Session this recommendation of the Committee is now law.

of the kind Lord Monteagle suggests ; but we have known cases where the valuation has been too high. This, in some instances, arose from the caprice of valuator, which caprice told in both ways ; for some valuator omitted from their estimate of value houses, barns, &c., and took only into consideration the productive power of the land, saying the land could not be cultivated without the houses ; and other valuator, assigning the very same reason to justify a different principle of valuation, added very considerably to their estimate by including all such appurtenances. In some cases the valuator did not go over the premises at all, but adopted some former valuation, made for purposes of tithe composition, where a higher or lower valuation was, as we happen to know, obtained by the dexterity of parties interested. The valuation of the Devon property was £23,000, the rent was £16,000, and there is no reason to believe that it was let below the value. We only mention this to show the necessity of some such regulation as that recommended by the Lords' Committee, as we believe that the tax falls in general with disproportionate weight on the landlord. "As I understand what is going on at present in Ireland," says Captain Kennedy, "and the very frequent appeals against the rates as they stand, the tendency is unquestionably to throw the burthen on the proprietors."

When Mr. Nicholls first recommended that one-half the poor-rate should be deducted from the landlord, he did not probably contemplate that cases might arise from the mode in which his measure was embodied in the Statute-law, where not half—not three-fourths—not the entire, but more than the entire poor-rate would be deducted from the landlord, and become a tax on the landlord as far as the sum deducted exceeded the poor-rate, without any benefit whatever to the poor. There was something, no doubt—not much, however—in what Mr. Nicholls said, that in the introduction of a new tax which had not yet been considered in the various bargains between landlords and tenants, there might be some equity in dividing the burthen ; but he himself contemplated it as a tax, when the Poor-Law came to be well understood, to be paid by the occupier alone, who alone could have any power to prevent the necessity of raising a large sum, and who, as an elected guardian, or as represented by such guardian, could have any effectual control over the expenditure. Some difficulty in the collection of rates was apprehended, and hence the course suggested by Nicholls. Difficulties were soon after experienced, and these were met by another deviation from English law. Occupants of premises rated under four pounds were exempted from payment of rates, and their immediate lessors, as we have before said, made liable. Hence, within the last three or four years, considerable litigation. The

rate-books were presumed by some of the judges who had to determine the question to be *conclusive* evidence of who was the immediate lessor—by others the evidence was regarded as but *presumptive*; but conclusive or presumptive, when the books were examined, they often gave no evidence at all. Some of the officers who framed the books omitted names and put down only the words *immediate lessor*—others did not state who the occupants were. The books told little except what answered the purposes of those who framed them. The occupiers were in no case compelled to state who their lessor was; and in the perpetual changes of property it could not be always known even to them. They were exempt, and they were little willing to fix the liability on any one else. In this state of facts the known proprietor of a district was assumed—often against all the probabilities of the case—to be the immediate lessor. Such cases were sometimes tried in the superior courts—most often before the assistant barristers; and when investigations are conducted in courts of justice, it is not necessary to state that they are constantly determined on grounds that would seem altogether remote from the merits of the case. It is next to impossible to prevent questions of mere form arising. The plain good sense of the presiding judge—educated as a barrister and a man of business—is in the Assistant Barristers' Court overruled by the “captains, and colonels, and knights-in-arms,” whom he finds sitting with him on the bench, and every hair of whose heads is bristling up into law points. The assistant barrister has two distinct classes of duties: in *civil* business he is an independent judge—in *criminal* business he is but the chairman of the assembled magistrates. These Poor-Law appeals are in their first stage classed with criminal business. When the question is, “Has a man been rightly charged with the rate?” this is a question for the magistrates and their chairman; when the effort is actually to recover the amount of the debt, the business is for the assistant barrister alone. The host of difficulties in an appellant's way are well described by Mr. O'Shaughnessy. The appellant is obliged to enter into a recognisance, and an appeal is dismissed because such recognisance has been entered into by the agent of the person rated, and not by the party himself. Cases have arisen where a party described as immediate lessor was non-resident, and a recognisance entered into by his known agent—the manager of his property, was deemed insufficient. In one case the appellants were not allowed to go into the merits in consequence of the recognisance being addressed to “the Guardians of the Ballinrobe Union,” instead of to “the Guardians of the Poor of the Ballinrobe Union.” What increased the vexation of this case, and would seem to have

given a loophole of escape from what sounds very like an absurdity, was, that where this point was successfully relied on, the rate-books had been signed by the Guardians as officers discharging the duties of "Guardians of the Union," not of "Guardians of the Poor of the Union." In a Union under the management of Vice-Guardians some of the notices were addressed to "the Vice-Guardians," instead of "the *Guardians* of the Poor;"—that is, were addressed rightly according to the actual facts of the particular case, but wrongly according to the theory of the Act of Parliament, which contemplates elected guardians—not the substituted nominees of the Commissioners; and all inquiry into the merits of the appeal was on this ground denied. The person designated, often arbitrarily, as immediate lessor, found himself unjustly charged with a demand which he had no way of getting rid of. Till the famine came, the charge for poor-rates was so small that it was not a subject of thought with anybody; and the valuator, instead of going through a multitude of small holdings, placed the owner in fee of the district in their rate-book as the immediate lessor. No inquiry was made on the subject, nor was attention given to it by any one. The high rates afterwards struck rendered it necessary to make minute inquiry, and the careless way in which valutors and revisors executed their office first became known. The evil was a very serious one. As their acts were those of public officers in the fulfilment of their appointed duty, a principle of the law of evidence was supposed applicable to those cases which threw upon the appellant the burthen of showing that the valutors were wrong. The Poor-Law authorities, clothed with the power of unlimited taxation over a district, and, where a Union was managed by Vice-Guardians, having no interest whatever in the property which they taxed, were enabled to describe any one they pleased as liable, and to get rid of the liability was scarcely possible. The evidence does not lead us to believe that there was, in the first instance, wilful fraud, but it establishes the fact of criminal carelessness; and it certainly appears most extraordinary that there should not be anxiety on the part of the Poor-Law Commissioners to give all assistance to appellants, under such circumstances, in ascertaining the real fact of liability, instead of shutting out any investigation. It is said by the assistant barrister of the county of Mayo, that the technicalities which may frustrate proceedings are fewer in the assistant barristers' courts than in the superior courts. This is scarcely proved to our satisfaction when we remember, that the specimens of legal ingenuity which we have just been discussing occurred in Courts of Quarter Sessions. In the case of a proceeding for debt, the expense is less in the Assistant Barristers' Court, but the cases we

are now considering are not proceedings of the kind; and if we understand Mr. O'Shaughnessy rightly, he has not, in this class of appeals, any means of checking or even of ascertaining the expense. Some assistant barristers have held, that an appellant should serve notices on all the parties whose names he seeks to have substituted for his own in the rate-books. Lord Sligo had to serve at one sessions 3000 notices, 1500 in one district; a staff of agents, clerks, and others were employed for months in making the necessary preparations. Everything is doubtful till it has been the subject of express adjudication; and the appellant has to provide as well as he can against every possible view of the case that may prejudice his right. Some assistant barristers insist, that his notice should not only disclose facts that would free him from the liability imposed on him by the rate-book, but that it should give the name of the party to be substituted. On all such persons, too, it was held that copies should be served. Think of the amount of inconvenience thus created—the inquiry into facts till now utterly indifferent to the person arbitrarily assumed to be the immediate lessor, sought to be concealed from his knowledge by the person really liable, and under the most favourable circumstances for inquiry difficult of ascertainment. The justice or injustice of thus dealing with individuals never seems to have crossed the minds of the Guardians or Vice-guardians; their single object seems to have been that the rates be collected—no matter from whom; and it must be said for them, that when once litigation commenced it seems impossible for the parties to any suit to draw the line between the class of points that their counsel shall insist on or abandon. We feel by no means sure that there was not a sufficient power in the court to overrule such objections, and coerce the parties to a hearing on the merits, but there was an anxiety with every one to get rid of these Poor-Law cases, and nobody seems to have cared on what principle. They were felt as an interruption to the general business of the court. They occupied the time that had been appointed for other business. The inconvenience was felt in a thousand ways by every one whom business of any kind brought to the town where the court was held. The inspector of police remonstrated with the assistant barrister against hearing the cases at all, telling him that he would not answer for the health of the inhabitants of this town if the numbers of persons in gaol, and waiting for trial, were kept there long. “The bridewell is calculated to contain only eighteen. Seventy prisoners have come from Castlebar for trial, and there are but three blankets between them: they may sleep there to-night on straw, but if they are kept another night I will not answer for the lives of many of them.” In these

cases, where the question was of disputed liability, and there was as yet no proceeding to recover the debt, the assistant barrister received no payment of any kind for the very unpleasant duty cast on him. In England this class of cases cannot arise under the General Poor-Law, as the occupant, and not the landlord, is there liable. In England, in no case of land held by a tenant is the land itself liable for arrears of rate. The test of liability is occupancy at the time of the striking of any rate, so that land is little likely to go out of cultivation as in Ireland, where all arrears continue for ever a charge on the land. The circumstance of persons fearing to cultivate or place any property on land, lest such property should be seized for arrears of old rates, is at this moment leaving much of the most productive soil in the country altogether waste.

The evidence given by the most intelligent and best informed witnesses examined by the Parliamentary Committees, very imperfectly exhibits the actual state of facts in the distressed Unions. In the first place, their statement generally gives an *average* of the rates affecting an entire Union, and not the precise rates of any of the electoral divisions of which the Union is composed. The actual rate is in no case the average one, and the fact we want to ascertain is thus excluded from view and another substituted. In Mr. De Vere's evidence we have this element of mistake, and we have also another element certain of misleading any one whom accidental circumstances have not led to examine the facts with minute attention. In a country without capital the grievance is the sum *collected* within a given space of time—not the form in which this may be stated in account. Now, De Vere tells us, that in the Newcastle Union of the county of Limerick the rate was 5s. 10d. in the pound for the year that ended in September 1848. We have little doubt that he is right, allowing him to fix the limit of his financial year as he pleases, and assuming 5s. 10d. not to be the actual sum charged on any one of the several electoral divisions of which the Newcastle Union consists, but an average of all. Let us, however, state the case of one of those electoral divisions, giving actual facts, and not averages:—

Kilmeedy.

	s.	d.
Rate struck June 1847, but not collected till } October 1847, }	4	10½
March, 1848,	3	0
September, 1848,	5	0
Carry forward,	12	10½

	s.	d.
Brought forward,	12	10½
That same division was charged in the same	2	7
space of time <i>twice</i> for Grand Jury Cess, }	2	1½
	17	7
Compensation for Relief Works,	0	9½
	18	4½

There are in the same electoral division two instalments of the Labour-rate due, amounting to 2s. 7d., and which are also charges upon the lands which have actually paid the taxation which we have mentioned. Is it surprising that farmers are flying in all directions from taxation such as this? * Mr. De Vere, who certainly understates the amount of taxation, tells us he has known cases in which respectable farmers, occupying considerable tracts of ground, have relinquished their farms and abandoned the country. "I have known," he says, "large districts of land left entirely waste; and in other cases, where the proprietors endeavoured to afford employment, by raising money for the purpose, strikes have taken place among the labourers, though they were receiving sufficient wages, the apparent notion being, that as an ultimatum they expected out-door relief." The persons officially connected with the administration of the Poor-Laws, who were examined by the Parliamentary Committees, appear to have thought that they were but responsible for the support of the poor—that while any property remained in a district such property must be indefinitely taxed for the support of all that required relief. The original theory of the Poor-Law contemplates elected Guardians; and taxes imposed by them are perhaps in some sense to be regarded as the act of those who

* Things are not improved since the above was written. We have made inquiries as to the present taxation of that electoral division, and the result is as follows:—

"Taxes in the course of collection (September 1849) in the electoral division of Kilmee, Barony of Upper Connelloe, County of Limerick—

	s.	d.	
"Poor-rate, made August 1849,	7	6	in the pound.
"County Cess, two levies, Spring and Summer, 1849,	4	0½	per acre.
"Repayments of Government advances under Labour Rate Act, collected by the barony collector, along with the County Cess (two levies),	2	11	in the pound.
	14	5½	

"The acreable county cess is fully equal to a poundage rate of the same amount, if not higher. The poor-rate made in August 1849, is not for the purpose of supporting the poor, but for paying past debts. It is announced that further rates, amounting to thirteen shillings to the pound, will be required for the support of the poor."

have given them power. Where Guardians have abandoned their post, or where they have been superseded by the Commissioners, and Vice-guardians appointed, it has been assumed that the Vice-guardians are precisely in the circumstances of Guardians elected by the rate-payers, and thus the taxation of a district is given into the hands of strangers wholly unacquainted with its capabilities. In such circumstances, each successive rate that is collected increases the circle of pauperism. The landlords are blamed in districts where rent has wholly ceased to exist—the poor-rate collector receives sums vastly more than had ever been received under the name of rent, or any other name, in the days when rent was paid or was promised; but the consequence is, that in many and many a case, the rate collected is the last that can ever be collected from the land in which he has been successful. The farmer's whole stock is sold, and he and his family are thenceforth a permanent addition to the pauperism of a district; or the farmer has, we will suppose, succeeded in converting what he has into money, and has fled to America—he leaves his wife and children to be supported by the Poor-Law Guardians. The instances are numberless in which this has occurred. If the principle be once laid down, that the Poor-Laws are a tax on property, for any other purpose, or with any other object than the preservation of property—if its administration be not conducted in the feeling that this its first purpose and object should be regarded as paramount to every other, we think it absolutely impossible that, with any regulations whatever, the system must not and ought not to break down. No test of destitution can be sufficient in such circumstances as those of Ireland, suffering now in the fifth year of famine. In-door relief and the imprisonment of a workhouse may, in ordinary circumstances, deter the applicant for relief;—when nakedness and cold are added to hunger—when his own cabin has been unroofed, and his rags have been utterly worn or perhaps sold, the workhouse will present the thoughts of a comfortable home.* In some of the distressed Unions one-half of the population are, at the moment we write, in the poor-houses or recipients of out-door relief; and we have no doubt whatever, that the number of the destitute must be increased, by all the poorer farmers having been sold for the rates now in the process of collection.

Before the enactment of the Poor-Law, and in the first days of the Poor-Law, and while the rate was only recoverable from the landlord as a deduction from rent, and which, on the sup-

* The poor are less fastidious now than in 1847. "A serious complaint was made to the Master of the Westport Poor-House, that clean sheets were a hardship, and only cruelly used to drive the poor creatures from the house."—Marquis of Sligo's *Remarks and Suggestions*, 1847.

position of no rent being paid or payable, had, as far as the landlord was concerned, no existence, indolent and goodnatured men, not very anxious to press extreme rights, permitted perhaps too carelessly a class of tenants, from whom but little in the way of rent was received or expected, to occupy their ground. Whether the landlord wished it or not, it was almost impossible for him to outroot those people whose right to the ground depended on a kind of sufferance from time immemorial. If among them the agent could occasionally collect a few pounds of rent, so much the better; but for the most part little or nothing was got. When such of them, however, as held land rated under £4 to the poor-rate, were by statute freed from direct liability to the payment of the rate, and this was made a charge on their immediate lessor, he soon found that he had not even the choice of abandoning his property to this class of tenants; and that if he permitted a nest of paupers on his estate, he had to pay for the luxury. Struggles were made by the landlords to escape from the bondage of this law. Every effort to free themselves but tightened the chain; and, in point of fact, the ownership of property in any of these miserable districts of Ireland, exposes a man to a charge indefinite in amount, and which, when legal proceedings have fixed him with it as a debt, affects his property wherever situated. The English owner of an Irish estate has hitherto often had occasion to complain of his agent not being able to send him rent; some men have generously sent to their Irish tenants vast sums of money during these disastrous years; but henceforth we have little doubt that the English proprietor of Irish estates in the more distressed Unions of Ireland, will find himself burthened with an annual amount of taxation larger than the sum he had in the best years received as rent. That the destruction of the whole property of the country was the probable result of the contemplated Poor-Law, was in vain pressed on the Legislature by every one who knew anything of Ireland—by Whately, by Senior, by Chalmers—nay, though the black prophet seemed, under some strange fascination, disenabled to do more than inveigh against the measure—by O'Connell. The clearance system, of which the blame is unjustly thrown on the Irish landlords, was rendered inevitable by some of the clauses of the Poor-Law Acts. The consolidation of farms has been spoken of, and theories of improved agriculture and other causes assigned for these clearances. The one imperative cause was the Act which made the immediate lessor liable to the payment of the rates where the value was under £4. This compelled the landlord to get rid of the smaller tenants. The land from which they were ejected had ceased to

give them food. To render the ejectment effectual the houses of these poor people were for the most part thrown down. Unconnected with this cause, there has been through the country a demolition of houses to an extent which would appear absolutely incredible, arising from the fact that farm-houses are rated to the Poor-Law. In addition to the value set on the land, many of the valutors fixed a value on farm-houses and labourers' cabins; and this is inducing both landlords and farmers to throw down an immense number of houses of the peasantry. The work of levelling houses is proceeding through most parts of the south of Ireland with great rapidity, and in almost all cases has been occasioned by the Poor-Laws. These laws are not only daily increasing the amount of destitution, but are making the condition of the destitute every day more miserable and hopeless. Before the close of November very great numbers of small farmers and petty shopkeepers will be thrown on the rates, and the land which they held, as well as a great deal that has been deserted by the large farmers, will be completely waste next year. In the counties of Limerick and Clare—indeed, through the whole of the south of Ireland—a considerable quantity is waste this year, but that quantity will be increased at least ten-fold next year.

In stating the precise amount of the taxation in a single electoral division, for the purpose of forcing on the public mind the difference between facts and averages, we ought to say that the division, of which we have stated the taxation, is not in any of the twenty-one distressed Unions, the confiscation of which is recommended by Sir Robert Peel, but it comes within the principle of that recommendation. It is one of the electoral divisions of Newcastle, in the county of Limerick; and in other divisions of that Union the poor-rates and county cess are of about the same amount. While we write, (September,) the two sets of collectors are distraining and selling cattle and crops in all directions of that fated locality. Each set is making the utmost efforts to be first in the field, as there is not enough for all in most parts of these divisions; the rate sweeps off all the produce of the land.

We must illustrate this by particular instances, and we transcribe a few sentences from the letter of a friend who has been visiting that district, and who describes what he has witnessed within the last four weeks:—

“On a farm in Castletown division, fifteen tons of well-saved hay were sold by the poor-rate collector for £7, 10s., leaving £4 of the rates due, and nothing to pay the county cess or rent, the tenant having fled with his corn and cattle.

"On a farm in Kilmeedy, containing 62 (Irish) acres* of prime land, 22 Irish acres of well-saved meadowing, and 2½ acres of wheat, were sold by the poor-rate collector for £20, leaving over £6 of the rates due, and only some unripe corn to meet that charge and the county cess.

"Within seven miles of Limerick, on the lands of Court, some of the richest in the kingdom, 9 acres of fine oats have been sold by the barony collector, and 20 acres of the richest and finest meadowing, for £6, 14s. Such facts are of daily occurrence. I mention these in particular, having made notes of them at the time. Several hundred acres of excellent meadowing remain uncut, and will be left to rot on the land. The collectors seize on the hay the moment it is cut; the farmers consequently think there is no use in their cutting it when they cannot hope to use it. I know a respectable farmer who wants meadowing; his next neighbour has it lying waste, and would gladly dispose of it to him for a mere trifle; but there would be no use in cutting it—the poor-rate collector would at once sell it.

"The collection of these exorbitant rates is attempted at a time when the price of every description of agricultural produce is unprecedentedly low. Butter is only 68 shillings per cwt.; it used to range from 90 to 100. Oats sold to-day (Sept. 15) in the Limerick market at from 5d. to 6d. per stone. Wheat, average price 10½d.; barley 6d. Last year oats brought from 9d. to 10d.; wheat 16d.; barley 10d. At these prices the entire produce of the land, cattle and all, in the greater part of Upper Coneloe, (Co. Limerick,) would not pay the rates now in the course of collection."

It may be too late to save property in these devoted districts; but we feel it a duty to lay facts such as these before the public. They are of more value than the calculations of a thousand blue-book witnesses. Has taxation ever before, in any country in the world, been attempted on so large a scale? Can property be said in any sense to exist where it is subject to indefinite claims such as we have exhibited? The old confiscations took away one man's property and gave it to another. This modern confiscation destroys the notion of property altogether. Let them talk of their Encumbered Estates Acts and sales by Commissioners of Irish lands! What have they to sell? Who would or could safely take a grant of property in such a district?

The continuance for any length of time of taxation such as this would make it of little moment to inquire into the causes why Irish estates have continued to be in the nominal ownership of embarrassed men, who could neither get rid of them, nor

* The Irish acre contains one acre and three-fifths of the English statute acre.

perform any of the proper duties of landlords. Property wholly free from debt is in no better a position than if it were deeply encumbered, if the whole fund for the payment of landlord and creditor is taken from both by the tax-gatherer. Still, in some parts of the country, the aspect of things is different, and ruin may be averted. The cause of the Irish landlords being more deeply embarrassed than the same class of men in any other part of the world, is traceable to many sources. Their estates were many of them purchased with borrowed money, and the debts are of equal date with the origin of the property. In Ireland, as in England, judgment debts are a charge on such property as the debtor may have at the time of confessing such judgment, or may afterwards acquire; but in England such judgments are not assignable at law. The debt represented by them is soon paid, and is not, as in Ireland, regarded as a permanent investment of money. The Irish Registration Acts give perfect security to a lender of money, that his debtor's estate cannot be encumbered by any secret transactions between him and others, in such a way as to deprive him of the priority which registering his judgment gives. Confidence is thus given to the lender; and the borrower, without any trouble of examining deeds, or consulting counsel, or any after delays which might secure him against improvidence, executes security after security at the expense of a few pounds for each. These judgments were at first not altogether such stringent things as they have of late become. At first but half the debtor's freehold lands could be taken in execution for a judgment. Afterwards, successive statutes increased to the creditor the value of his security. Judgments *confessed* were assignable at law in Ireland—judgments recovered in adverse litigation are not; but both classes of judgments entitled the creditor to receivers in the Courts of Equity over the debtor's lands; and at present more than a million and a half of the rental of Ireland is, we believe, under the management of receivers. The legislation of last session has endeavoured to correct this evil by varying the nature of the security by judgment, and seeking to compel a man, whose exigencies require him to obtain money, to sell or mortgage portions of his estate, instead of borrowing it on the security of the entire. Sir Edward Sugden tells us, that "the truth is, some of the landed proprietors in Ireland require a little protection, they are so careless about their property and their money. Before I left Ireland one or two instances struck me very much. Under the Tithe Commutation Act the Court appoints a receiver if the tithe rent charge is thirty-one days in arrear. I have, as Chancellor, signed orders for receivers under that Act, in one case for £4, and in another for £5, only! It is a sort of insanity on

the part of the owner; for the moment that order is signed, it entails an expense of £80 or £40 for putting a receiver upon the property for a debt of £5." Certainly men of this class ought not to have been given any particular facilities for borrowing money; and the vice of the system of borrowing on judgments was, that neither borrower nor lender looked at all at the security given. During the last session the Legislature has sought to correct this—too late for any good effect with respect to existing proprietors, for whom there seems but little consideration, but in the hope, no doubt, that something may be thus done to prevent the temptation to similar improvidence in the case of future possessors of the land.

We cannot enter into the discussion on the subject of receivers of Irish Courts of Equity, which has occupied the attention of a Committee of the House of Commons during a considerable portion of the last year; but there was one topic brought distinctly before their notice by Mr. Brooke, one of the Masters of Chancery in Ireland. He mentions, that by a recent Act growing crops cannot be distrained for rent; and he says that this has interfered with the landlord's remedies most seriously:—"Whenever a tenant is inclined to be dishonest, the system now is, that he reaps his crop on a Sunday, on which day a distress cannot be made. He gets his neighbours together at five in the morning; he reaps his crop, and he has the whole of Sunday to carry it off. It has assumed the form of a chattel, and so would be subject to distress; but it is Sunday, and it cannot be touched, and on Monday morning it is in vain to look for it. That has often occurred. I have heard from I suppose fifty different receivers, that the tenantry at present have put in as large a crop as their means will afford, of wheat and oats into worn-out soils, in the hope of reaping their crop next harvest, and departing to America with the produce without paying the rent. That is very much apprehended." What was apprehended in June last, when Master Brooke was examined, has since extensively taken place. There is no Irish newspaper which we take up that does not give us numberless cases of the kind. The seizure of all property that can be found in a district for one tax or another, and the spirit of late legislation, which thinks it has accomplished wonders when it has transferred to one man the liability to pay another's debt, has utterly and entirely demoralised the people. The tax-collectors employ persons to break down fences, and drive the cattle of one man whose rates are paid, into the field of another whose rates are due, and there they are seized and sold. On the other hand, where the taxes have been paid, the farm is crowded with the stock of a hundred friends, who send their property there as to a sanctuary. Through the whole

length and breadth of the southern districts of Ireland, there has not been a Sunday since the harvest was ripe, that has not been employed in the fraudulent way anticipated by Master Brooke. The growing crop cannot be seized till severed, and care is taken to sever it on a day when it cannot be seized. We thought, and we expressed it at the time in this Journal, that the alteration of the law which freed the growing crop from the landlord's distress was injudicious. The power was seldom exercised; and the mere fact of its existence as a power was enough to prevent frauds of the kind, now successfully practised, being even imagined; but the Devon Commission had just made its report, and it was thought there ought to be legislation of some kind or other as the result of that pretracted inquiry, and the landlord was deprived of the power of seizing growing crops for rent. Many persons thought distress for rent ought to be done away altogether, and this measure they called a step in the right direction. Doing away the remedy altogether might be a right course, but depriving the remedy of the power of being effectual was a very different thing; and at this very moment we believe that in England there is on this subject a serious mistake. Sir Edward Sugden is examined, and the following questions put:—" 'An alteration took place in the laws a few years ago, which took away the right of distraining on growing crops; was that alteration, in your opinion, a right alteration?' 'I think it was right.' 'It assimilated the law of Ireland to that of England in that respect?' 'Yes.' 'You think that right?' 'Yes.' 'You think that there should not be the power of distraining on any growing crops?' 'No.' " It is plain from this that it is understood the landlord's power was greater in Ireland than in England, and that it was by the new legislation reduced to the English scale. This was altogether a mistake. The Irish Act which gave the power of distraining growing crops was passed late in the reign of George the Third; and it recited the fact, that the power which it for the first time gave in Ireland, had existed in England since 1737. To the landlord the remedy was of so inconvenient a kind, that we believe it is never resorted to, except when there is no other means of coming at his rights. That the power existed was enough to secure him from fraud. In a state of society much less requiring such a remedy, the English landlord is not able to do without it. That he seldom exercises it we have proved by the passage we have quoted from Sir Edward Sugden's evidence, as otherwise his mistake would not have been possible. What the effect is of blotting it from the Statute-book of Ireland we see now pretty plainly exhibited.

The destitution among all classes in Ireland, except those

supported by official income, is everywhere increasing, and in every department of public business the offices are crowded with applicants for employment. Men, often of the highest rank, by the exigencies of the times, have been forced into what a few years ago would have been regarded as unbecoming solicitations, for offices, too, that a few years ago they would have regarded it as an indignity to have offered to their acceptance. In many of the counties of Ireland public business has been seriously interfered with by the pecuniary embarrassments of the gentlemen who hitherto discharged the onerous duties of magistrate. Foreigners were struck with the incident, as the peculiar distinction of the British empire, that the important duties of the magistrate were performed without any remuneration, and as a natural consequence of their position in society, by the country gentlemen. At present we are told that they have ceased to attend. The Assistant Barristers' Court opens at nine in the morning. From time to time a magistrate, in better times, would drop in and attend to a case which he found going on, and retire when he pleased. Now the barrister is left alone in his glory; or perhaps a police officer or stipendiary magistrate makes his appearance, if he have no urgent duties, more properly his own, to occupy him. The proper magistrates of the country cannot in fact attend. They are very often defendants in suits for small debts; and though this would not be the time for any general rule on the subject, we have no doubt that when the social position of a magistrate becomes so altered as that he cannot perform his ordinary functions without the anxieties that must accompany pecuniary embarrassments, he ought to cease to hold the commission of the peace. An assistant barrister, who was examined by the Lords' Committee, tells us, "I had, at the very last sessions, a case before me of a very singular character. A magistrate was processed for lodging, and it appeared that he left his own residence and went to a respectable tenant to avoid arrest. He got a lodging there, and occupied it for a year and nine months. He was sued for the rent of his lodging, and set up as his defence that he had built a barn for the tenant while there, and that building this barn was a compensation for the lodging. It was proved that the barn was built for illicit distillation, and that this distillation was carried on by the magistrate while in the tenant's house. It appeared, in the investigation of the case, that he certified for that man, who held nine or ten acres of ground, being placed on the relief list. This magistrate's property was conveyed to trustees for the use of his wife, and his wife distrained the premises of the tenant, her husband being in the house, for rent, and sold his horse and car and cow. It appeared, moreover, that she herself bought these arti-

cles, and that they were in her possession at the time of action brought. The tenant had a heifer, which he was about sending to another place to graze. 'There is grass at my place,' said the magistrate, 'send it there,'—and there it was sent. When the tenant went to get it back, the magistrate swore informations against the man for felony. The neighbouring magistrates took the informations, and the man and his family were taken to gaol, where they were kept till the assizes, (a period of ten days,) and then the Grand Jury threw out the bills." The assistant barrister in this case took steps to get this gentleman deprived of the commission of the peace. Incidents like this must be unfrequent; but in every local newspaper we each day see advertisements of the sale under execution of the property of persons still exercising the office of Justice of the Peace; and if this state of things continues much longer, there will be no class of persons in the country fit to discharge the duties of the magistracy.

The management of estates under the Courts of Equity in Ireland has been the subject of much investigation during the last session of Parliament, and there seems little doubt that when the encumbrances on a property reach a certain amount, the sale of such property by a speedy process would be of advantage to all parties. The receiver of the rent of an estate can have little other power than of settling accounts, and taking care that things do not become materially worse than he finds them. His business is to receive for the creditor, whose servant he is, as large a part of his debt as possible. The improvement of the estate, or the encouragement of the tenants, is scarcely within his province, even if he were a person sufficiently acquainted with the subject of agriculture to form any reasonable notion of the best course of proceeding. But it is unfair to blame the Courts of Equity, or their receivers, for the state of facts which, for a long time after the receiver's appointment, must embarrass even the most intelligent and active man that ever undertook such an office. The assistant barrister for Mayo, when examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, described the state of facts which ordinarily, nay almost always, occurs:—"I find that wherever property is about being placed under the Court of Chancery, and a receiver appointed, the owner of the property endeavours to anticipate the rents. He gets the bills of the tenants; and from the time when notice is served by the receiver the rents are impounded. The receiver comes to sue before me for the rents. The tenant comes in: he says,—'I have paid my landlord; he was the person entitled to it; I did not know any other person; I have passed a note for this rent, and must pay it.' In this way differences arise; and if I am obliged to hold that note as payment is of no value as against the receiver, I must decree that

the receiver is entitled to the rent, and, at the same time, the landlord has in his possession the note on the money anticipating the rent, and by and bye the tenant is sued before me again on the note. In fact, the contests between the receiver and the inheritor to get at the rents in all those cases, which are very numerous in the county of Mayo, where so many properties are under the Court of Chancery, lead to perpetual litigation and demoralisation among the tenantry."

A distinction is to be made between the management of property when it becomes placed under the care of the Court, in virtue of its guardianship of lunatics and minors, and when it is brought in to be administered for creditors. The powers of the Court are greater in the former class of cases, and such property is often as well managed as any other in the country. In the other class of cases, injury arising from the faults of former mismanagement and improvidence are often of a kind that nothing could correct or cure.

In the year 1832, Mr. Mahony gave evidence on the state of landed property in Ireland, and suggested a measure identical in principle with the Encumbered Estates Bill. To render his evidence intelligible, it should be remembered that, till an act of the last session, judgments in Ireland were assignable; that from this difference between the law in England and Ireland, and the operation of the Registry Acts, a security might be entered into in Ireland binding property of any amount for a few pounds. It bound the debtor's whole property, and every part of it, and money was thus borrowed in Ireland on the whole estate of the debtor, and not, as in England, by the mortgage of a particular part of it. The Englishman can therefore discharge any particular debt by the sale of the property which is pledged for its payment. The Irishman who has borrowed on judgments finds his whole property affected, and it becomes scarcely possible for him to sell in small divisions. The Irishman avoided selling as long as he could, because he could scarce do so without a Chancery suit, accompanied with all its incidents of expense. Mr. Mahony's remedy was to allow an immediate sale and transfer of the land of such debtor, leaving the Court to distribute, according to the rights of parties, the purchase-money, but not delaying the decree for a sale, as at present, till these rights were ascertained and adjusted. Mr. Mahony would give the right of sale under his proposed bill only to the owner of the estate; thus, while he facilitated the transfer of landed property, not crowding the market, so as to diminish the value of the property.

We have little faith in the improvement of Ireland by the introduction of a new population with other habits. This has been at all times overstated; and popular as is the solution of the tran-

quilt state of Ulster, compared with the turbulence of the South and West of Ireland, which refers the difference to their being a people of distinct blood, we have no doubt of its being a mistake. At all times, since the first conquest of Ireland, there have been continued streams of English settlers; and, till other causes operated, the English settler became blended with, and undistinguishable from, the mass of the people. The effort to break up the old framework of society by plantations and State regulations failed. In no part of the island, except perhaps in one or two mountain districts, is there any tribe of the unmixed Celtic race; but the old framework of society continuing, the English became everywhere as the natives. This can be shown with certainty of each successive stream of settlers. There was no central authority; and it could scarce be expected that, unsupported by the State, the English tribes could do otherwise than ally themselves with the native chieftains, and adopt the customs of the country, instead of engaging in perpetual war with every one and every thing round them. The contests that England had in Ireland were not, for the most part, with the natives, but with the degenerate English, as the inhabitants of the less civilized parts of the country were called. In a pamphlet of 1697, that lies open before us, the writer dwells on the fact, that the Irish have increased in number and power by means of the English. He speaks of the invasion of Henry II., and says that all the English that came in since that time have been increasing the stock of the Irish. "So great a part have they had in making them as numerous as they are, that it could be shown that above half the names of Ireland, which are now of the language, customs, religion, and interest of the Irish, were old English who came over to subdue them. Such are all the old names of the pale: such are in the county of Waterford, the Powers, Welches, Pendergrasses, Sherlocks, Geraldines, Nugents, Condons, Browns, Dobbys, Heys; such in the county of Cork, beside some of these, are the Barrys, Roches, Courceys, Meaghs, Fitz-Edmonds, Carons, Waters, Russels, &c.; and thus I could run through all the other counties of Ireland were it not tedious. Many old English names there are which have been changed into the mere Irish *Mac's* and *O's*. The MacQuilins in the county of Antrim, who, in the reign of King James the First, were destroyed by the M'Donnels, were anciently Welshmen, and the name was Williams. The O'Relys in the county of Cavan some say were Ridleys. The MacSwynes in Ulster were formerly Veres; and the MacMahons, FitzUrsulas. In Connaught, MacMorrice was formerly Pendergrass; MacAvile was Stanton; and MacJordan, Dexter; MacQuistolo was Nangle; MacPhadin, MacPieke and MacTomin,

were all Barretts; O'Dowd, Dowdall; MacDolphin, Dolphin; M'Granel was Nangle; M'Thomas was Joyes; M'Orish was Birmingham; O'Naughton, Snow; M'Koch, Gough; M'Namara was Mortimer; M'William, Enghter; M'Phillipine, Burghs; and a vast number of other names which I could reckon.* Among other proofs which this writer gives of the English adopting the feelings of the Irish is the case of Sir Valentine Brown. Brown lost his estate in the confiscations in William's time. "He was," says our author, "descended from that Sir Valentine Brown who, in a discourse about *peopling* Munster, proposed to Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1584, that the Geraldines, and the principals of the freeholders, should be prosecuted by war to the *extirpation* of them and theirs."—These were the days of plantations.

The writer from whom we quote had his own plans and projects. He would have planted the land with French Protestants; and he makes some reasonable suggestions for the encouragement of the linen trade; but we quote him not for his projects and arguments, but his facts. We could from our own knowledge of the country mention numberless cases where the family name would indicate a different stock from the true one; indeed, as we have before intimated, we disregard this question of race entirely in the case of so mixed a population as the Irish. How immediately almost the races became one is nowhere more strongly exhibited than in the same tract: "There are many of the children of Oliver's soldiers in this kingdom who cannot speak one word of English; and, which is stranger, the same may be said of some of the children of King William's soldiers, who came but the other day into the country. This misfortune is owing to the marrying Irish women for want of English, who came not over in as great numbers as was requisite. 'Tis sure that no Englishman in Ireland knows what his children may be as things are now. They cannot well live in the country without becoming Irish. * * * The Irish, unless a great deal of care be taken, will outnumber us in a greater proportion than they now do. They are not employed in our wars as the British are. They marry much younger than the British do; and, besides, as I said, the children of the English by increasing in this country, will then learn their language, admire their customs, marry with them frequently, and of course embrace their religion."

In Ireland there are two elements of society that have never

* For several instances of the same kind, see a very interesting despatch of Sir Henry Sidney, describing a "progress" through Connaught in 1576.—*Letters and Memorials of State*, vol. i. p. 103. London, 1747.

altogether blended; but neither of those elements is, properly speaking, Irish. From the period of the first invasion the English settlers, who at no time had the advantage of adequate protection from the Crown of England, regarded themselves as injured by every new arrival from England. England, whenever it made any effort to deal with this troublesome colony, sent its ministerial officers from the parent country, and this kept jealousy for ever awake and active. The power of England declined in the direct proportion that the English succeeded in establishing themselves through the kingdom; for, as we have before stated, it was with men of English descent, but who had adopted Irish manners, that the only real struggle was. The case of the O'Neills is the single seeming exception to this, and this exception relates rather to the Chief than to his followers, for long before Elizabeth's day the English race had spread through most of the North.

The plantations of Elizabeth's day can scarcely be described as successful. The estates of Shane O'Neill were forfeited; and becoming vested in the Crown were given to "jobbing adventurers, chiefly the sons and dependents of persons about the Court, who, with all the power of Government to support them, could not hold their possessions against the Irish population."

Desmond's rebellion in the South gave the opportunity of another plantation. Elizabeth's plantation in the North failed in consequence of O'Neill's followers having been left in occupation of the soil; and it was determined to avoid this in the southern plan. The leading thought of the statesmen engaged in the scheme was utterly to root out the natives; and, with this design, they drove them from the plains to the mountains and bogs. The Government saw the wisdom of not giving to any one more land than he was able to furnish people for. The forfeited lands were divided into seignories and manors, the largest of which was not more than 12,000 acres; and it was not permitted to make estates to any of the "mere Irish." The attempt failed, for when the natives were driven away the land became waste for want of labourers. Such of the Elizabethan settlers as remained resident on the soil were obliged to fall in with the customs of the country, and make such terms with the natives as they could. The English farmers abandoned the country; so did the grantees of the smaller proportions. The grantees of such divisions as were large enough to pay the expenses of agency and protection continued to hold their patents, and their descendants are among the principal gentry of the South of Ireland.

James's was the next plantation. Ulster "planted" in the reign of Elizabeth—regained by the O'Neills—was again dealt

with as insurgent; and the great plantation of Ulster—James's favourite plan—was effected. Of this plantation we have fortunately more full accounts than of any of the former settlements in Ireland. James's whole heart was in the business; and there seems to have been great anxiety to avoid the mistakes that had led to the failure of former experiments. The grants of land were smaller in size. Arrangements were made that the castles and fortified houses of the settlers should be in elevated situations; and that the natives, who were not, as in Elizabeth's plan, to be extirpated, should be for the most part placed in such localities as should place them most under the observation of the new inhabitants, and expose the settlers as little as possible to surprise. They might still inhabit the bog or marsh, but the mountain fastness was no longer to be theirs. James's Attorney-General, Sir John Davies, praises his master in the tone and temper of an orator who admires his own speech, and who has little doubt of its being reported to the object of his laudation. "This transplantation of the natives," says he, "is made by his Majesty rather like a father than like a lord or monarch. The Romans planted whole nations out of Germany into France; the Spaniards lately removed all the Moors out of Grenada into Barbary without providing them with any new seats there. When the English pale was first planted, all the natives were clean expelled, so as not one Irish family had so much as one acre of freehold in all the five counties of the pale; and now within these four years past the Greames were removed from the borders of Scotland to this kingdom (Ireland,) and had not one foot of land allotted to them here; but these natives now proposed to be removed, are only removed to worse lands."

In some nine or ten years after the new colony was established, we have a report from Captain Pynnar, who was commissioned to visit the settlement. It would seem the conditions entered into by the *undertakers* were but little observed. Houses and castles were no doubt built; leases, too, were made to English tenants on many of the divisions. Pynnar saw the leases, but he thought it unlikely that the British farmer would remain. "My reason for so thinking," he says, "is that many of the English tenants do not plough up the lands, neither use husbandrie, because I conceive they are fearful to stock themselves with cattle or servants for those labours. Neither do the Irish use tillage, for that they also are uncertain of their stay on the lands; so that, by this means, the Irish ploughing nothing, do use grazing; the English very little; and were it not for the Scottish tenants which do plough in many parts of the country, those parts may starve; by reason whereof the British, who are forced to take their lands at great rates, do lie at the greater

rents, paid unto them by the Irish tenants who do graze their land; and if the Irish be put away with their cattle, the British must forsake their dwellings, or endure great distress on the sudden. Yet the combination of the Irish is dangerous to them, by robbing them, and otherwise. I observe that the greatest number of Irish do dwell upon the lands granted to the city of London, which happeneth two ways. First, there are five of the proportions assigned to the several companies which are not yet estated to any man, but are in the hands of agents, who, finding the Irish more profitable than the British tenants, are unwilling to draw on the British, persuading the company that the lands are mountainous and unprofitable, not regarding the future security of the whole. Secondly, the other seven of the proportions are leased to several persons for sixty-one years, and the lessees do affirm that they are not bound to plant English." Pynnar states, that under these circumstances the British settlers are little likely to remain. In a report by Sir Thomas Phillips, Governor of the County of Londonderry, to King Charles the First, he describes the London companies as not planting with British, but for their private profit's sake neglecting the great objects of the plantation. His Majesty had reckoned on this settlement being a terror to his enemies. On the contrary, "it will now be a bait to invite them thither, where the chief tenants and inhabitants being Irish, are prepared to entertain them." Phillips dwells on the hopes of the Irish, which were for ever presenting to their imaginations a future change of property:—"In all the six escheated counties there are not many above six thousand British bodies, and most of them untrained, unarmed, and unapt for service; and the natives, who daily watch for the return of their young lords, (as they call them,) Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and the rest, now in the Spanish army, promising to themselves a repossession of their country, are at least four times as many." Phillips dwells on the great danger to the English from being thus outnumbered by the Irish, and states the larger rents which the Irish give as the sole cause of their being preferred as tenants:—"The natives," he says, "give more than they can well raise, in the assured hope that time may, by rebellion, relieve them of their heavy landlords, whom, in the meantime, they were contented to suffer under, though to their utter impoverishing, and enduring rather than not have a footing to entertain their expected lords." It would appear, then, that whatever were the purpose of Government, the grantees of these forfeited lands, and the London companies in particular, had no objection to Irish tenants; and that there seemed a strong probability of James's colonists falling into Irish habits like all previous English settlers. The Rebellion of 1641 showed

that Sir Thomas Phillips' fears were not without foundation. We believe the London Companies have been very good landlords both to their Irish and English tenants; but we think that somewhat more of merit is ascribed to them than they have quite deserved. To the linen trade, and to external commerce, the prosperity of the north of Ireland is to be ascribed. Landlords, whether they be joint-stock companies or individuals, are what society and the incidents of the time make them.

The project of planting Connaught was also taken up by James, and afterwards by Charles. Here there was no rebellion to enable them to dispose of the lands as forfeited; and large fines were extorted from the proprietors to cure defects in the old grants and enrolments. Connaught escaped in Cromwell's day, for he had a plan of his own for it; and in William's time "there had been so great a neglect in the prosecution of the King's title, that no inquisitions went into that province till 1695, which gave the forfeiting persons time and leisure to set up what encumbrances they pleased, and when they were issued, the findings were almost as the counsel of the forfeiting persons pleased; and, indeed, by the great disproportion of Protestants to Papists, which is computed at not one to fifty, and so very few Protestant freeholders within most counties of that province, and so little justice to be had there, that the province itself seems scarcely to be reduced to his Majesty's obedience."*

It has been said, that in the partition of Ireland after the civil wars of Cromwell, a new class of proprietors took possession of the soil, who did not, like the old settlers, blend with the natives, or adopt native manners, and this is ascribed to the Protestantism of the Cromwellite settlers. The grants of land were in small quantities; and it is assumed that each of the grantees sate down under his own vine and fig-tree, and past a pious and happy life in testifying against the superstitions of the natives. Some of the persons examined by the committees told us of numbers of these people, not having actually passed into the class of gentry, realizing the theory of small proprietors resident on their own fee-simple estates, and like the class of persons known in Cumberland as "statesmen," continuing in the same position of society ever since their establishment in the country. Some accidental cases of the kind there may be; they must be very few. The late Cæsar Otway, the very best writer on Irish topography and manners that we have, in describing the west coast, tells us of a district in Erris, which—

"After the great change of property, in consequence of the Crom-

* Report on Forfeitures of 1691.

wellian conquest, came into the hands of an Irish placeman, Sir James Shaen. His son, Arthur, when lives became more secure, and the Act of Settlement gave the security the new proprietary wanted, introduced a colony of Protestants, who were accompanied by a clergyman of their own persuasion, and under the inspection and encouragement of their landlord, who gave them leases in perpetuity, and afforded them every facility. They threw most of the available land into stock-farms, forcing the natives to retire to the mountain glens of the interior.

"It is evident that the men who had the courage to undertake this settlement, had also the moral energy to persevere; therefore, while this generation lasted, improvements went on. A better breed of cattle, and a superior tillage, were introduced; and though they were annoyed and robbed by the old natives, still the colony prospered as well as circumstances would admit. But here, or indeed elsewhere all over the land, and at all times of its history, the generation that succeeded the first settlers was of a very deteriorated character. I believe no race of men was ever known to have changed character so rapidly as the Cromwellian settlers; the descendants of the stiff, stern, often fanatical, sometimes pious, Puritans, Baptists, and Presbyterians, became the most profligate and careless of mankind. It has been always the character of the English settlers in Ireland to become *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*; but, I believe, no race so rapidly adopted the wild extravagant character of the Irish as the Cromwellian. Before half a century had elapsed, properties that had been divided amongst soldiers, officers, and adventurers, were lavished and spent as easily as they had been acquired; and instances are on record, of estates now worth thousands a year, being exchanged for a horse, a setting dog, or some even more vicious accommodation; and as in all times and places where there are spendthrifts, there will be accumulators, in a comparatively short time, a vast quantity of the small Cromwellian allotments were absorbed, and merged into the possession of watchful and clever appropriators; and still the evil remained as from the beginning, and still continues, of the country being partitioned amongst a comparatively small proprietary, who had neither the means, the knowledge, nor desire to improve their large possessions. In Erris, the original lessees of Sir Arthur Shaen, instead of devoting themselves to husbandry, to enclosing, tilling, and manuring their allotments, and acting the part of industrious yeomen, became merely stock-owners, running their cattle over tracts that remained in their hands as unimproved as ever. I don't believe stockmen ever have, or ever will, improve any country. They have in a great measure kept Connaught unimproved, and a large portion of South America. In the same way will they keep back Australia. The life of a stockman must, for a great part of the year, be inactive; therefore, amongst uneducated men, sporting and carousing will naturally ensue; hence expenditure greater than income, embarrassment, a diminished stock, property parted with, and eventual ruin.

"The lessees of Sir Arthur Shaen *would* be gentlemen of the character I have just alluded to, and they have in a great measure ceased

to exist as gentry; for very few indeed of those names recorded, as holding under the original grant, are now known in Erris; and of those few, some have descended and mixed with the common people, both in religion, condition, and manners; for it has been remarked, not only here, but elsewhere, that when Protestants, either from intermarriage or other causes, become Roman Catholics, they sink in the scale of civilisation, and become something worse—never better than the common people.”—Otway’s ERRIS and TYRAWLEY.

Mr. Otway tells us of these settlers having adopted the habits of dissipation of the gentry round them. The forcible expulsion of the natives did little good. The colony was soon plundered by its unruly neighbours, and the natives were admitted to a participation of the soil.

“The consequence of introducing the natives to the cultivation of the soil as cotters or tenants, was that these settlers exacting considerable real loss in money, service, and produce, became all petty landlords; and having themselves little or no rent to pay, the cultivation of the soil became by them entirely neglected. They merely shared the run-ridge of the tenant, as far as a couple of *sums*;* for the feeding of the host of followers, nurses, and nurses’ children, to the third and fourth generation, that swarmed their well-stored kitchens.”—Knight’s ERRIS, p. 65.†

It is understood that extensive tracts of land are now to be sold in this district. “The Encumbered Estates Act” will give the opportunity of disposing, with but little delay, of property, which it was, we believe, under any circumstances, impossible for the present proprietors to have preserved; and as we think that the population of that district could not possibly have been supported by its own resources, or by agriculture to whatever degree improved, we are glad to learn that a body such as the Corporation of London, with its vast means, undertakes the task of civilizing the district.‡ There can be no relief for Ireland but in some vast increase of commerce. The noble harbours on the western coast of Ireland would seem to invite the trade of America. There are many circumstances which would suggest it as by no means improbable that the manufac-

* The holdings are by *sums* or *collops*, which originally meant the number of heads the farm could rear by pasture; but as more tillage became necessary, they divided the crop ground into *collops*, as well as the pasture. The tillage *collop* is supposed to be capable of supporting one family by its produce.—Knight’s ERRIS, p. 46. “A *sum*,” says Dean Lyons, in evidence before the Devon Commission, “is a grazing for one cow, which they call in that country a *collop*.”

† For an account of the run-ridge or rundale occupation of land in this district, see “North British Review,” vol. vi. p. 522.

‡ Since this was written, the purpose attributed to the London Corporation is said to have been abandoned.

ture of cotton may give employment to thousands. The marble of the district is of exceeding beauty. While we write, we have chanced to open a Dublin paper, which says, that "the beauties of the western marbles selected by Sir Robert Kane for the decoration of the Hall of the Museum of Irish Industry, may well excite the admiration of all who see them. We would recommend those who wish to become conversant with the resources of the country to spend an hour in this museum. The ores of copper and lead, if properly taken in hand, might supply wealth to thousands—the corals and other manures, which, if properly made use of, would give fertility to the agriculture of the west—the specimens of produce which, contrasted with those obtained in more favoured districts, give proof of what may hereafter be done—the minerals, marbles, and valuable building materials of all kinds, afford the most useful and practical information to all who would look to the west as a field of future enterprise."

It would be indeed happy if the thralldom in which Ireland has been held down could be broken—we look forward, not without hope, but still with great misgiving. It seems to us impossible, with the existing Poor-Law, that anything can be done. While out-door relief continues, all that has the name of property must be absorbed. The return which the capitalist expects, and which, with whatever generosity his undertakings may be commenced, must be made, or the undertakings be discontinued, is rendered, to say the least of it, precarious by the continued drain of increasing pauperism. Something will be done for the relief of the rate-payer, by increasing the number of Unions, and diminishing the size of electoral divisions. Still, until out-door relief is altogether abandoned, nothing is done. How prophetic was the language of Mr. Senior, in a report drawn up previous to the passing of the Irish Poor-Law:—"We are proposing to gradually abolish out-door relief even in England, where the standard of subsistence is high, the sources of employment are abundant, and the whole population is trained to local administration. To introduce it into Ireland would be to inflict on the country a greater injury than any she has yet suffered from us. The disease, which required two centuries of gradual increase before it became intolerable in England, would, in less than ten years, become unbearable, *perhaps incurable*, in Ireland."

- ART. III.—1. *Bibliothèque Choisie*. Tome VI. 1716.
 2. *Oxford and Locke*. By LORD GRENVILLE. London, 1829.
 3. *Life of John Locke*. By LORD KING.
 4. *Original Letters of John Locke, Algernon Sidney, and Lord Shaftesbury*. Edited by T. FORSTER. Second Edition. London, privately printed, 1847.
 5. *Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*.
 6. *Thomæ Sydenham, M.D., Opera omnia*. Edidit G. A. GREENHILL, M.D. Londini, impensis Societatis Sydenhamianæ, 1844.
 7. *The Works of Thomas Sydenham, M.D.; with a Life of the Author*. By R. G. LATHAM, M.D. Vol. I. Printed for the Sydenham Society.

THE studies of Metaphysics and Medicine have more in common, both as to means and ends, than may perhaps at first sight appear. John Locke and Thomas Sydenham,—the one the founder of our analytical philosophy of mind, and the other of our practical medicine,—were not only great personal friends, but were of essential use to each other in their respective departments; and we may safely affirm, that for much in the *Essay on Human Understanding*, we are indebted to its author's intimacy with Sydenham, "one of the master builders at this time in the commonwealth of learning," as Locke calls him, in company with "Boyle, Huygens, and the incomparable Mr. Newton." And Sydenham, it is well known, in the third edition of his "*Observationes Medicæ*," expresses his deep obligation to Locke in his dedicatory letter to their common friend Dr. Mapletoft, in these words:—"Nosti præterea, quam huic meæ methodo suffragantem habeam, qui eam intimius per omnia perspexerat, utrique nostrum conjunctissimum Dominum Johannem Lock; quo quidem viro, sive ingenio judicioque acri et subacto, sive etiam antiquis (hoc est optimis) moribus, vix superiorem quenquam inter eos qui nunc sunt homines repertum iri confido, paucissimos certe pares." Referring to this passage, when noticing the early training of this "*ingenium judiciumque acre et subactum*," Dugald Stewart says, with great truth, "No science could have been chosen, more happily calculated than Medicine, to prepare such a mind for the prosecution of those speculations which have immortalized his name; the complicated and fugitive, and often equivocal phenomena of disease, requiring in the observer a far greater proportion of discriminating sagacity than those of Physics, strictly so called; resembling, in this respect, much more nearly, the phenomena about which Metaphysics, Ethics, and Politics are conversant."

Hartley, Mackintosh, and Brown were physicians; and we know that medicine was a favourite subject with Socrates, Aristotle, Bacon, Descartes, and Berkeley. We wish our young doctors kept more of the company of these and such like men, and knew a little more of the laws of thought, of the nature and rules of evidence, of the general procedure of their own minds in the search after, the proof and the application of, what is true, than, we fear, they generally do.* They might do so without knowing less of their Auscultation, Histology, and other good things, than they do, and with knowing them to much better purpose. We wonder, for instance, how many of the century of graduates sent forth from our University every year—armed with microscope, stethoscope, uroscope,† pleximeter, &c., and omniscient of *râles* and *rhonchi*, sibilous and sonorous; crepitations moist and dry; *bruits de râpe, de scie, et de soufflet*; blood plasmata cyto blasts and nucleated cells, and great in the infinitely little—we wonder how many of these eager and accomplished youths could “unsphere the spirit of Plato,” or read with moderate relish and understanding one of the Tusculan Disputations, or who had ever heard of “Butler’s Three Sermons on Human Nature,” “Berkeley’s Minute Philosopher,” or of an “Essay on the Conduct of the Understanding,” of which Mr. Hallam says, “I cannot think any parent or instructor justified in neglecting to put this little treatise in the hands of a boy about the time that the reasoning faculties become developed,” and whose admirable author we shall now endeavour to prove to have been much more one of themselves than is generally supposed.

In coming to this conclusion, we have been mainly indebted to the classical, eloquent, and conclusive tract by Lord Grenville, entitled “Oxford and Locke;” to Lord King’s life of his great kinsman; to Wood’s *Athenæ* and *Fasti Oxonienses*; to the letters from Locke to Drs. Mapletoft, Molyneux, Sir Hans Sloane and Boyle, published in the collected edition of his works; to Ward’s *Lives of the Gresham Professors*; and to a very curious collection of letters of Locke, Algernon Sidney,

* Pinel states, with great precision, the necessity there is for physicians to make the mind of man, as well as his body, their especial study. “L’histoire de l’entendement humain, pourroit-elle être ignorée par le médecin, qui a non-seulement à décrire les vésanies ou maladies morales, et à indiquer toutes leurs nuances, mais encore, qui a besoin de porter la logique la plus sévère pour éviter de donner de la réalité à de termes abstraits pour procéder avec sagesse des idées simples à des idées complexes, et qui a sans cesse sous ses yeux des écrits, où le défaut de s’entendre, la séduction de l’esprit de système, et l’abus des expressions vagues et indéterminées ont amené de milliers des volumes et des disputes interminables?”—*Méthodes d’Etudier en Médecine*.

† We suppose we shall soon arrive at that exquisite nicety predicted by Mandeville, when our uroscope will enable us to “diagnose” in the product of a Sunday the religion, and in that of a weekday the politics, of our patient.

the second Lord Shaftesbury, and others, edited and privately printed by the eccentric Dr. T. Forster.

Le Clerc, in his Eloge upon Locke in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, (and in this he has been followed by all subsequent biographers,) states, that when a student at Christ Church, Oxford, he devoted himself with great earnestness to the study of Medicine, but that he never practised it as his profession, his chief object having been to qualify himself to act as his own physician, on account of his general feebleness of health and tendency to consumption. To show the incorrectness of this statement, we give the following short notice of his medical studies and practice; it is necessarily slight, but justifies, we think, our assertion in regard to him *quâ medicus*.

LOCKE was born in 1632 at Wrington, Somersetshire, on the 29th of August, the anniversary, as Dr. Forster takes care to let us know, of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist—eight years after Sydenham, and ten before Newton. He left Westminster school in 1651, and entered Christ Church, distinguishing himself chiefly in the departments of medicine and general physics, and greatly enamoured of the brilliant and then new philosophy of Descartes.

In connexion with Locke's university studies, Anthony Wood, in his autobiography, has the following curious passage: "I began a course of chemistry under the noted chemist and rosicrucian Peter Sthael of Strasburg, a strict Lutheran, and a great hater of women. The club consisted of ten, whereof were Frank Turner, now Bishop of Ely, Benjamin Woodroof, now Canon of Christ Church, and John Locke of the same house, now a noted writer. This same John Locke was a man of a turbulent spirit, clamorous, and never contented; while the rest of our club took notes from the mouth of their master, who sat at the upper end of a long table, the said Locke scorned to do this, but was for ever prating and troublesome." This misogynistical rosicrucian was brought over to Oxford by Boyle, and had among his pupils Sir Christopher Wren, Dr. Wallis, and Sir Thomas Millington. The fees were three pounds, one-half paid in advance.

Locke continued through life greatly addicted to medical and chemical researches. He kept the first regular journal of the weather, and published it from time to time in the Philosophical Transactions, and in Boyle's History of the Air. He used in his observations a barometer, a thermometer, and a hygrometer. His letters to Boyle are full of experiments and speculations about chemistry and medicine; and in a journal kept by him when travelling in France is this remarkable entry: "M. Toinard produced a large bottle of muscat; it was clear when he set it on the table, but when the stopper was drawn a multitude of little bubbles

arose. It comes from this, that the included air had liberty to expand itself;—*query, whether this be air new generated.* Take a bottle of fermenting liquor, and tie a bladder over its mouth, how much new air will this produce, *and has this the quality of common air?*” We need hardly add, that about a hundred years after this Dr. Black answered this capital query, and in doing so, transformed the whole face of chemistry.

We now find that, in contradiction to the generally received account, Wood, who was an Oxford man, and living on the spot, says, in his spiteful way, “Mr. Locke, after having gone through the usual courses preparatory to practice, entered upon the physic line, and got some business at Oxford.” Nothing can be more explicit than this, and more directly opposed to Le Clerc’s account of his friend’s early life, which, it may be remembered, was chiefly derived from notes furnished by the second Lord Shaftesbury, whose information must necessarily have been at second or third hand. In 1666, Lord Ashley, afterwards the first Lord Shaftesbury, came to Oxford to drink the water of Astrop; he was suffering from an abscess in his chest, the consequence of a fall from his horse. Dr. Thomas, his lordship’s attendant, happening to be called out of town, sent his friend Locke, then practising there, who examined into his complaints, and advised the abscess to be opened; this was done, and, as the story goes, his lordship’s life was saved. From this circumstance took its origin the well-known friendship of these two famous men. That their connexion at first was chiefly that of patient and doctor, is plain from the expression, “He, the Earl, would not suffer him to practise medicine out of his house, except among some of his particular friends,” implying that he was practising when he took him. In 1668, Locke, then in his 36th year, accompanied the Earl and Countess of Northumberland to the Continent, as their physician. The Earl died on his journey to Rome, leaving Locke with the Countess in Paris. When there, he attended her during a violent attack of what seems to have been *tic-douloureux*, a most interesting account of which, and of the treatment he adopted, was presented by the late Lord King to the London College of Physicians, and was read before them in 1829. We have, by the great kindness of Dr. Paris, the president of the College, had access to a copy of this medical and literary curiosity, which, besides its own value as a plain, clear statement of the case, and as an example of simple, skilful treatment, is the best of all proofs that at that time Locke was a regular physician. We cannot give this case higher praise, or indicate more significantly its wonderful superiority to the cases to be found in medical authors of the same date, than by saying that in expression, in description, in diagnosis, and in treatment, it differs very little from what we have in our own best works.

After the Earl's death, Locke returned to England, and seems to have lived partly at Exeter House with Lord Shaftesbury, and partly at Oxford. It was in 1670, at the latter place, that he sketched the first outline of his immortal Essay, the origin of which he has so modestly recorded in his Epistle to the Reader. Dr. Thomas, and most probably Dr. Sydenham, were among the "five or six friends who met at my chambers," and started the idea of that work, "which has done more than any other single work to rectify prejudice, to undermine established errors, to diffuse a just mode of thinking, to excite a fearless spirit of inquiry, and yet to contain it within the boundaries nature has set to the human faculties. If Bacon first discovered the rules by which knowledge is to be advanced, Locke has most contributed by precept and example to make mankind at large observe them, and has thus led to that general diffusion of a healthful and vigorous understanding, which is at once the greatest of all improvements, and the instrument by which all other improvements must be accomplished."

About this time Locke seems to have been made a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1674 he took the degree of Bachelor of Medicine; he never was Doctor of Medicine, though he generally passed among his friends as Dr. Locke.

In 1675 he went abroad for his health, and apparently, also, to pursue his medical studies. He remained for some time at Montpellier, then the most famous of the schools of medicine. He attended the lectures of the celebrated Barbyrac, to whose teaching Sydenham is understood to have been so much indebted. When there, and during his residence abroad, he kept a diary, large extracts from which are for the first time given by Lord King.* The following account of the annual "capping" at Montpellier is very amusing. "The manner of making a Doctor of Physic is this; 1st, a procession in scarlet robes and black caps—the professor took his seat—and after a company of fiddlers had played a certain time, he made them a sign to hold, that *he* might have an opportunity to entertain the company, which he did in a speech against innovations—the musicians then took their turn. The Inceptor or candidate, then began his speech, wherein I found little edification, being chiefly complimentary to the chancellor and professors, who were present.

* Lord King refers to numerous passages in Locke's Diaries exclusively devoted to medical subjects, which he has refrained from publishing, as unlikely to interest the general public; and Dr. Forster gives us to understand that he has in his possession "some ludicrous, sarcastic, and truly witty letters to his friend Furley on medicine, his original profession;" but which letters the doctor declines giving to the public "in these days of absurd refinement." We would gladly forswear our refinement to have a sight of them; anything that Locke considered worth the writing down about anything is likely to be worth the reading.

The Doctor then put on his head the cap that had marched in on the beadle's staff, in sign of his doctorship—put a ring upon his finger—girt himself about the loins with a gold chain—made him sit down beside him—that having taken pains he might now take ease, and kissed and embraced him in token of the friendship which *ought* to be amongst them."

From Montpellier he went to Paris, and was a diligent student of anatomy under Dr. Guenelon, with whom he was afterwards so intimate, when living in exile at Amsterdam.

In June 1667, when in Paris, he wrote the following jocular letter to his friend Dr. Mapletoft, then physic professor at Gresham College. This letter, which is not noticed in any life of Locke that we have seen, is thus introduced by Dr. Ward:—"Dr. Mapletoft did not continue long at Gresham, and yet longer than he seems to have designed, by a letter to him, written by the famous Mr. John Locke, dated from Paris, 22d June 1677, in which is this passage: 'If either absence (which sometimes increases our desires) or love (which we see every day produces strange effects in the world) have softened you, or disposed you towards a liking for any of our fine new things, 'tis but saying so, and I am ready to furnish you, and should be sorry not to be employed; I mention love, for you know I have a particular interest of my own in it. When you look that way, nobody will be readier, as you may guess, to throw an old shoe after you, much for your own sake, and a little for a friend of yours. But were I to advise, perhaps I should say that the lodgings at Gresham College were a quiet and comfortable habitation.' By this passage," continues Ward, "it seems probable that Dr. Mapletoft had then some views to marriage, and that Mr. Locke was desirous, should it so fall out, to succeed him. But neither of these events happened at the time, for the Doctor held his professorship till the 10th October 1679, and in November following, married Rebecca, the daughter of Mr. Lucy Knightley of Hackney, a Hamburg merchant." And we know that on the 10th of May that same year, Locke was sent for from Paris by Lord Shaftesbury, when his Lordship was made President of Sir William Temple's Council, half a year after which they were both exiles in Holland. As we have already said, there is something very characteristic in this jocular, pawky, affectionate letter.

There can be little doubt from this, that so late as 1677, when he was 45 years of age, Locke was able and willing to undertake the formal teaching of medicine.

It would not be easy to say how much mankind would have at once lost and gained—how much the philosophy of mind would have been hindered, and how much that of medicine would have

been advanced, had John Locke's lungs been as sound as his understanding, and had he "stuck to the physic line," or had his friend Dr. Mapletoft "looked that way" a little earlier, and made Rebecca Knightley his wife two years sooner, or had Lord Shaftesbury missed the royal reconciliation and his half year's presidency.

Medicine would assuredly have gained something it still lacks, and now perhaps more than ever, had that "friend of yours," having thrown the old shoe with due solemnity and precision at the heads of the happy couple, much for their sakes and a little for his own, settled down in that quiet, comfortable, baccalaurean habitation, over against the entrance into Bishopsgate Street, and had thenceforward, in the prime of life, directed the full vigour of that singularly enlightened, sound, humane, and practical understanding, to the exposition, of what Lord Grenville so justly calls, "the large and difficult" subject of medicine. What an amount of gain to rational and effective medicine—what demolition of venerable and mischievous error—what exposition of immediately useful truth—what an example for all future labourers in that vast and perilous field, of the best *method* of attaining the best ends, might not have been expected from him of whom it was truly said that "he knew something of every thing that could be useful to mankind!" It is no wonder then, that looking from the side of medicine, we grudge the loss of the Locke "Physic Lectures," and wish that we might, without fable, imagine ourselves in that quaint steep-roofed quadrangle, with its fifteen trees and its diagonal walks across the green Court; and at eight o'clock, when the morning sun 'was falling on the long legs and antennæ of the gilded grasshoppers, and the mighty hum of awakening London was beginning to rise, might figure to ourselves the great philosopher stepping briskly through the gate into his lecture-room—his handsome, serious face, set "in his hood, according to his degree in the university, as was thought meet for more order and comeliness sake," and there, twice every week in the term, deliver the "solemn Physic Lecture," in the Latin tongue, in dutiful accordance with the "agreement tripartite, between the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London—the wardens and commonalty of the mystery of mercers, and the lecturers in Gresham House;" and again, six hours later, read the same "solemn lecture" we would fancy with more relish and spirit in the "English tongue," "forasmuch," so good Sir Thomas' will goes, "as the greater part of the auditory is like to be of such citizens and others as have small knowledge, or none at all, of the Latin tongue, and for that every man, for his health's sake, will desire to have some knowledge of the art of physic."

We have good evidence, from the general bent and spirit of Locke's mind, and from some occasional passages in his letters, especially those to Dr. Molyneux, that he was fully aware of the condition of medicine at that time, and of the only way by which it could be improved. Writing to Dr. Molyneux, he says, "I perfectly agree with you concerning general theories—the curse of the time and destructive not less of life than of science—they are for the most part but a sort of waking dream, with which, when men have warmed their heads, they pass into unquestionable truths. *This is beginning at the wrong end*, men laying the foundation in their own fancies, and then suiting the phenomena of diseases, and the cure of them, to these fancies. I wonder, after the pattern Dr. Sydenham has set of a better way, men should return again to this romance way of physic. But I see it is more easy and more natural for men to *build castles in the air of their own than to survey well those that are on the ground. Nicely to observe the history of diseases in all their changes and circumstances is a work of time, accurateness, attention, and judgment,** and wherein if men, through prepossession or oscitancy, mistake, they may be convinced of their error by unerring nature and matter of fact. What we know of the works of nature, especially in the constitution of health and the operations of our own bodies, *is only by the sensible effects, but not by any certainty we can have, of the tools she uses, or the ways she works by.*"

But we must draw this notice of Locke in the character of Doctor to a close. In the Philosophical Transactions for 1697, there is an account by him of an odd case of hypertrophied nails, which he had seen at La Charité when in Paris, and he gives pictures of the hornlike excrescences, one of them upwards of four inches long. The second Lord Shaftesbury, who was Locke's pupil, and for whom he chose his wife, in a letter to Furley, who seems to have been suffering from a relapse of intermittent fever, explains, with great distinctness and good sense, "*Dr. Locke's method*" of treating this disease with the Peruvian bark; adding, "I am satisfied, that of all medicines, if it be good

* The eloquent Buffon thus speaks of the gift of observation :—"Il y a une espèce de force de génie, et de courage d'esprit, à pouvoir envisager sans s'étonner, la Nature dans la multitude innombrable de ses productions, et à se croire capable de les comprendre et de les comparer; il y a une espèce de gout, à les aimer, plus grand que le gout qui n'a pour but, que des objets particuliers, et l'un peut dire, que l'amour et l'étude de la Nature, suppose dans l'esprit deux qualités qui paroissent opposées, les grandes vues d'un génie ardent, qui embrasse tout d'un coup-d'œil, et les petites attentions d'un instinct laborieux, qui ne s'attache qu'à un seul point." Gaubius calls it "*masculum illud observandi studium veteribus tantopere excultum.*"

of its kind, and properly given, it is the most innocent and effectual, whatever bugbear the world makes of it, especially the tribe of inferior physicians, from whom it cuts off so much business and gain." We now conclude our notices of Locke's medical history, which, however imperfect, seem to us to warrant our original assertion, with the following weighty sentence taken from the admirable "Fragment on Study" given by Lord King, and which was written when Locke was at his studies at Oxford. It accords nicely with what we have already quoted from Dugald Stewart :—

"Physic, polity, and prudence are not capable of demonstration, but a man is principally helped in them, 1, by the history of matter of fact ; and, 2, by a sagacity of inquiring into probable causes, and finding out an analogy in their operations and effects. Whether a certain course in public or private affairs will succeed well—whether rhubarb will purge, or quinquina cure an ague, can be known only by experience."*

SYDENHAM, the prince of practical physicians, whose character is as beautiful and as genuinely English as his name, did for his art what Locke did for the philosophy of mind—he made it, in the main, observational ; he made knowledge a means, not an end. It would not be easy to over-estimate our obligations as a nation to these two men, in regard to all that is involved in health of body and soundness of mind. They were among the first in their respective departments to show their faith in the inductive method, by their works. They both professed to be more of guides than critics, and were the interpreters and servants of Nature, not her diviners and tormentors. They pointed out a way, and walked in it ; they taught a method, and used it, rather than announced a system or a discovery ; they collected and arranged their *visa* before settling their *cogitata*, a mean-spirited proceeding, doubtless, in the eyes of the prevailing dealers in hypotheses, being in reality the exact reverse of their philosophy. How curious, how humbling, to think that it was not till

* Dr. Thomas Young puts this very powerfully in the preface to his "Introduction to Medical Literature." "There is, in fact, no study more difficult than that of physic : it exceeds, as a science, the comprehension of the human mind ; and those who blunder onwards, without attempting to understand what they see, are often nearly on a level with those who depend too much on imperfect generalizations." "Some departments of knowledge defy all attempts to subject them to any didactic method, and require the exercise of a peculiar address, a judgment, or a taste, which can only be formed by indirect means. It appears that physic is one of those departments in which there is frequent necessity for the exercise of an incommunicable faculty of judgment, and a sagacity which may be called transcendental, as extending beyond the simple combination of all that can be taught by precept."

this time, that men in search of truth were brought to see that "it is not the insufficiency or incapacity of man's mind, but the *remote standing or placing thereof*, that breedeth mazes and incomprehensions; for as the sense afar off is full of mistaking, but is exact at hand, so is it of the understanding, *the remedy whereof is not to quicken or strengthen the organ, but to go nearer to the object.*" Well might the noble author even now say, as he does in the context—(he is treating of medicine)—"Medicine is a science which hath been more professed than laboured, more laboured than advanced, the labour being in my judgment more in a circle than in progression: I find much iteration, but small addition;" and he was right in laying much of this evil condition to the discontinuance of "the ancient and serious diligence of Hippocrates." This serious diligence, this ἀκριβεια or nicety of observation, by which the "divine old man of Cos" achieved so much, was Sydenham's master-principle in practice and in speculation. He proclaimed it anew, and displayed in his own case its certain and inestimable fruits.

It appears to us one of the most interesting, as it is certainly one of the most difficult and neglected departments of medical literature, to endeavour to trace the progress of medicine as a *practical art*, with its rules and instruments, as distinguished from its consolidation into a systematic science with its doctrines and laws, and to make out how far these two, which conjoined form the philosophy of the subject, have or have not harmonized with, and been helpful to each other, at different periods of their histories. Much might be done to make such an inquiry instructive and attractive, by marking out the history of medicine into three or four great epochs, and taking, as representative of each, some one distinguished artsman or practitioner, as well as teacher or discoverer. We might have Hippocrates and his epoch, Sydenham and his, John Hunter, Pinel, and Lænnec and theirs. These great men, differed certainly widely enough in character and in circumstances, but all agreed in this, their possessing in large measure, and of rare quality, that native sagacity, that power of serious, choice, patient, continuous, honest observation, which is at once a gift and a habit; that instinct for seeking and finding, which Bacon calls "*experientia literata, sagacitas potius et odoratio quædam venatica, quam scientia*;" that general strength and soundness of understanding, and that knack of being able to apply their knowledge, instantly and aright, in practice, which must ever constitute the cardinal virtues of a great physician, the very pith and marrow of his worth.

Of the two first of these famous men, we fear there survives in the profession little more than the names; and we receive from them, and are made wiser and better by inheriting their

treasures of honest and exquisite observation, of judicious experience, without, we fear, knowing or caring much from whom it has come. "One man soweth, and another reapeth." The young forget the old, the children their fathers; and we are all too apt to reverse the saying of the wise king,—“I praised the dead that are already dead, more than the living that are yet alive.” As we are not sufficiently conscious of, so we assuredly are not adequately grateful for that accumulated volume of knowledge, that body of practical truth, which comes down as a gift to each one of us from six thousand years of human endeavour, and which, like a mighty river, is moving for ever onwards—widening, deepening, strengthening, as it goes; for the right administration and use of whose untold energies and wealth, we, to whom it has thus far descended, are responsible to Him from whom it comes, and to whose feet it is hastening—responsible to an extent we are too apt to forget, or to underrate. We should not content ourselves with sailing victoriously down the stream, or with considering our own portion of it merely; we should go up the country oftener than we do, and see where the mighty feeders come in, and learn and not forget their names, and note how much larger, how much powerfuller the stream is after they have joined it. It is the lot of the successful medical practitioner, who is more occupied with discerning diseases and curing them, than with discoursing about their essence, and arranging them into systems, who observes and reflects in order to act, rather than to speak,—it is the lot of such men to be invaluable when alive, and to be forgotten soon after they are dead, and this not altogether or chiefly from any special ingratitude or injustice on the part of mankind, but from the very nature of the case. Much that made such a man what the community, to their highest profit, found him to be, dies with him. His inborn gifts, and much of what was most valuable in his experience, were necessarily incommunicable to others, this depending much on his forgetting the process by which, in particular cases, he made up his mind, and its minute successive steps, from his eagerness to possess and put in action the result, and much from his being confident in the general soundness of his method, and caring little about formally recording to himself his transient mental conditions, much less announcing them articulately to others;—but mainly, we believe, because no man can explain directly to another man *how* he does any one practical thing, the doing of which he himself has accomplished, not at once, or by imitation, or by teaching, but by repeated personal trials, by missing much before ultimately hitting. You may be able to expound excellently to your son the doctrine of projectiles, or read him a course of lectures upon the principles of horsemanship, but you cannot make

over to him your own knack as a dead-shot, or make him keep his seat over a rasping fence. He must win these for himself as you have done before him. Thus it is that much of the best of a man like Sydenham, dies with him.

It is very different with them who frequent the field of scientific discovery. Here matters are reversed. No man, for instance, in teaching anatomy or physiology, as he comes to enounce each new subordinate discovery, can fail to unfold and to enhance the ever-increasing renown, of that keen *black-a-vic'd* little man, with his piercing eye, "small and dark, and so full of spirit;" his compact broad forehead, his self-contained peremptory air, his dagger at his side, and his fingers playing with its hilt, to whom we owe the little book, "*De motu cordis et sanguinis circulatione.*" This primary, capital discovery, which no succeeding one can ever supersede or obscure, he could leave consummate to mankind; but he could not so leave the secret of his making it; he could not transmit that combination of original genius, invention, exactness, perseverance, and judgment, which enabled him, and can alone enable any man to make any such permanent addition to the amount of scientific truth. But what fitted Harvey for what he achieved, greatly unfitted him for such excellence in practice as Sydenham attained. He belonged to the science more than to the art. His friend Aubrey says of him, that "though all his profession would allow him to be an excellent anatomist, I have never heard of any who admired his therapeutic way." A mind of his substance and mettle, speculative and arbitrary, passing rapidly and passionately from the particular to the general, from multitude to unity, with, moreover, a fiery temper and an extemporaneous dagger as its sting, was not likely to take kindly to the details of practice, or make a very useful or desirable family doctor. Sydenham again, though his works everywhere manifest that he was gifted with a large capacity and keen relish for abstract truth, moved habitually and by preference in the lower, but at the time the usefuller sphere of everyday practice, speculating chiefly in order to act, reducing his generalizations back to particulars, so as to answer some immediate instance, the result of which was the signallest success of "his therapeutic way." We have had in our own day two similar examples of the man of science and the man of art; the one Sir Charles Bell—like Harvey, the explorer, the discoverer, the man of genius and science, of principles and laws, having the royal gifts of invention and eloquence, was not equally endowed with those homelier, but in their degree not less rare qualities, which made Dr. Abercrombie, our Scottish Sydenham, what he was, as a master in the diagnosis and treatment of disease. The one pursued his profession as a science, to be taught, to be transmit-

ted in its entirety—the other as an art to be applied. The one was, in the old phrase, luciferous—the other frugiferous.

One great object we have in now bringing forward the works and character of Sydenham, is to enforce the primary necessity, especially in our day, of attending to medicine as the art of healing, not less than as the science of diseases and drugs. We want at present more of the first than of the second. Our age is becoming every day more purely scientific, and is occupied far more with arranging subjects and giving names, and remembering them, than with understanding and managing objects. There is often more knowledge of words than of things.

We have already stated our notion, that to the great body of physicians now-a-days, Sydenham is little more than a name, and that his works, still more than those of his companion Locke, are more spoken of than read. This is owing to several causes; partly to their being buried in Latin, which men seem now ashamed to know; partly to much in them being now scientifically obsolete and useless; partly from their practical value being impaired by our ignorance of his formulas of cure; and greatly also, we fear, from what Baglivi calls “an inept derision and neglect of the ancients,” which is more prevalent than creditable. We include ourselves among these; for until we got Dr. Greenhill’s edition, we had never read seriously and thoroughly these admirable tracts, which were all of an occasional character, and were forced from their author by the importunity of friends, or the envious calumny of enemies, often in the form of letters to his friends.

We had, when at college, picked up like our neighbours the current commonplaces about Sydenham; such as that he went by the name of “the Prince of English physicians.” That Boerhaave (of whom by the way we knew quite as little, unless it were a certain awful acquaintance with a certain squab and golden visage, which grimly regarded us from above a druggist’s door, as we hurried along the bridges to the University) was wont to take his hat off, whenever he mentioned his name, and to call him “*Angliæ lumen, Artis Phœbum veram Hippocratici viri speciem* :” that his life was written by Samuel Johnson in the “Gentleman’s Magazine,” and was one of his earliest and worst paid performances: that he was a Whig, and went out into the field as a Parliament man. Moreover, that when asked by Sir Richard Blackmore what he would advise him for medical reading, he replied, “*read Don Quixote, Sir*,”—an answer as full of sense as wit, and the fitness and wisdom of which it would be not less pleasant than profitable to unfold at length. We had been told also, in a very general way by our teachers, that Sydenham had done some things for his

profession, which, considering the dark age in which he lived, were highly to his credit: that his name was well connected with the history and management of the small-pox; the nature of epidemics, dropsies, &c., and that he had recorded his own sufferings from the gout in a very clever and entertaining way. All this was true, but by no means the whole truth. Not only are his observations invaluable to any one engaged in tracing the history of medicine as a practical art, and as an applied science; in marking in what respects it is changed, and in what unchanged; in how much it is better now than then, and in what little it is not so good. In addition to all this, they are full of excellent rules for the diagnosis and treatment of diseases; and we can trace to him as their origin, many of our most common and valuable therapeutic doctrines. And they everywhere manifest how thoroughly he practised what he taught, how honestly he used his own "method," that of continued, close, serious observation. But we confess after all, our chief delight is from the discovery he makes in his works of his personal character—the exemplar he furnishes in himself of the four qualities Hippocrates says are indispensable in every good physician—learning, sagacity, humanity, probity. This personality gives a constant charm to everything he writes—the warmth of his humane, practical nature is felt throughout.

Above all, we meet with a habitual reference to what ought to be the supreme end of every man's thoughts and energies—the two main issues of all his endeavours, the glory of God and the good of men. Human life was to him a sacred, a divine, as well as a curious thing, and he seems to have possessed through life, in rare acuteness, that sense of the value of what was at issue, of the perilous material he had to work in, and that gentleness and compassion for his suffering fellow-men, without which no man, be his intellect ever so transcendent, his learning ever so vast, his industry ever so accurate and inappeasable, need hope to be a great physician, much less a virtuous and honest man. This characteristic is very striking. In the midst of the most minute details, and the most purely professional statements, he bursts out into some abrupt acknowledgment of "The Supreme Judge," "The true Archiater and Archeus." We may give one among many such instances. He closes his observations on "the Epidemic Cough and Pleurisy Peripneumony of 1675," with this sudden allusion to the Supreme Being: "Qui post sequentur morbi, solus novit, QUI novit omnia." And again, after giving his receipt for the preparation of his laudanum liquidum, so much of Spanish wine, of opium, of saffron, of cinnamon and cloves, he adds, "Profecto non hic mihi tempero, quin gratulabundus animadvertam, DEVM omnipotentem *πρω-*

των Δωρηα έαων non aliud remedium, quod vel pluribus malis debellandis par sit, vel eadem efficacius extirpet, humano generi in miseriarum solatium concessisse, quam opiata."

If we may adapt the simple but sublime saying of Sir Isaac Newton, Sydenham, though diligent beyond most other "children" in gathering his pebbles and shells on the shore of the great deep, and in winning for mankind some things of worth from the vast and formless infinite, was not unconscious of the mighty presence beside which he was at work; he was not deaf to the strong music of that illimitable sea. He recognised in the midst of the known, the greater, the infinite, the divine unknown; behind everything certain and distinct, he beheld something shadowy and unsearchable, past all finding out; and he did not, as many men of his class have too often done, and do, rest in the mere contemplation and recognition of the τι θειον. This was to him but the shadow of the supreme substance, ο θεος. How unlike to this fervour, this reverence and godly fear, is the hard, cool, nonchalant style of many of our modern men of science, each of whom is so intent on his own little pebble, so bent upon finding in it something no one else ever found, so self-involved and self-sufficient, that his eyes and his ears are alike shut to the splendours and the voices of the liberal sea, out of whose multitudinous abyss it has been flung, and

"Which doth with its eternal motion make
A sound like thunder—everlastingly."

This habit of Sydenham's mind is strikingly shown in the first sentence of his Preface to the first edition of his Medical Observations:

"Qui medicinæ dat operam, hæc secum ut sæpe perpendat oportet: Primo, se de ægrorum vitâ ipsius curæ commissâ, rationem aliquando SUPREMO JUDICI redditurum. Deinde quicquid artis aut scientiæ, Divino beneficio consecutus est, imprimis, ad SUMMI NUMINIS laudem, atque humani generis salutem, esse dirigendum: indignum autem esse, ut cœlestia illa dona, vel avaritiæ, vel ambitus officio inserviant. Porro, se, non ignobilis alicujus aut contemnendî animalis, curam suscepisse; ut enim, humani generis pretium agnoscas, UNIGENITUS DEI FILIUS, homo factus est adeoque naturam assumptam sua dignatione nobilitavit. Denique, nec se communi sorte, exemptum esse, sed iisdem legibus mortalitatis, iisdem casibus et ærumnis, obnoxium atque expositum, quibus alii quilibet; quo diligentius et quidem teneriori cum affectu, ipse plane όμοιοπαθής ægrotantibus opem ferre conetur."

The following are some quotations, taken at random, from his various treatises and letters, in which we may see what he himself was as a practitioner, and what were his views as to the only way in which Medicine, as an art, could be advanced.

In his Epistle to Dr. Mapletoft, prefixed to the "Observationes Medicæ," his first publication, when he was 42 years of age, he gives his friend a long and entertaining account of his early professional life, and thus proceeds—

"Having returned to London, I began the practice of Medicine, which when I studied curiously with most intent eye (*intento admodum oculo*) and utmost diligence, I came to this conviction, which to this day increases in strength, that our art is not to be better learned than by its exercise and use; and that it is likely in every case to prove true, that those who have directed their eyes and their mind, the most accurately and diligently, to the natural phenomena of diseases, will excel in eliciting and applying the true indications of cure. With this thread as my guide, I first applied my mind to a closer observation of fevers, and after no small amount of irksome waiting, and perplexing mental agitations, which I had to endure for several years, I at last fell upon a method by which, as I thought, they might be cured, which method I some time ago made public, at the urgent request of my friends."

He then refers to the persecution and calumnies he had been exposed to from the profession, who looked upon him as a pestilent fellow, and a setter forth of strange doctrines; and adopts the noble saying of Titus Tacitus in reply to Metellus,—

"It is easy to speak against me when I make no reply; you have learned to speak evil, I, my conscience bearing me witness, have learned to despise evil-speaking; you are master of your tongue, and can make it utter what you list, I am master of my ears, and can make them hear without being offended."

And, after making the reference we have already mentioned, to his method having had the sanction and assistance of Locke, he thus concludes in regard to the ultimate success of his newly discovered way,—

"As concerns the future, I cast the die, not over-careful how it may fall, for, since I am now no longer young, and have, by the blessing of the Almighty, a sufficient provision for the remainder of my journey, (*tantum mihi est viatici, quantum restat viæ*;) I will do my best to attain, without trouble to myself or others, that measure of happiness so beautifully depicted by Politian:—

'Felix ille animi, divisque simillimus ipsis,
Quem non mendaci resplendens gloria fuco
Sollicitat, non fastosi mala gaudia luxus.
*Sed tacitos sinit ire dies, et paupere cultu
Exigit innocuæ tranquilla silentia vitæ.*'"

We shall now give more fully his peculiar views, and in order

to render him due honour for originating and acting upon them, we must remember in the midst of what a mass of errors and prejudices, of theories actively mischievous, he was placed, at a time when the mania of hypothesis was at its height, and when the practical part of his art was overrun and stultified by vile and silly nostrums. We must have all this in our mind, or we shall fail in estimating the amount of independent thought, of courage and uprightness, and of all that deserves to be called virtue and magnanimity, which was involved in his thinking and writing and acting as he did.

“The improvement of physic, in my opinion, depends, 1st, Upon collecting as genuine and natural a description or history of diseases as can be procured; and, 2d, Upon laying down a fixed and complete method of cure. With regard to the history of diseases, whoever considers the undertaking deliberately will perceive that a few such particulars must be attended to: 1st, All diseases should be described as objects of natural history, with the same exactness as is done by botanists, for there are many diseases that come under the same genus and bear the same name, that being specifically different, require a different treatment. The word *carduus*, or thistle, is applied to several herbs, and yet a botanist would be inaccurate and imperfect who would content himself with a generic description. Furthermore, when this distribution of distempers into *genera* has been attempted it has been to fit into some hypothesis, and hence this distribution is made to suit the bent of the author rather than the real nature of the disorder. How much this has obstructed the improvement of physic any man may know. In writing, therefore, such a natural history of diseases, every merely philosophical hypothesis should be set aside, and the manifest and natural phenomena, however minute, should be noted with the utmost exactness. The usefulness of this procedure cannot be easily overrated, as compared with the subtle inquiries and trifling notions of modern writers; for can there be a shorter, or indeed any other way, of coming at the morbid causes, or of discovering the curative indications, than by a certain perception of the peculiar symptoms? By these steps and helps it was that the father of physic, the great Hippocrates, came to excel. *His theory, Θεωρία, being no more than an exact description or view of Nature.* He found that Nature alone often terminates diseases, and works a cure with a few simple medicines, and often enough with no medicines at all. If only one person in every age had accurately described, and consistently cured, but a single disease, and made known his secret, physic would not be where it now is; but we have long since forsook the ancient method of cure, founded upon the knowledge of conjunct causes, insomuch that the art, as at this day practised, is rather the art of talking about diseases than of curing them. I make this digression in order to assert, that the discovering and assigning of remote causes, which now-a-days so much engrosses the minds and feeds the vanity of curious inquirers, is an impossible attempt, and that only immediate and conjunct causes fall

within the compass of our knowledge." Or as he elsewhere pithily states it:—"Cognitio nostra, in rerum cortice, omnis ferme versatur, ac ad το ὄρι sive quod res hoc modo se habeat, fere tantum assurgit; το διορί, sive rerum causas, nullatenus attingit."

His friend Locke could not have stated the case more clearly or sensibly. It is this doctrine of "conjunct causes," this necessity for watching the action of compound and often opposing forces, and the having to do all this not in a machine, of which if you have seen one you have seen all, but where each organism has often as much that is different from as common with all others; it is this which takes medicine out of the category of exact sciences, and puts it into that which includes politics, ethics, navigation, and practical engineering, in all of which, though there are principles, and those principles quite within the scope of human reason, yet the application of these principles must, in the main, be left to each man's skill, presence of mind, and judgment, as to the case in hand.

It is in medicine as in the piloting of a ship—rules may be laid down, principles expounded, charts exhibited; but when a man has made himself master of all these, he will often find his ship among breakers and quicksands, and must at last have recourse to his own craft and courage. Gaubius, in his admirable chapter, "*De disciplina Medici*," thus speaks of the reasonable certainty of medicine as distinguished from the absolute certainty of the exact sciences, and at the same time gives a very just idea of the infinite (as far as concerns our limited powers of sense and judgment) multiplicity of the phenomena of disease:—"Nec vero sufficit medicum communia modo intueri; oportet et cuivis homini propria, quæ quidem diversitas tam immensa occurrit ut nulla observationum vi exauriri possit. Solâ denique contemplatione non licet acquiescere, inque obscuris rebus suspendere iudicium, donec lux affulgeat. Actionem exigit officium. Captanda hinc agendi occasio, quæ sæpe præceps, per conjecturam cogit determinare, quod per scientiam sat cito nequit. Audiant hæc obtrectatores, et cum didicerint scientias puras, ab iis quas applicatas vocant, contemplativas à practicis, distinguere, videant quo jure medicinam præ aliis, ut omnis certi expertem, infament." It would not be easy to put more important truth into clearer expression. Conjecture, in its good sense, as meaning the throwing together of a number of the elements of judgment, and taking what upon the whole is the most likely, and acting accordingly, has, and will ever have, a main part to play in any art that concerns human nature, in its entirety and in action. When in obscure and dangerous places, we must not contemplate, we must act, it may be precipitately. This is what makes medicine so much more of an art than a science, and dependent so much

more upon the agent than upon his instructions; and this it is that makes us so earnest in our cautions against the supposition that any amount of scientific truth, the most accurate and extensive, can in medicine supersede the necessity of the recipient of all this knowledge having, as Richard Baxter says, by nature "a special sagacity,—a naturally searching and conjecturing turn of mind." Moreover, this faculty must be disciplined and exercised in its proper function, by being not a hearer only, but also a doer, an apprentice as well as a student, and by being put under the tutorage of a master who exercises as well as expounds his craft. This native gift and its appropriate object have been so justly, so beautifully described by Hartley Coleridge in his "Life of Fothergill," that we cannot refrain from closing our remarks on this subject by quoting his words. Do our readers know his "Biographia Borealis?" If they do, they will agree with us in placing it among the pleasantest books in our language, just such a one as Plutarch, had he been an Englishman, would have written:—"There are certain inward gifts, more akin to genius than to talent, which make the physician prosper, and deserve to prosper; for medicine is not like practical geometry, or the doctrine of projectiles, an application of an abstract, demonstrable science, in which a certain result may be infallibly drawn from certain data, or in which the disturbing forces may be calculated with scientific exactness. It is a *tentative art*, to succeed in which demands a quickness of eye, thought, tact, invention, which are not to be learned by study, nor, unless by connatural aptitude, to be acquired by experience; and it is the possession of this *sense*, exercised by patient observation, and fortified by a just reliance on the *vis medicatrix*, the self-adjusting tendency of nature, that constitutes the true physician or healer, as imagination constitutes the poet, and brings it to pass, that sometimes an old apothecary, not far removed from an old woman, and whose ordinary conversation savours, it may be, largely of twaddle, who can seldom give a rational account of a case or its treatment, acquires, and justly, a reputation for infallibility, while men of talent and erudition are admired and neglected; *the truth being, that there is a great deal that is mysterious in whatever is practical.*"

But to return to our author. He was the first to point out what he called the varying "constitutions" of different years in relation to their respective epidemics, and the importance of watching the type of each new epidemic before settling the means of cure. In none of his works is his truly philosophical spirit, and the subtlety and clearness of his understanding, shown more signally than in his successive histories of the epidemics of his time. Nothing equal to them has ever appeared since; and the full importance of the principles he was the first to lay down is

only now beginning to be fully acknowledged. His confession as to his entirely failing to discover what made one epidemic so to differ from another, has been amply confirmed by all succeeding observers. He says,—

“I have carefully examined the different constitutions of different years as to the manifest qualities of the air, yet I must own I have hitherto made no progress, having found that years, perfectly agreeing as to their temperature and other sensible properties, have produced very different tribes of diseases, and *vice versa*. The matter seems to stand thus: there are certain constitutions of years that owe their origin neither to heat, cold, dryness, or moisture, but *upon a certain secret and inexplicable alteration in the bowels of the earth*, whence the air becomes impregnated with such kinds of *effluvia* as subject the human body to distempers of a certain specific type.”

As to the early treatment of a new epidemic, he says,—“My chief care, in the midst of so much darkness and ignorance, is *to wait a little*, and proceed very slowly, especially in the use of powerful remedies, in the meantime observing its nature and procedure, and by what means the patient was relieved or injured;” and he concludes by regretting the imperfection of his observations, and hoping that they will assist in beginning a work that, in his judgment, will greatly tend to the advantage of mankind. Had his successors followed in his track with equal sagacity and circumspection, our knowledge of these destructive and mysterious incursions of disease, would, in all likelihood, have been greatly larger and more practical than it is now.

Sydenham is well known to have produced a revolution in the management of the small-pox, and to have introduced a method of treatment upon which no material improvement has subsequently been made. We owe the cool regimen to him. Speaking of the propriety of attending to the wishes of the sufferer, he says, with equal humanity and good sense—

“A person in a burning fever desires to drink freely of some small liquor; but the rules of art, built upon some hypothesis, having a different design in view, thwart the desire, and instead thereof, order a cordial. In the meantime the patient, not being suffered to drink what he wishes, nauseates all kinds of food, but art commands him to eat. Another, after a long illness, begs hard, it may be, for something odd, or questionable; here, again, impertinent art thwarts him and threatens him with death. How much more excellent the aphorism of Hippocrates—‘Such food as is most grateful, though not so wholesome, is to be preferred to that which is better, but distasteful.’ Nor will this appear strange, if it be considered that the all-wise Creator has formed the whole with such exquisite order, that, as all the evils of nature eminently conspire to complete the harmony of the whole work, so every being is endowed with a *divine direction or instinct*, which

is interwoven with its proper essence, and hence the safety of mankind was provided for, who, notwithstanding all our doctoring, had been otherwise in a sad enough plight." Again—"He would be no honest and successful pilot who were to apply himself with less industry to avoid rocks and sands, and bring his vessel safely home, than to search into the causes of the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which, though very well for a philosopher, is foreign to him whose business it is to secure the ship. So neither will a physician, whose province it is to cure diseases, be able to do so, though he be a person of great genius, who bestows less time on the hidden and intricate method of nature, and adapting his means thereto, than on curious and subtle speculations."

The following is honest enough :—

"Indeed, if I may speak my mind freely, I have been long of opinion that I act the part of an honest man and a good physician as often as I refrain entirely from medicines, when, upon visiting the patient, I find him no worse to-day than he was yesterday; whereas, if I attempt to cure the patient by a method of which I am uncertain, *he will be endangered both by the experiment I am going to make on him and by the disease itself; nor will he so easily escape two dangers as one.*"

"That practice, and that alone, will bring relief to the sufferer, which elicits the curative indications from the phenomena of the diseases themselves, and confirms them by experience, by which means the great Hippocrates made himself immortal. And had the art of medicine been delivered by any one in this wise, though the cure of a disease or two might come to be known to the common people, yet *the art in its full extent would then have required men more prudent and skilful than it does now, nor would it lose any of its credit; for as there is in the operations of Nature, (on the observations of which a true medical praxis is founded,) more of nicety and subtlety than can be found in any art supported on the most specious hypotheses, so the science of Medicine which Nature teaches will exceed an ordinary capacity in a much greater degree than that which mere Philosophy teaches.*"

There is much profound truth in this. Observation, in its strict sense, is not every man's gift, and but few men's actual habit of mind. Newton used to say, that if in any one way he differed from other men, it was in his power of continued attention—of faithful, unbroken observation; his ladder had all its steps entire, and he went up with a composed, orderly foot. It requires more strength and fineness of mind, more of what deserves to be called genius, to make a series of genuine observations in Medicine, or any other art, than to spin any amount of nice hypotheses, or build any number of "castella in aere," as Sydenham calls them. The observer's object is, and it is no mean one,—

"To know *what's what*, and that's as high
As Metaphysic wit can fly."

Sydenham adds, "Nor will the publication of such observations *diminish, but rather increase the reputation of our art*, which, being rendered more difficult, as well as more useful, *only men of sagacity and keen sound judgment would be admitted as physicians.*" How true to the spirit of his great master in his *Novum Organum*, "Nature is only subdued by submission." "The subtilty of nature is far beyond that of sense, or of the understanding, and the specious meditations and theories of mankind are but a kind of insanity, only there is no one to stand by and observe it." There is a very remarkable passage in Sydenham's "Treatise of the Dropsy," in which, after quoting this curious passage from Hippocrates, "certain physicians and philosophers say that it is impossible for any man to understand medicine without knowing the internal structure of man; for my part, I think that what they have written or said of nature pertains less to the medical than the pictorial art," he asserts not only his own strong conviction of the importance of a knowledge of minute anatomy to the practitioner, but also his opinion that what Hippocrates meant was to caution against depending *too much* on, and expecting too much help from anatomical researches, to the superseding of the scrupulous observation of living phenomena, of successive actions.* "For in all diseases, acute and chronic, it must be owned there is an inscrutable *τι θειον*, a specific property which eludes the keenest anatomy."

He then goes on to say, that as Hippocrates censured the abuse of anatomy, so in his own day there were many who, in like manner, raised hopes for Physic from discoveries in Chemistry, which, in the nature of things, *never* could be realized, and which only served to distract from the true Hippocratic method of induction; "for the chief deficiency of medicine is not a want of efficacious medicine. Whoever considers the matter thorough-

* As far as the cure of diseases is concerned, Medicine has more to do with human *Dynamics* than *Statics*, for whatever be the essence of life—and as yet this *τι θειον*, this *nescio quid divinum*, has defied all scrutiny—it is made known to us chiefly by certain activities or changes. It is the tendency at the present time of medical research to *reverse this order*. Morbid anatomy, microscopical investigations, though not confined to states or conditions of parts, must regard them fully more than actions and functions. This is probably what Stahl means when he says, "*ubi Physicus desinit, Medicus incipit*;" and in the following passage of his rough Tudesque Latin, he plainly alludes to the tendency, in his day, to dwell too much upon the materials of the human body, without considering its actions "*ut vivens*." The passage is full of the subtilty and fire and depth of that wonderful man. "Undique hinc *materiæ* advertitur animus, et quæ crassius in sensum impingit conformatio, et mutua proportio corporea consideratur; *motuum* ordo, vis, et absoluta magis in *materiam energia*, tempora ejus, gradus, vices, maxime autem omnium, *fines* obiter in animum admittuntur." The human machine has been compared to a watch, and some hope that in due time doctors will be as good at their craft as watchmakers are at theirs; but watchmakers have not to mend their work *while it is going*; this makes all the difference.

ly, will find that the principal defect on the part of physic proceeds, *not from a scarcity of medicines to answer particular intentions, but from the want of knowing the intentions to be answered*, for an apothecary's apprentice can tell me what medicine will purge, vomit, or sweat, or cool; but a man must be conversant with practice who is able to tell me when is the properest time for administering any of them."

He is constantly inculcating the necessity of getting our diagnostic knowledge at first hand, ridiculing those descriptions of disease which the manufacturers of "Bodies of medicine" make up in their studies, and which are oftener compositions than portraits, or at the best bad copies, and which the young student will find it hard enough to identify in real life. There is too much of this we fear still; and Montaigne, who rejoices in giving a sly hit to his cronies the doctors, might still say with some reason, "like him who paints the sea, rocks, and havens, and draws the model of a ship as he sits safe at his table; but send him to sea and he knows not how or where to steer: so doctors oftentimes make such a description of our maladies as a town-crier does of a lost dog or donkey, of such a colour and height, such ears, &c.; *but bring the very animal before him, and he knows it not for all that.*"

Everywhere our author acknowledges the *vis medicatrix nature*, by which alone so many diseases are cured, and without or against which none, and by directing and helping which medicine best fulfils its end.

"For I do not think it below me or my art to acknowledge, with respect to the cure of fevers and other distempers, that when no manifest indication pointed out to me what should be done, I have consulted my patient's safety and my own reputation, most effectually, *by doing nothing at all.* But it is much to be lamented that abundance of patients are so ignorant as not to know, that it is sometimes as much the part of a skilful physician to do nothing, as at others to apply the most energetic remedies, whence they not only deprive themselves of fair and honourable treatment, but impute it to ignorance or negligence."

We conclude these extracts with a picturesque description. It is a case of "the hysterics" in a man.

"I was called not long since to an ingenious gentleman who had recovered from a fever, but a few days before he had employed another physician, who blooded and purged him soundly, and forbade him the use of flesh. When I came I found him up, and heard him talking sensibly. I asked why I was sent for, to which one of his friends replied with a wink, wait and you'll see. Accordingly, sitting down and entering into discourse with the patient, I perceived his

under lip was thrust outwards, and in frequent motion, as happens to peevish children, who pout before they cry, which was succeeded by the most violent fit of crying, with deep and convulsive sobs. I conceived this was occasioned partly by his long illness, partly by the previous evacuations, and partly by emptiness; I therefore ordered him a roast chicken, and a pint of canary."

In making these selections we have done our author great injustice, partly from having to give them either in Swan's translation or our own, and thereby losing much of the dignity and nerve—the flavour, or what artists would call the crispness of the original; partly also from our being obliged to exclude strictly professional discussions, in which, as might be expected, his chief value and strength lie.

We know nothing in medical literature more exquisite than his letter to Dr. Cole on the hysterical passion, and his monograph of the gout. Well might Edward Harnes, the friend of Addison, in his verses on Sydenham thus sing:—

" Sic te scientem non faciunt libri
Et dogma pulchrum; sed sapientia
Enata rebus, mensque facti
Experiens, animusque felix."

It would not be easy to over-estimate the permanent impression for good, which the writings, the character, and the practice of Sydenham have made on the art of healing in England, and on the Continent generally. In the writings of Boerhaave, Stahl, Gaubius, Pinel, Borden, Haller, and many others, he is always spoken of as the father of rational medicine; as the first man who applied to his profession the Baconian principles of interpreting and serving nature, and who never forgot the master's rule, "non fingendum aut excogitandum, sed inveniendum, quid natura aut faciat aut ferat." He was what Plato would have called an "*artsman*," as distinguished from a doctor of abstract science. But he was by no means deficient in either the capacity or the relish for speculative truth. Like all men of a large practical nature, he could not have been what he was, or done what he did, without possessing and often exercising the true philosophizing faculty. He was a man of the same quality of mind in this respect with Watt, Franklin, and John Hunter, in whom speculation was not the less genuine that it was with them a means rather than an end.

This distinction between the *science* and the *art* or craft, or as it was often called the *cunning* of medicine, is one we have already insisted upon, and the importance of which we consider very great, in the present condition of this department of knowledge and practice. We are now-a-days in danger of neglecting

our art in mastering our science, though medicine must always be *more* of an art than of a science. It being the object of the student of physic to learn or know some thing or things, in order to be able safely, effectually and at once, to do some other thing; and inasmuch as human nature cannot contain more than its fill, a man may not only have much scientific truth in his head, which is useless, but it may shut out and hinder, and even altogether render ineffectual, the active, practical, artistical faculties, for whose use his knowledge was primarily got. It is the remark of a profound thinker, that "*all professional men labour under a great disadvantage in not being allowed to be ignorant of what is useless*; every one fancies that he is bound to receive and transmit whatever is believed to have been known."

This subject of art and science is hinted at, with his usual sagacity, by Plato, in a very singular passage in his Theætetus:—"Particulars," he says, "*are infinite, and the higher generalities give no sufficient direction in medicine; but the pith of all sciences, that which makes the artsman differ from the inept, is in the middle propositions, which, in every particular knowledge, are taken from tradition and experience.*"* It would not be easy to convey in fewer words, more of what deserves the name of the philosophy of this entire subject, and few things would be more for the advantage of the best interests of all arts and sciences, and all true progress in human knowledge and power, than the taking this passage and treating it exegetically, as a divine would say, bringing out fully its meaning, and illustrating it by examples. Scientific truth is to the mind of a physician what food is to his body; but, in order to his mind being nourished and growing by this food, it must be assimilated—it must undergo a vital internal change—must be transformed, transmuted, and lose its original form. This destruction of formal identity—this losing of itself in being received into the general mass of truth—is necessary to bring abstract truth into the condition of what Plato calls "*the middle propositions,*" or, as Mr. J. S. Mill calls them, the *generalia* of knowledge.† These are such truths as

* Being anxious to see what was the context of this remarkable passage, which Bacon quotes, as if *verbatim*, in his advancement of learning, we hunted through the Theætetus, but in vain. We set two friends, thorough-bred Grecians, upon the scent, but they could find no such passage. One of them then spoke to Sir William Hamilton, and he told him that he had marked that passage as not being a literal translation of any sentence in Plato's writings. He considered it a quotation from memory, and as giving the substance of a passage in the Philebus, which occurs in the 6th and 7th of the forty-two sections of that Dialogue. Perhaps the sentence which comes nearest to the words of Bacon is the last in the 6th section, beginning with the words *οἱ δὲ οὖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σοφίαι*. The *τὰ δὲ μὲτα αὐτοὺς ἐμπειρίαι*, of which he speaks, seem to be equivalent to "*the middle propositions.*"

† The following we give as a sort of abstract of an admirable chapter in Mill's Logic on "*The Logic of Art*:"—An art, or a body of art, consists of the rules,

have been appropriated, and vitally adopted, by the mind, and which, to use Bacon's strong words, have been "drenched in flesh and blood," have been turned in "*succum et sanguinem*;" for man's mind, any more than his body, cannot live on mere elementary substances; he must have fat, albumen, and sugar; he can make nothing of their elements, bare carbon, azote, or hydrogen. And more than this, as we have said, he must *digest* and *disintegrate* his food before it can be of any use to him. In this view, as in another and a higher, we may use the sacred words,—“That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die: except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit;” for as it is a law of vegetable life, that a seed does not begin to pass into a new form, does not begin to grow into a plant, until its nature is changed, and its original condition is broken up, until it “dies” in giving birth to something better,—so is it with scientific truth, taken into or planted in the mind—it must die, else it abides alone—it does not germinate.

Had Plato lived now, he might justly have said, “particulars are infinite.” Facts, as such, are merely so many units, and are often rather an encumbrance to the practical man than otherwise. These “middle propositions” stand midway between the facts in their infinity and speculative truth in its abstract inertness; they take from both what they need, and they form a *tertium quid*, upon which the mind can act practically, and reason upon in practice, and form rules of action. Sydenham, Hippocrates, Abernethy, Pott, Hunter, Baillie, Abercrombie, and such like, among physicians, are great in the region of the “middle propositions.” They selected their particulars—their instances, and they made their higher generalities come down, they appropriated them, and turned them into blood, bone, and sinew.

The great problem in the education of young men for medicine in our times, is to know how to make the infinity of particulars, the

together with as much of the speculative propositions as comprises the justification of those rules. Art selects and arranges the truths of science in the most convenient order for practice, instead of the order most convenient for thought—science following one cause to its various effects, while art traces one effect to its multiplied and diversified causes and conditions. *There is need of a set of intermediate scientific truths, derived from the higher generalities of science, and destined to serve as the generalia or first principles of art.* The art proposes for itself an end to be gained, defines the end, and hands it over to science. Science receives it, studies it as a phenomenon or effect, and, having investigated its causes and conditions, sends it back to Art, with a rationale of its cause or causes, but nothing more. Art then examines their combinations, and according as any of them are or are not in human power, or within the scope of its particular end, pronounces upon their utility, and forms a rule of action. *The rules of art do not attempt to comprise more conditions than require to be attended to in ordinary cases, and therefore are always imperfect.*

prodigious treasures of mere science, available for practice—how the art may keep pace with, and take the maximum of good out of the science. *We have often thought that the apprenticeship system is going too much into disrepute.* It had its manifest and great evils; but there was much good got by it that is not to be got in any other way. The *personal authority*, the *imitation* of their master—the watching his doings, and picking up his practical odds and ends—the coming under the influence of his mind, following in his steps, looking with his eyes, accumulating a stock of knowledge, multifarious it might be, the good of which was not fully known till after-years explained and confirmed its worth. There were other practical things besides jokes learned and executed in the apprentices' room, and there were the friendships for life, on which so much, not merely of the comfort, but the progress of a physician depends. Now everything, at least most, is done in public, in classes; and it is necessarily with the names of things rather than the things themselves, or their management, that the young men have chiefly to do. The memory* is exercised more than the senses or the judgment; and when the examination comes, as a matter of course the student returns back to his teacher as much as possible of what he has received from him, and as much as possible in his very words. He goes over innumerable names. There is little opportunity even in anatomy for testing his power or his skill as a workman, as an independent observer and judge, under what Sir James Clark justly calls "*the demoralizing system of cramming.*" He repeats what is already known; he is not able to say how all or any of this knowledge may be turned to practical account. Epictetus cleverly illustrates this very system and its fruits—"As if sheep, after they have been feeding, should present their

* Professor Syme, in his Letter to Sir James Graham on the Medical Bill, in which, in twelve pages, he puts the whole of this vexed question on its true footing, makes these weighty observations:—"As a teacher of nearly twenty-five years' standing, and well acquainted with the dispositions, habits, and powers of medical students, I beg to remark, that the system of repeated examinations on the same subject by different Boards, especially if protracted beyond the age of twenty-two, is greatly opposed to the acquisition of sound and useful knowledge. Medicine, throughout all its departments, is a science of observation; memory alone, however retentive, or diligently assisted by teaching, is unable to afford the qualifications for practice, and it is only by digesting the facts learned, through reflection, comparison, and personal research, that they can be appropriated with improving effect; but when the mind is loaded with the minutiae of elementary medical and collateral study, it is incapable of the intense and devoted attention essential to attaining any approach to excellence in practical medicine and surgery. It has accordingly always appeared to me, that the character of medical men depends less upon what passes during the period even of studentship than upon the mode in which they spend the next years, when their trials and examinations being over, the whole strength of a young and disciplined intellect may be preparing itself for the business of life."

shepherds with *the very grass itself which they had cropped and swallowed, to show how much they had eaten, instead of concocting it into wool and milk.*"

Men of the "middle propositions" are not clever, glib expounders of their reasons, they prefer doing a thing to speaking about how it may be done. We remember hearing a young doctor relate how, on one occasion when a student, he met with the late Dr. Abercrombie, when visiting a man who was labouring under what was considered malignant disease of the stomach. He was present when that excellent man first saw the patient along with his regular attendant. The doctor sauntered into the room in his odd, indifferent way, which many must recollect; scrutinized all the curiosities on the mantelpiece; and then, as if by chance, found himself at his patient's bedside; but when there his eye settled upon him intensely; his whole mind was busily at work. He asked a few plain questions; spoke with great kindness, but very briefly; and, coming back to consult, he said, to the astonishment of the surgeon and the young student, "the mischief is all in the brain, the stomach is affected merely through it. The case will do no good; he will get blind and convulsed, and die." He then in his considerate, simple way, went over what might be done to palliate suffering and prolong life. He was right. The man died as he said, and on examination the brain was found softened, the stomach sound. The young student, who was intimate with Dr. Abercrombie, ventured to ask him what it was in the look of the man that made him know at once. "I can't tell you, I can hardly tell myself; but I rest with confidence upon the exactness and honesty of my past observations. I remember the result, and act upon it; but I can't put you or, without infinite trouble, myself, in possession of all the steps." "But would it not be a great saving if you could tell others?" said the young doctor. "*It would be no such thing; it would be the worst thing that could happen to you; you would not know how to use it. You must follow in the same road, and you will get as far, and much farther. You must miss often before you hit. You can't tell a man how to hit; you may tell him what to aim at.*" "Was it something in the eye?" said his inveterate querist. "Perhaps it was," he said good-naturedly; "but don't you go and blister every man's *occi-put*, whose eyes are, as you think, like his."*

* This is very clearly stated by Dr. Mandeville, the acute but notorious author of the *Fable of the Bees*, in his *Dialogues on the Hypochondria*, one of his best works, as full of good sense and learning as of wit. "If you please to consider that there are no words in any language for an hundredth part of all the minute differences that are obvious to the skilful, you will soon find that a man may know a thing perfectly well, and at the same time not be able to tell you why or how he knows it. The practical knowledge of a physician, or at least the most considerable part of it,

It would be well for the community, and for the real good of the profession, if the ripe experience, the occasional observations of such men as Sydenham and Abercrombie, formed the main amount of medical books, instead of Vade Mecums, Compendiums, Systems, Handbooks, on the one hand, and the ardent but unripe lucubrations of very young men. It is said that *facts* are what we want, and every periodical is filled with papers by very young physicians made up of practical facts. What is fact? we would ask; and are not many—most of the new facts, little else than the opinions of the writers about certain phenomena, the reality, and assuredly the importance of which, is by no means made out so strongly as the opinions about them are stated.* In this intensely scientific age, we need some wise heads to tell us what not to learn, fully as much as what to learn. Let us by all means avail ourselves of the unmatched advantages of science, and of the discoveries which every day is multiplying with a rapidity which confounds; let us convey into and carry in our heads as much as we safely can, of new knowledge from Chemistry, Statistics, the Microscope, the Stethoscope, and all new helps and methods; *but let us go on with the old serious diligence*,—the *experientia* as well as the *experimenta*—the forging, and directing, and qualifying the mind as well as the furnishing it, and what is called accomplishing it. Let us, in the midst of all the wealth pouring in from without, keep our senses and our understandings well exercised on immediate work. Let us look with our own eyes, feel with our own fingers.

One natural consequence of the predominance in our days of scientific element, is, that the elder too much serves the younger. The young man teaches, and the old man learns. This is excellent, when it is confined to the statement of discovery, or the laws of knowledge or of matter. But the young men have now almost the whole field to themselves. Chemistry and Physiology have become, to all men above forty, impossible sciences; they dare not meddle with them; and they keep back from giving to the profession their own personal experience in matters of practice, from the feeling that much of their science is out of date; and the conse-

is the result of a large collection of observations that have been made on the minutiae of things in human bodies in health and sickness; but likewise there are such changes and differences in these minutiae as *no language can express*; and when a man has no other reason for what he does than the judgment he has formed from such observations, *it is impossible he can give you the one without the other*—that is, he can never explain his reasons to you, *unless he could communicate to you that collection of observations, of which his skill is the product.*"

* Louis in the preface to the first edition of his *Researches on Phthisis*, says—
 "Few persons are free from delusive mental tendencies, especially in youth, interfering with true observation, and I am of opinion that, generally speaking, *we ought to place less reliance on cases collected by very young men; and, above all, not intrust the task of accumulating facts to them exclusively.*"

quence is, that, even in matters of practice, the young men are in possession of the field.

Let it not be supposed that we despair of Medicine gaining the full benefit of the general advance in knowledge and usefulness. Far from it. We believe there is more of exact diagnosis, of intelligent, effectual treatment of disease, that there are wider views of principles—directer, ampler methods of discovery, at this moment in Britain than at any former time; and we have no doubt that the augmentation is still proceeding, and will defy all calculation. But we are likewise of opinion, that the office of a physician, in the highest sense, will become fully more difficult than before, will require a greater compass and energy of mind, as working in a wider field, and using finer weapons; and that there never was more necessity for making every effort to strengthen and clarify the judgment and the senses by inward discipline, than when the importance and the multitude of the objects of which they must be cognizant, are so infinitely increased. The middle propositions must be attended to, and filled up as the particulars and the higher generalities crowd in.

It would be out of place in a Journal such as this, and a paper so desultory as the present, to enter at large upon the subjects now hinted at—the education of a physician—the degree of certainty in medicine—its progress and prospects, and the beneficial effects it may reasonably expect from the advance of the purer sciences. But we are not more firmly persuaded of any thing than of the importance of such an inquiry, made largely, liberally and strictly, by a man at once deep, truthful, knowing, and clear. How are we to secure for the art of discerning, curing and preventing disease, the *maximum* of good and the *minimum* of mischief, in availing ourselves of the newest discoveries in human knowledge? To any one wishing to look into this most interesting, and at the present time, *vital* question, we would recommend a paper by the accomplished President of the Edinburgh College of Physicians, admirable equally in substance and in form, entitled, “On the Signification of Fact in Medicine, and on the hurtful effects of the incautious use of such modern sources of fact as the microscope, the stethoscope, chemical analysis, statistics, &c.,” it may be found in No. 177 of the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal. We merely give a sample or two, in which our readers will find in better expression much of what we have already referred to. “*Medicine still is, and must continue for ages to be an empirico-rationalism.*” “A sober thinker can hardly venture to look forward to such an advanced state of chemical rationalism as would be sufficient for pronouncing *a priori*, that sulphur would cure *scabies*, iodine goitre, citric acid the scurvy, or carbonate of iron *neuralgia*.” “Chemistry promises

to be of immediate service in the practice of medicine, not so much by offering us a rational chemical pathology, *but by enlarging the sources from which our empirical rules are to be drawn.*" Here we have our "middle propositions." "The great bulk of practical medical knowledge is obviously the fruit of individual minds, naturally gifted for excellence in medicine;" but the whole paper deserves serious continuous study. We would also, in spite of some ultraisms in statement and expression, the overflowings of a more than ordinarily strong and ardent, and honest mind, recommend heartily the papers of Dr. Forbes, which appeared at the close of the British and Foreign Medical Review, in which he has, with what we cannot call else or less than magnanimity, spoken so much wholesome, though it may be, unpalatable truth; and, finally, we would send every inquiring student who wishes to know how to think and how to speak on this subject at once with power, clearness, and compactness, and be both witty and wise, to Dr. Latham's three little volumes on Clinical Medicine. The first two lectures in the earliest volume are "lion's marrow," the very pith of sense and sound-mindedness. We give a morsel—

"The medical men of England do and will continue to keep pace with the age in which they live, however rapidly it may advance. I wish to see physicians still instituted in the same discipline, and still reared in fellowship and communion with the wisest and best of men, and that not for the sake of what is ornamental merely, and becoming to their character, but because I am persuaded that that discipline which renders the mind most capacious of wisdom and most capable of virtue, can hold the torch and light the path to the sublimest discoveries in every science. *It was the same discipline which contributed to form the minds of Newton and of Locke, of Harvey and of Sydenham.*"

He makes the following beautiful remark in leading his pupils into the vast ward of St. Bartholomew's—

"In entering this place, even this vast hospital, where there is many a significant, many a wonderful thing, you shall take me along with you, and I will be your guide. *But it is by your own eyes, and your ears and your own minds, and (I may add) by your own hearts, that you must observe, and learn, and profit. I can only point to the objects, and say little else than 'See here and see there.'*"

This is the great secret, the coming to close quarters with your object, having immediate, not mediate cognizance of the materials of study and care, *apprehending* first, and then *comprehending*. For, to use an illustration which no one need ever weary of giving or receiving, a good practical physician is more akin to the working-bee than to the spider or the ant. Instead of spinning, like the schoolmen of old, endless webs of speculations

out of their own bowels, in which they were themselves afterwards as frequently caught and destroyed as any one else, or hoarding up, grain after grain, the knowledge of other men, and thus becoming "a very dungeon of learning," in which (*Hibernice*) they lose at once themselves and it,—they should rather be like the brisk and public-hearted bee, taking, by a divine instinct, her own industry, and the accuracy of her instrument, honey from all flowers. "*Formica colligit et utitur, ut faciunt empirici; aranea ex se fila educit neque a particularibus materiam petit; apis denique cæteris se melius gerit, hæc indigesta a floribus mella colligit, deinde in viscerum cellulas concocta maturat, iisdem tandem insudat donec ad integram perfectionem perduxerit.*"

We had intended giving some account of the bearing that the general enlightenment of the community has upon Medicine,—and especially of the value of the labours of such men as the late Dr. Combe, Dr. Henry Marshall, Sir James Clark, and others, in the collateral subjects leading into, and auxiliary to pure Medicine,—but we have no space to do them any measure of justice. The full importance, and the full possibility of the *prevention* of disease in all its manifold, civil, moral, and personal bearings, is not yet by any means adequately acknowledged; there are few things oftener said or less searched into than that prevention is better than cure.

Let not our young and eager doctors be scandalized at our views as to the comparative uncertainty of medicine as a science—such has been the opinion of the wisest and most successful of the art. Radcliffe used to say, that "when young, he had fifty remedies for every disease, and when old, one remedy for fifty diseases." Dr. James Gregory said, "young men kill their patients, old men let them die." Gaubius says, "*equidem candide dicam, plura me indies, dum in artis usu versor, dediscere quam discere, et in crescente ætate, minui potius quam augeri, scientiam,*" meaning by "*scientia*" an abstract systematic knowledge. And Borden gives as the remark of an old physician, "*J'étois dogmatique à vingt ans, observateur à trente, à quarante je fus empirique; je n'ai point de système à cinquante.*" And he adds, in reference to how far a medical man must personally know the sciences that contributed to his art, "Iphicrates, the Athenian general, was hard pressed by an orator before the people, to say what *he* was to be so proud, 'Are you a soldier, a captain, an engineer, a spy, a pioneer, a sapper, a miner?' 'No,' says Iphicrates, 'I am none of these, but I command them all.' So if one asks me, are you an empiric, a dogmatist, an observer, an anatomist, a chemist, a microscopist? I answer, No, but I am captain of them all."

And to conclude in the opening words of the "*Historia Vitæ et Mortis*,"—"Speramus enim et cupimus futurum, ut id plurimorum bono fiat; atque ut medici nobiliores animos non-nihil erigant, neque toti sint in curarum sordibus, neque solum pro necessitate honorentur, sed fiant demum *omnipotentia et clementia divinæ administri*." "Etsi enim," as he pathetically adds, "nos Christiani ad terram promissionis perpetuo aspiremus et anhelemus; tamen *interim* itinerantibus nobis, in hac mundi eremo, etiam calceos istos et tegmina (corporis scilicet nostri fragilis) quam minimum atteri, erit signum divini favoris."

"For it is our earnest desire and hope, that the efficacy of medicine may be infinitely increased, and that physicians may carry themselves more erect and nobly, and not be entirely taken up with sordid gains and cares, nor be honoured from necessity alone, but may at length become the executors of the Divine omnipotence and mercy; for, though we who are Christians do without ceasing aspire and pant after the land of promise, we cannot fail to regard it as a token of the favour of God, when, as we travel through this wilderness of the world, these shoes and garments of our frail bodies are rendered as little as may be subject to decay."

We have left ourselves no space to notice Dr. Greenhill's collected edition of Sydenham's Latin works. It is everything that the best scholarship, accuracy and judgment could make it. We regret we cannot say so much for Dr. R. G. Latham's translation and Life. The first is inferior as a whole to Swan's, and in parts to Pechey's; and the Life which might have contained so much new, valuable, and entertaining matter, escapes all this, with a curious infelicity, and is altogether one of the oddest, most *gauche* and limping bits of composition we ever remember having met with.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Promethean or Communitarian Apostle, a Monthly Magazine of Societarian Science, Domestic, Ecclesiastics, Politics, and Literature.* Edited by GOODWYN BARMBY. London, 1842.
2. *The Spirit of the Times, a Journal of Education, Colonization, Politics, and Social Progress.* 1849.
3. *The Book of the New Moral World, containing the Rational System of Society, Founded on Demonstrable Facts, Developing the Constitution and Laws of Human Nature and of Society.* By ROBERT OWEN. 1841-1844.
4. *Robert Owen's Reply to the Question, "What would you do if you were Prime Minister of England?"* 2d edit. Undated.

ATTRACTIVE projects of social reform naturally have a distinct kind of influence on the several races of men, just as stimulants variously affect different constitutions. The fiery Frank receives the golden image with fierce joy—he sets it up on high, calls on all mankind to worship it, and is ready to trample down all who disobey. The German, whose musing philosophy teaches him to be astonished at nothing, receives it with solemn courtesy, examines it earnestly, by the aid of his peculiar lights, and sees in it curious forms and minute characteristics, which please and amuse him. The Anglo-Saxon, in the general case, takes the measure of it instantaneously, with his trained practical mind, and flings it back at its inventor with a short and scornful laugh. Nor does he generally, though habitually a grumbler, regret his rapid judgment. He abuses sinecure offices and the game-laws—he revolts against church-rates. He is eloquent about the abuses of the law when he has lost his case and is paying his attorney's bill. He grumbles about poor-rates and local taxes. But much as he dislikes all these things, he hates a pretender and a charlatan with a more cordial and emphatic hatred. He remembers that some able men have endeavoured to reform the law, but have found it difficult. He sees in Anti-Corn-Law Leagues, in Finance Reform Associations, and in a Parliamentary Opposition, machinery capable of somewhat mitigating the evils under which he complains. He is ready to admit, that on the whole if things be bad they might be worse. And when a man who has been working in the closet, and has combated with no difficulties but those suggested by himself, comes to him with a project for upsetting all that human skill and labour have done for society during centuries, and substituting a perfect machine of the destroyer's own invention in its stead, he receives the proposal as he would an offer to strike him to the heart or sever the

spinal cord, on an assurance that the operator had found a more ingenious and effective method of reanimating his clay, than that vulgar vitality—liable to disease and to decay—with which the common herd of men are endowed.

But those very characteristics that make our people less susceptible than others to projects and vain theories, impart to the few who do adopt them an obstinacy and fixity of purpose that sometimes render formidable what the community at large treat with unmitigated contempt. Honest conviction on the part of some, in others a spirit of singularity, or a heroic championship of a despised cause, will bring converts among us to any opinions ably and zealously promulgated; and the converts so gained are valuable to their cause; for steadiness, pertinacity, and the pride of consistency distinguish us above all other people who form opinions for themselves. So it occurs, that when in France a new revolutionary wave has swept away the last vestiges of a cherished idol, when the German, analyzing the great strata of society with a microscope, has found scratches and crystallizations, and forgotten the large outlines he has been called on to inspect;—in British Society the evil once inserted still remains, though but in a topical form. It assumes the aspect of a hard, obstinate, indolent sore—neither cautery nor the knife will eradicate it; all strong remedies chafe and inflame it; nothing remains but to strengthen the patient and raise the general tone of his health, so that its virulence may gradually decay.

Arising from some such cause as this there is a certain dull, muddy homeliness about British Socialism. It wants altogether the daring lustre that has surrounded not only the sayings but the deeds of the French school, and it has but little of the earnest dreaminess of the German. Such an episode in history as the national workshops and the Commission of the Luxembourg will supply the world with a lasting historical wonder. It will be more like an Arabian tale than a passage in positive history; and even such incidents as the sudden eminence of Masaniello, or Jack Cade, will look small and parochial when measured with the meteoric transit of Louis Blanc. He has been the Phaeton of the nineteenth century:—

——— "*Leve pondus erat; nec quod cognoscere possent
Solis equi; solitaque jugum gravitate carebat.
————— magnis tamen excidit ausis.*"

Indeed, though it be an important, and, as we may be able to show, a curious subject of inquiry, we have no great names or brilliant deeds to connect with Socialism, or its cognate systems, in this country. Robert Owen's name stands alone on an eminence, quite unapproachable, such as it is. He has been king,

priest, and prophet, within his own world of opinion. One has a formidable idea of heads of sects when they present themselves on paper. We would not like to declare how awe-inspiring might be the presence of Swedenborg or Joe Smith, of Mesmer, Paracelsus, Fourier, St. Simon, or Louis Blanc. But surely nothing can be conceived less likely to inspire awe, or even vulgar wonder, than the presence and conversation of this man—perhaps the only conspicuous man in the British empire who has in his own walk no rival. It is curious, indeed one of the most interesting results of an inquiry into whatever we have in this country of the nature of Socialism, that for its position among the eminent and conspicuous things of the community it should have developed so little talent—so little that is worth reading—so little that one, with the best intentions towards acquiring an experimental knowledge of the written developments of the sect, *can* read. We suppose the general unpopularity of the doctrines of the sect is the cause of this. Genius courts the sunshine, and though it may also “love the high imbowed roof” and the dim religious light, it does not love parallelograms and spade husbandry, especially when it is told by political economy that they are misapplied. Hence the want of any received Owenist literature. Who, for instance, has heard of John Finch, Charles Southwell, Jacob Holyoake, and William Spier? Who has heard of Goodwyn Barmby? The name is peculiar enough to escape being passed unnoticed among Smiths and Browns, and it is the name of a man of real genius; but unless we had hunted him out specially, through the obscure Communistic regions which it is his nature to haunt, death might have overtaken us ere we had identified the curious effusions of his genius with the name of their author. Reading an article on Communism in a Continuation of the German Conversations Lexicon, after the name of Owen as a Socialist came that of Combe. It was not unnatural to suppose that the German had confounded two systems with each other; but he had only committed the common error of confounding a known individual with another bearing his name. Abram Combe was an important member of the official staff among Owen’s followers. He was the head of the New-View Establishment at Orbiston, as little remembered, or, more properly speaking, as little known as himself.

Thus in search of the eminence and literature of the sect, in so far as known names are concerned, we are driven to one man—even Robert Owen himself. We can neither stop short nor go farther; we cannot turn to the right or the left; the rest is all blank. And if we ask the generation who have been born after the first ten years of the nineteenth century, what they

know of Robert Owen, they will be apt to speak of him as of some *magni nominis umbra* ; apart from his immediate followers, none of them have read what he has written. Nor have even the older generation read them in later times. Those who may have known them of old remember unpleasantly how they had listened to his bland proposals, ignorant of their real aim ; and when they discovered it—when they saw “Harmony Hall” through the trees—how they found their way with breathless haste back to the beaten highway, content rather to admit that they had been accidentally trespassing, than to confess that they had been really directing their steps to the parallelogram.

It may be said that this is not the proper tone to adopt towards so great a man. The little knot of followers will doubtless say so ; some who have heard of his name, and perhaps know scarcely enough of him to separate him from the “Owen swift and Owen strong” of Gray, may join them. But who that has encountered the monotonous weariness of this man’s enunciations of the general principles of his policy, the perpetual repetition of the same form of words recurring somewhere or other about once a week for the past forty years,—can help a little conversational relaxation before he closes with so unvarying a theme ? When the reader of it is in bad humour, it is like ceaseless rain pattering on the roof and windows ; when he is in good humour, it is

“ A noise like to a hidden brook,
In the leafy month of June,
That to the sleeping woods all night
Singeth a quiet tune.”

It is surely not required of any one who forms an estimate of Robert Owen’s system, that all he has written must have been read and must be remembered. It would be as fair, in estimating the capabilities of a practical lawyer, to demand a remembrance of the contents of all the deeds he had drafted throughout a very long professional career. We question the power of human patience to accomplish the task. Owen seems to have even tired some of his own nearest and most devoted friends by his monotonous reiteration—a difficult thing for a social prophet to accomplish, and one that evinces powers of humdrum almost superhuman. Any specimen will do for a type of the whole continuous stream, of which any one passage is as like the rest as one bucketful of water from a burn is like every other. Things that are common enough in one time or place are curious in others ; and though the sect have been so liberally treated to their master’s eloquence, it is as unknown to the ordinary public who read magazines and reviews as the works of Occam,

Erigena, or Balbus. Our readers will not, therefore, think it a superfluous task to peruse a few sentences by Owen, extracted from his organ, "The New Moral World." We select a "Memorial to the Lords and Commons," dated "Harmony Hall, Hants, 31st May 1844," which begins thus:—

"Your memorialist has devoted some years—more than half a century—to investigate and ascertain what society is, how it has become what it is, how the evils which it has suffered may be removed, their recurrence prevented, and a very superior state of human existence be established.

"He has thus been enabled to discover that society from the beginning commenced in ignorance, was *based* on imaginary notions, opposed to facts and to the laws of humanity and of nature.

"That the entire superstructure of society has been raised, step by step, from its base upon these fundamental errors, and thus has been brought into universal practice a system, false, complicated, and contradictory—a system irrational, and destructive of the wellbeing and happiness of the human race.

"This irrational system itself is the first obstacle to be removed, before such changes in principle and practice can be accomplished as will ensure a steady progress towards a very advanced state of physical, mental, and moral existence.

"This obstacle may now, for the first time in the whole history of man, be removed by an easy, gradual, and most beneficial reorganization of society in principle and practice—a reorganization that, when adopted, will ensure far greater advantages to *all*, of every rank and class, than any individual has experienced, or than any one can experience so long as this old irrational system shall be allowed to continue." And so forth.

It is always the fate of writers of this kind that they have to complain of being misunderstood and misinterpreted. If one of the uninitiated attempts to give an abridgment or a sketch of the system, he is sure to omit some minute element, imperceptible to the naked eye of unrationalized man, but essential to the working out of the system, as the balance-spring to the movements of the watch. If one attempts to let the doctrine declare itself in quotations, he is sure to take them from the wrong place, and to represent them in false juxtaposition. We shall be content to anticipate these charges, since we do not profess to give the reader even the most meagre outline of Owen's system. Our task is to describe and narrate, neither to propagate nor refute doctrines and assertions. Nor if we desired to set up a figure of Owenism, that we might have the satisfaction of knocking it down, could we accomplish the task to our satisfaction. We read on and on and on, and we have indistinct glimmerings, such as the passage we have just quoted may afford; but we

never have been capable to take away that kind of articulate impression of the system which would enable us to say—"Behold, there is the system of Robert Owen." The reason of this seems to be, that his discourse always resolves itself into two extremes, without the proper *means* necessary to connect them intellectually together. The one is the extreme of abstractness, the other is the extreme of concreteness. After imbibing a few pages of such vague generalities as we have quoted, while the mind's eye is struggling through the intellectual haze, suddenly, at a turn of the road, the whole is instantaneously altered as by the rising of a curtain, and you feel yourself driven through a long, hard series of minute practical details—balance-sheets of profit and loss, estimates of the quantity of manure requisite for a given return by turnip husbandry, the adaptability of a new sowing-machine to drills, the steam-power necessary to drive so many spindles, the cheapest means of cooking a dinner for two hundred people, and the average market value of a fustian-jacket that has been worn for three months. The mind, a little perplexed by the generalities, is glad to find something substantial that it can grasp, and it is generally admitted that the calculations are accurate, and the arrangements practicable and sagacious. The question, then, comes to be, how are these calculations and these economical plans and instructions to be of any use to the world by being applied to any practical end? Here we are brought at once to the testing question between those who have faith in Owen and those who have not. He takes it for granted, that his general principle once applied, man is instantly metamorphosed from an imperfect into a perfect being; that in all our calculations as to his fate and prospects we must treat him as such, and in arranging for the future, deal with his changed state as so much additional capital. He is worth so many thousands of pounds just now; when Owenism is adopted, he is worth somewhat more than double the amount, and all calculations regarding him must proceed on that datum. At present he is dissipated, idle, extravagant. He wilfully hurts his constitution, he idles away valuable time, he makes false speculations and ruins himself and others, he occupies himself in controversy, in novel-reading, in vain or even wicked amusements. He dresses himself absurdly and irrationally, occasionally talks nonsense, does foolish things, and induces or compels other people to do foolish things. When he shall have become "rational," by swallowing a dose of Owen, this will be all at an end. No human being will be idle for a moment that he can give to working without injury to his constitution. No one will waste his labour, but every one will devote it to the most profitable end, in so far that if a farthing of additional profit can be realized by his adopting some occupation which in

his old benighted state he hated and would not have adopted for a thousand pounds, yet he will immediately set about it without a murmur. No one will ever drink two glasses of wine when a glass and three-fourths is the quantity adapted to his constitution. No one will sleep eight hours and a half when eight hours are sufficient. No one will keep pork till it becomes maggotty, and no unconscientious kitchen-maid will take too thick a skin off potatoes and waste their substance; sows will always farrow a given quantity of piglings; there will be no potato disease; and the yield of turnips per acre will be precisely what is wanted.

All these things being granted, the rest is plain sailing. You can tell what mankind are to be worth by the rule of three. You can estimate your man-power just as you can your steam-power. Owen's most brilliant and effective application was in the case of Ireland. It was a well-selected instance of waste of power, and certainly the balance presented by a full restorative was as any one might anticipate, something very large and eminently satisfactory. A quotation from his "plan for the pacification of Ireland," when compared with the passage we have already cited, will enable the reader practically to feel what we have attempted to describe. Mr. Owen suddenly leaps from the purely abstract and general, to the most minutely concrete. He begins as usual with some such introductory announcement as the following:—"I will now disclose to you a secret, which, till now, has been hidden from mankind. It is, that the fundamental notion on which the whole fabric of society has been raised, is an error—a lamentable error—one which pervades all the proceedings of men. And while that notion shall be taught to the rising generations, it will be impossible to produce results in any degree more beneficial than those which have been realized in past times, and which are now experienced around us. And what may at first seem the *more* extraordinary, it is not the interest of man, woman, or child, in this or any other country, whatever may be their rank, station, condition or fortune, that that notion should be longer permitted to irrationalize the human mind and conduct." While the reader's mind is striving to realize this solemn announcement, and is in some measure yielding to the influence of its hazy vagueness, it is immediately raised to life by being plunged into the following statements in which there is no trace of mystery or vagueness.

"*Calculation first*, shewing the result from the industry of 1000 people employed partly in the cultivation and disposal of the produce of 1000 acres, and partly in manufactures.

"Suppose an association of 1000 people, of the usual ages in society, to rent or purchase a farm of 1000 Irish acres of a medium quality of soil, to put it under spade cultivation, and to arrange it

as under, the subjoined calculations will show the number of labourers necessary for the cultivation of the land, the probable produce, and the surplus that will remain, after the whole population are provided with food, clothes, instruction, and superior domestic education:

200 Acres green crop, say 80 acres potatoes or carrots, and 120 acres white, yellow, or swedish turnips.

200 Ditto fallow crop, viz., 150 acres flax, and 50 wheat.

200 Ditto clover, rape, vetches, &c.

200 Ditto white crop, viz., 78 acres of wheat, 122 acres oats.

150 Ditto pasture, a part to be laid down, and as much taken up occasionally.

80 Ditto Orchard, producing fruits, roots, and culinary vegetables, cabbage for dairy, cows, &c.

20 Ditto site of buildings, exercise grounds, &c.

1000 Acres."

And all this is but initiatory—the calculations expand into tables like returns of the Board of Trade, evolving such conclusions as the quantity of certain produce that "would feed 100 cows or bullocks, producing 691,200 English pints of milk, or 26,800 lbs. of butter, or 74,438 lbs. of cheese, 17,920 lbs. of beef, and the hides of 20 bullocks which would be slaughtered yearly." The statements and calculations are altogether of that formidable kind which general readers are glad to take for granted. We have no doubt that they are quite correct, and their framer's good faith is attested by a subscription list, headed thus; "Robert Owen, Esq., £1000." He would have let it go as his other thousands have gone, hopeful and uncomplaining, had there been a sufficiency of money from other quarters, but those who came forward were saved by what prevents many a pecuniary shipwreck—want of sufficient strength to launch the vessel. The whole project was involved in the old and simple difficulty of the *premier pas qui coûte* of Madame du Deffand. The turnips, the milk, the cheese, beef, and skins were all indisputable conclusions, if we had the great datum of Ireland rationalized. It is not meant, of course, that the sort of semi-rationality, scarcely a step above barbarism, of England and Scotland, should be communicated to that country. Such a project would scarcely be worth accomplishing, when we find that for ourselves there are such prospects as the following, proclaimed as the conclusion of "a general constitution of government, and universal code of laws, derived from the constitution and laws of human nature."

"Under the existing religious, political, commercial, and domestic relations of Great Britain, 250 individuals cannot be supported in comfort on a square mile of land; while under the proposed system, with much less labour and capital than are now employed, 500 may

be immediately supported in abundance; and a few years after the new arrangements shall have been matured, 1000, 1500, and probably without any additional discoveries, 2000 individuals may be supported upon every square mile of an average quality of soil. Such is the difference between a rational system, formed in accordance with nature, and a system founded in opposition to it."

Having referred to a document which in its title contains the word "Constitution" and "Code of Laws," it may naturally be supposed by the pretty large portion of the public who are not conversant with the literature of Owen, that he must have announced some drafts of substantive laws intended for the government of his new republic. Certainly there do sometimes occur sentences in the more abstract part of his writings which are expressed in the imperative mode of the legislator; but they occur at long intervals, like milestones on a road, and they evidently do not come from the heart, for Robert Owen is too good-natured, polite, and hopeful a man to be very imperative. Indeed, if we could produce him before the reader, and question him on this matter, we are sure that we could extract from him an admission, that when once his system is in full operation the restraint of laws will become unnecessary; when men speak nothing but truth and do nothing but duty, surely acts of parliament, imposing a penalty of £5 recoverable before two justices, will be quite useless, and the science supported by the rascality and contentiousness of mankind will be superseded. Still, as we have already intimated, there do occur here and there, dotting Owen's writings, certain pithy sentences, intended to be the laws which are to make man rational, and guide his rationality when he has achieved it. It will not be unfair to select some specimens of social legislation from the latest writings of the social patriarch, in a series of expositions which, we believe, he is still giving forth for the benefit of those who choose to listen to them. We turn to a periodical called "The Spirit of the Age," of the existence of which it is very improbable that one out of ten among our readers has ever heard. During the storm in which foreign Socialism was shaking, nay, shattering the thrones of Europe and her most deeply founded institutions, here was British Socialism whispering its existence in a periodical so little noticed that it was dying of inanition when Louis Blanc, the representative of its principles, was reigning in Paris. In this quiet sequestered corner of the British press, undismayed by the battle of Paris as the tragic end of foreign Socialism, or by the falling off of subscribers which notified its euthanasia at home, Robert Owen, serene and hopeful as ever, printed—we can hardly say published—part of a series of papers, which he called "The rational mode of permanently and peaceably adjusting the

present disordered state of Europe." This consists of a series of short laws, in propositions, standing up here and there from a great flat waste of comment, of the kind of which our first quotation from his writings is an example. The first law is in these terms—

"Every one shall be equally provided through life with the best of everything for human nature, by public arrangements, which arrangements shall give the best known direction to the industry and talents of every individual."

One would think that such a law required nothing to be said in its commendation, and that the best accompaniment to it would be some evidence of the possibility of bringing about its beneficent enactment. But this is not the method in which Robert Owen has been accustomed to treat the offspring of his genius. A comment follows the enactment. It stands for the speech of an honourable member bringing in a bill, and, like many an exposition of this kind, it is not an explanation of the difficulties to be encountered, but a hearty exultation in their being completely overcome, and that by the mere adoption of such a law as the one we have printed. Indeed, like all other grand things, the simplicity of Owenism is as wonderful as its effectiveness. When the "rational system" is once established, it will not only, by virtue of this law, give every human being "the best of everything," but it will have brought into existence enough of "the best of everything" to satisfy the whole world—a thing much wanted, and which the imperfect and irrational institutions of society have certainly failed in accomplishing.

After wading through the commendatory comment, we come to "Law 2d." We see no reason why our readers should not also have the benefit of reading it; the perusal will not occupy long time. Law 2d. is in these terms—"All shall be educated, from infancy to maturity, in the best manner known at the time." Then follows, of course, a laudatory commentary, which might have been spared, since few people will object to the advantage of everybody being well educated. Law No. 3 might be perhaps more open to discussion. It saith—"All shall pass through the same general routine of education, domestic teaching, and employment." Law No. 4 deals less with the abstract, and seems to point to special arrangements, although, from the notions of civil liberty acted on in this country, few ten-pound householders would be inclined to give it their support, unless the details of its proposed operation were more fully imparted to them. It saith—"All children from their birth shall be under the special care of the township in which they are born; but the parents shall have free access to them at all times." This being the first

of the series to which we felt any definitive objection, beyond mere doubts as to the practicability of its being put in force, we have looked at the accompanying commentary with some interest, and propose to favour our readers with one or two of the reasons which make such a law necessary.

"1st. The affections of parents for their own children are too strong for their judgments ever to do justice to themselves, their children, or the public, in the education of their own children, even if private families possessed the machinery, which they never do, to well manufacture character from birth.

"2d. Children in small numbers can never be placed within the proper machinery to well form their physical, mental, moral, and practical characters, and make them full formed men and women."

And then, after a third and a fourth reason as convincing as the first and second, it is announced in a more confidential tone, that—

"Although the children will not be trained and educated by their parents, as in the present state of society, which unfits them for members of a pure democracy, yet the parents will have free access to them at all times, and will see them trained and educated to become, in disposition, habits, manners, temper and judgment, so superior to that which any family formation of character could give, that there would arise a feeling and consideration between the parents and children very superior to the frequently silly affection and desire for injurious partial privileges on both sides, which are now so common throughout all classes."

The "injurious partial privilege" probably relates to the kiss bestowed on "the toddles," when he has for the first time accomplished the transit from papa to mamma, distant a table's breadth from each other, on two limbs, after having been in the habit of using four. The "injurious partial privilege" ought, it appears, to be put down. But the unsatisfactory reserve which characterizes Mr. Owen's expositions, as well as those of his followers, leaves one certainly divested of a Mentor to guide him through the intricacies of infant management. We are not told, for instance, in any of Owen's works, or in any of the French Communist publications that we remember to have seen, what kind of toys, if any, the children brought up on the rational system are to be permitted to play with. Perhaps this may show our entire ignorance of the rational system, which must have so rational an influence on those born within the sphere of its operation, that they will have the same contempt for toys which quakers have for heraldic titles. Perhaps, on the other hand, their toys, and the proper rational adjustment of them, may be so important that its special direction may be the function of a

cabinet minister, or of the sort of person who, under a rational system, is to hold a like position, if under a rational system there can be anything like a cabinet minister.

The punishment or other coercive means of enforcing it, is a vital part of every ordinary law. It is one of the promised results of the "rational" system, that punishment shall not be needed, since every one shall act rationally; but still there is to be something holding the same place apparently that punishment holds in other codes, which invites attention. In "the general constitution of government and universal code of laws" already cited—certainly, by the way, free of the legislative vice of longwindedness, since the whole might be comprised in about three sections of a modern statute—there is the following provision:

"All individuals trained, educated, and placed in conformity to the laws of their nature, must of necessity at all times think and act rationally, except they shall become physically, intellectually, or morally diseased; in which case the Council shall remove them into the hospital for bodily, mental, or moral invalids, where they shall remain until they shall be recovered by the mildest treatment which can effect their cure."

This is widely suggestive. The idea appears to be an enlargement from that of the ingenious quaker who would not kick the dog that bit him, but hallooed out, "mad dog!" and sent him with the chances of that character through the street. Nobody is to be punished, but every one who differs in opinion with the authorities, which would be an inevitable type of moral disease, is to be counted mad, and treated accordingly. True, he is to be subjected to the "mildest treatment," but it must be sufficient "to effect his cure," and crush his stubborn, rebellious irrationality. When the topsy-turvy has been completed, we have an idea that the lunatic asylums would be large and full. Owen himself gives alarming indications of the quantity of insanity among mankind. Thus in the *New Moral World* there is an address by him, as President of the Social Congress, dated 4th March 1844, which is hopefully devoted to a consideration of "the increasing absurdity, insanity, and madness of the British and North American Governments and people." To quiz Robert Owen—to say of him, for instance, as Bentham said, "His mind is a maze of confusion, and he avoids coming to particulars,—he is always the same—says the same things over and over again,—he built some small houses, and people who had no houses of their own went to live in such houses,"—to speak thus would be an indication of moral disease in its rankest form. We are not sure, indeed, but that even the humble effusions of the present writer might entitle him to a

cell in the hospital of the morally diseased. People who resist the general training system, and desire to keep the education and rearing of their children in their own hands, would of course be instantly swept into that receptacle. Nay, as one glances over Owen's projects, the necessary inhabitants of these moral madhouses expand in a most alarming manner. Thus in his Report to the County of Lanark in 1821, where he proposed to establish a set of model villages, it was to be part of the system "that the male children of the new villagers should be clothed in a dress somewhat resembling the Roman and Highland garb, in order that the limbs may be free from ligatures, and the air circulate over every part of the body, and that they may be trained to become strong, active, well-limbed, and healthy." (p. 38.) Now, suppose any man so lost to all rationality as to remain a devotee of small-clothes or trousers—suppose some Celt-hating Pinkerton madly resolute to clothe his limbs—of course he must be immediately removed, in the custody of a couple of rational barelegged policemen. The scenes in rationality-land would have some resemblance to those in Moscow under the sumptuary regulations of the Emperor Paul, where an English merchant was seized on the pavement by the police, and a pair of illegal and irrational boots peeled from his limbs.

The reader who has encountered these characteristics of intellect for the first time may naturally ask in amazement if we have been speaking of that Robert Owen whose name once filled the ear of Europe. We can easily imagine some future antiquary setting forth on his inquiries, in the belief that he will prove how there were two Robert Owens, as there were two Socrateses, two Catos, two Rousseaus, and two Burkes. We have spoken of the contrasts in his style, his sudden leaps from the abstract to the concrete; but these are faint contrasts in comparison to that which severs his past from his present position in the eye of the world. So great a reverse of fame—so startling an instance of the instability of human greatness, it would be difficult to parallel in the history of eastern conquests and revolutions. He who is now held by nearly all the world to be a babbling old man, with a silly crotchet in his head, which he mumbles over and over while nobody listens, had once a name to conjure with. Many people believed him to be the most satanic, others believed him to be the most godlike man that trod the earth. The contests about him—about his character and his system—were as fierce and furious as any that the annals of politics or polemics can show. He could probably produce more laudatory letters, bearing illustrious signatures—some of them royal—than any other inhabitant of this island. Archbishops and crowned heads made pilgrimages to New Lanark to talk to the wonderful regenerator

of the age, and see the palpable evidence of his beneficent wisdom. The Mexican Government offered him a territory on which he might make what a doubting world called experiments; and where, as absolute ruler, he might begin his vast plan of "revolutionizing peaceably the minds and practice of the human race." It included the actual district of California; but though the diplomacy of Britain and the United States were embarked in the matter, it was not adjusted to Owen's satisfaction, for he was then a very fastidious person, expecting some day to stand rather nearer the command of the human race than Napoleon, and not inclined to make his experiment *in corpore vili*,—whereby he escaped becoming one of the richest monarchs, at least in the new world. The Duke of Kent at one time entertained the notion of spending some months with his daughter under the personal tuition of Owen, that she who is now our most gracious Queen might from infancy be imbued with his system. It is only on his own authority, certainly, that we have this curious fact; but we have great reliance on his truthfulness, and do not doubt that he had good reason to believe that this was the object of some complimentary letters from the Duke of Kent. Middle-aged people may remember in their youth having seen a series of little volumes full of tattle called the *Percy Anecdotes*. This book was so popular that it has been literally "used up." It is not to be found in libraries to which many people have access, for in them it has been thumbed to annihilation. It is perhaps not the least brilliant indication of Owen's eminence, that in the volume of this series dedicated to Philanthropy, his portrait is presented as that of the living head and representative of the doctrine that man should love his neighbour as himself.

Nor were these things the types of a mere vague reputation, which magnified the object by its distance. Corporations and committees, who are as little likely as valets to find a man a hero, and can express their opinion of his unheroic nature more honestly, were respectful to Owen, and reported on his projects as if they were things fit for this world, and for the respectable public bodies the reporters represented. A committee of the Commissioners of Supply and freeholders of the county of Lanark, prepared a report on "a plan for relieving public distress, and removing discontent, by giving permanent productive employment to the poor and working-classes, under arrangements which will essentially improve their character, and ameliorate their condition, diminish the expenses of production and consumption, and create markets co-extensive with production." The committee did not entirely adopt the plan: had they done so, they would have provided a curious incident for the ridicule of posterity. They spoke, however, in a tone of high respect both of Owen and his

project. They even suggested that it might be valuable to have "a few comparative experiments, on however small a scale, attentively conducted, and reported by practical agriculturists in different parts of the country;" but they did not show an inclination to make any pecuniary sacrifice or incur any pecuniary risk on the occasion. They at the same time applied to Owen the following remarks, in which it is pleasant for us to find, after having so often quoted himself against himself, that we can adduce a body of worshipful gentlemen speaking much in his favour. They say—

"Your committee cannot conclude this brief report, without expressing the supreme satisfaction which they experienced in visiting the highly interesting establishment under the more immediate direction of Mr. Owen. There the benevolence of that individual and his partners is portrayed in the most pleasing features; and an inspection of the splendid manufactory at New Lanark must convince the most sceptical to how great an extent the amelioration of the manufacturing population may be carried, when the views of the managers are governed by that spirit of philanthropy which actuates the partners of the New Lanark works, whose means of control over their population are only exceeded by their desire to direct them to the most valuable purpose, that of promoting the comfort and independence of the parents, and of training up the children, from their earliest infancy, by such a gentle, but at the same time systematic course of education, as, in the opinion of your committee, cannot fail to render them very valuable members of society."—P. 64.

In the year 1820, when this Lanarkshire committee made their report, Owen's name was so great, that they acquired a kind of European publicity from having come into actual contact and controversy with him, and many attacks were made on them for their bigoted short-sightedness in not at once embracing the offer of the man who undertook to abolish crime and misery at so small a rate. *Now* the popular opinion regarding this leader is so completely the reverse of what it then was, that to prevent the good-natured but dubious commendations of the committee, and the existence of the committee itself, from being considered as a myth or joke, we give the names of its members, viz., "Norman Lockhart, Esq., convener of the committee; Robert Hamilton, Esq., Sheriff-Depute of Lanarkshire; Sir James Stewart Denholm of Coltness, Bart.; Sir William Honeyman of Armadale, Bart.; Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton, Bart.; Col. Gordon of Harperfield; Hugh Mossman of Auchtyfardle, Esq."

The reception of this project, indeed, is one of the fixed points by which, on looking back, we can trace the progress of opinion. No committee of supply, town-council, or quarter sessions would now listen for five minutes to such a communi-

cation. True, it does not develop the full-blown preposterousness which its author was able to exhibit twenty years later. Its style is ingeniously adjusted to a solemn tone of pompous wisdom. As it is one of the phases of insanity to believe all men at large insane, so it is one of the regular devices of Utopianists to speak of themselves as practical and experienced persons, and of the rest of mankind as mere theorists. Louis Blanc does this in a very grand way; and certainly he who brought into existence the committee of the Luxembourg, and produced the Battle of Paris, was entitled in some senses of the term to consider himself a practical man. Owen assumes the position very gracefully in his report to the county of Lanark;—

“To substitute,” he says, “the spade for the plough may seem most trivial in the expression: and to inexperienced and even to learned men—to my respected friends the Edinburgh Reviewers, for instance, who cannot be supposed to have much useful practical knowledge—will appear to indicate a change equally simple and unimportant in practice. It generally happens, however, that when a great calamity overwhelms a country, relief is obtained from practical men, and not from mere theorists, however acute, learned, and eloquent. In the present case, simple as appears to be the alteration proposed, yet when the mind of the practical agriculturist, of the commercial man, of the man of science, of the political economist, of the statesman, and of the philosopher, shall be directed to the subject as its importance demands, the change will be found to be one of the deepest interest to society, involving consequences of much higher concernment to the wellbeing of mankind, than the change from the hunting to the pastoral state, or from the pastoral state to the plough cultivation.”—(P. 18.)

And yet, with all its plausibility of tone, one would have thought that there must be enough in this document to have created alarm, and excited animosity tinged with ridicule. It must have been surely difficult to suppress that oh! oh! so effective in nipping the buds of precocious visions in St. Stephens, when a committee met for practical purposes were addressed in this fashion:—

“These new Associations can scarcely be formed before it will be discovered, that by the most simple and easy regulations all the natural wants of human nature may be abundantly supplied; and the principle of selfishness (in the sense in which that term is here used) will cease to exist for want of an adequate motive to produce it. It will be quite evident to all, that wealth of that kind which will alone be held in any estimation amongst them may be so easily created to exceed all their wants, that every desire for individual accumulation will be extinguished. To them individual accumulation of wealth will appear as irrational as to bottle up in store water in

situations where there is more of this invaluable fluid than all can consume. With this knowledge, and the feelings which will arise from it, the existing thousand counteractions to the creation of new wealth will also cease, as well as those innumerable motives to deception which now pervade all ranks of society."—P. 50.

The great features of the plan were the substitution of spade husbandry for the plough, and the classification of the population in parallelograms, where every act and function of human existence should proceed according to regulation. The virtue of the change in husbandry arises from the astounding fact that the knowledge of agriculturists has hitherto gone no farther than to understand the characters and resources of beasts, while he is to make them understand those of men, so that they may finally come "to improve the breed of men more than men have yet improved the breed of domestic animals."—(p. 40.) Here is, perhaps, the first leading indication of that morbid contempt of mankind at large, in which the writings of Owen himself and of the whole school of Socialists and Communists are steeped. They never treat the human being as endowed with internal light, capable ever of brightening within him as he trims and feeds it by intellectual exertion, and destined to carry him on from stage to stage in a broadening civilisation. Such are mankind to those who

—"doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

But to the Communist man is a blind barbarian, who must be led, housed, fed, and clothed, and driven to his task and to his food. He may be divested of individual character, aims, and pursuits, and drilled into parallelogram uniformity, until it impart to restless humanity Wordsworth's characteristic of the still monotony of the pasture, where

"The cattle are grazing,
Their heads never raising;
There are forty feeding like one."

They may be disciplined to apply the spade uniformly and unvaryingly, as the ox or the horse drags the plough—their "*breed may be improved*" for agricultural purposes. Such is to be the rational perfection of man, the noble in reason, the infinite in faculties, "in form and moving how express and admirable, in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a God!" But in truth it would be difficult to find a better and more cheering indication of the onward progress of opinion and knowledge in this country than the glance back at Owen's project, and its re-

ception in 1821, as a sort of fixed point. Although the Socialists, looking round their own cell, are ever proclaiming that their opinions are gaining ground, the reverse is the truth. A few have been strengthened in their absurdities by the outward pressure of opinion against them, but the public at large never were less inclined to adopt the views of these preachers. For education, for sanitary reform, for everything that tends to remove barbarism or impurity, and give the human being freedom for the development of his best faculties, there is a strong desire; but, on the other hand, towards all plans for depriving him of self-liberty, and converting him into a trained and parallelogrammed machine, there is a growing and a just suspicion. This change in the public mind—not so much a change of opinion as an acquisition of healthy strength—arises in a great measure from what has been seen and learned and wisely thought of during the past few years of our history. Our Social system has been tried, and not in vain, since it has enabled us to reap the fruits of earnest and serious investigation. See how much the writers of Horace Walpole's day spoke or thought about the people—see how their interests, their progress, their prospects, are now considered by the best minds of the day—and we observe the main source from which our social knowledge has sprung. The patient investigations on the inductive system, which have expanded themselves round questions connected with poor-laws, with population, with emigration, with labour and capital, with crime and education, have, with the aid of the press, diffused so much of sound knowledge, that a proposal such as Owen's would never be listened to by any miscellaneous body of ordinarily educated men. We have, doubtless, yet much to learn; and indeed, when we look back and see the opinions that sometimes took the ear of the public twenty or thirty years ago, and were dignified with the name of philanthropy, one almost shudderingly reflects on the possibility that the eggs of many dangerous fallacies may still be hidden and hatching in some of our most cherished projects of benevolence.

In this education of the public mind, so far as it has gone, Owen and Socialism have had their share. They have stirred up investigation and discussion. Nothing is so dangerous to the cause of truth as an arid apathy that neither vegetates into weeds nor fruit. Next in value as a developer of truth to the earnest search after it is the hardy and flagrant proclamation of fallacies. A domineering bishop called on the Government to shut Owen's mouth. The Tories became frantic because the Prime Minister presented him at Court. Vain outcries and baseless fears! Owenism lectured itself down by its strong efforts of propagandism. Nothing has better shown the blessedness of open free public discussion than the influence that the missionaries of

Communism, who by some momentary impulse flooded the country about five years ago, have had in awakening the public mind to the folly of all those visions. While men denounced it from high places, and talked about punishment and oppression, it did, indeed, appear that the threatened system was gaining popularity, but when it had the open field of the public mind fairly to itself it proved what it was. That our working-classes have still much truth to learn is itself a melancholy truth, but the much they have learned augurs cheerfully of the *redeunt spectacula mane*.

Must we then dismiss the English apostle of Communism with the sole merit of having induced men to find truth by perseveringly talking nonsense to them? Had he no substratum of wisdom or of positive virtuous action in himself? Did he never think or do any good; and was that world which imitated and applauded him utterly and unscrupulously cheated by hollow pretences and unmeaning sounds? It would be injustice to give voice to such a sweeping opinion. We shall scarcely ever find, that in a country like this a man gains influence, respect, and fame without possessing some considerable good quality, moral or intellectual, or having done some good deed. Owen was not only capable of doing some substantial services, but he actually accomplished them. It was his misfortune to over-estimate his abilities—a common weakness, but seldom exhibited on so gigantic and almost sublime a scale. He was like a good boatswain, who has the infirmity to believe that he could command the Channel fleet. His plans of organization at New Lanark must have possessed many admirable elements, and the system was prevented from soaring into his wildest flights by the weight of certain pecuniary considerations, which kept his partners, and of necessity himself, near the earth. Mr. Edward Baines headed a deputation from Leeds in 1819 to inspect and report upon the system pursued at New Lanark, and having to state that it was in many respects admirable, but still far short of what Owen wished to make it, they very clearly set what he had accomplished against what he promised, by this simple arithmetical formula: “As far as he has advanced, which is only two points towards twenty, supposing the latter to be the number of perfection, he has effected great things—more than could have been anticipated.”

A word of explanation is necessary to put the eminent success of this project in a proper view. The aggregations of multitudes of people under the manufacturing system were then rushing into instantaneous existence. Society had not remembered any change so sudden. It produced a deeper social effect than any political revolution could occasion. It was more sudden and powerful in its sweep than the railway

system has been, and it might even be compared, in the magnitude of its influences, though the things have no other feature in common, with the suppression of the monasteries. The people who thus came together were violently wrenched, by the tractive power of gold, from their natural position in the bosom of, and under the influence of, those institutions which, as Burke has well said, are not *made* but *grow*, and were heaped together in chaotic masses. The town, or the parochial community, the growth of centuries, had its civilizing and restraining institutions growing with it. The manufacturing village, suddenly reared as if by an enchanter's wand, had no church, no school, no municipal or protective system, no magistracy, and no tribunal of neighbourly public opinion exercising its gentle but firm pressure on the formation of character. The evil was not discovered till it had been committed on a large scale. If the great manufacturers of those days had known what we now know, it is likely that they would have endeavoured to bring corrective and organizing influences to bear on the masses of animal life they were accumulating in new places. It is a marked merit of the present day already referred to, that men's eyes are steadily and watchfully fixed on everything that affects the condition of the people; and when the largest railway operations were in progress two years ago, the existence of a phenomenon precisely like that which had arisen from the manufacturing system, developing itself in the presence of multitudes of human beings divested of any organizing and humanizing influences, created great and uneasy attention.

Legislation is now endeavouring, by the Factory Acts—restlessly altered from time to time as new truths are learned—to make up, in the organization of these masses, for what they have lost. The projector might not be able, with his utmost skill and earnestness, to provide for the fast accumulating masses any regulating principle capable of superseding that which they had left behind them, but he might do *something*, and of any little that he did, the effects would, “as springs in deserts found, seem sweet, all brackish though they be.” We are now prepared to estimate the important position held by the New Lanark works, when weighed with other rapid productions of the manufactory system. The man or the child who had left behind him in the village whence high wages had tempted him, religion, local political influences, and the family affections, found there and there only something to replace them. It could not have entirely filled their place—it may not have been the best system that could have been devised—but it was something to replace what had been lost, and thus it was valuable.

It would be an invidious task to compare what was then done

with what might have been done by the lights we now possess—as invidious as comparing Newcomen’s single stroke-engine with the oscillating pistons that unite the greatest power with the least indication of it in a modern steam-boat. The effort was far beyond any other attempt to give the factory people of that age what they have lost—it was far beyond it, not diverging into absurdities, but going in the direction which modern experience has shewn to be the right one; and to that which stands such a test, any stricter one would be invidiously applied. There is no doubt that there must have been in some points admirable management at New Lanark. We have better evidence of this than the visits of the monarchs, crown princes, and prime ministers who were led along its one-sided street and up its tiresome stairs. It has made people think more than perhaps they otherwise would have done about the manufacturing population; and it has afforded experimental evidence on some methods of dealing with it. The manufacturing establishments which prove themselves by their large profits to be the best for their projectors, are generally also the best for those who work in them whether with the hand or with the head. The New Lanark mills were eminently successful as a pecuniary speculation. If Mr. Owen’s later opinions are true, this is strong evidence of the iniquity of the competitive system under which they were conducted, and his friend Louis Blanc will prove this to the world with the bayonet. To us, however, it appears that the large profits only confirm the other evidence of the excellence with which the arrangements of the establishment were conducted. We cannot help adopting the opinion, that if Robert Owen had restricted himself to the functions of superintending some profit-seeking establishment—a manufactory, an insurance office, a bank, or a shipping company, with discreet and cautious directors over him, he would have been a very valuable man. It is curious as a minute biographical fact, that Bentham, whose opinions were so much the reverse of Owen’s that one might call them an exaggerated contradiction, had so high an opinion of Owen’s method of conducting the establishment that he invested money to a considerable extent in the concern. The result justified his judgment, notwithstanding Romilly’s caution, who recommended him to have nothing to do with Owen, “who, although very well intentioned, was really a little mad.” The profits accumulating on the investment he had made formed the main item in the considerable fortune which the utilitarian philosopher left to his nephew. It is difficult now to know how much of this practice of wisdom was the doing of Owen. The first proprietor of the New Lanark Mills was Mr. David Dale, and Owen’s connexion with the establishment arose from his marrying that

gentleman's daughter. It would appear that Mr. Dale carried the organizing arrangements which gained for the establishment its high reputation to a considerable extent before Owen touched them. Whatever be the proportion of their respective merits, it is beyond doubt that Owen assisted in carrying out the just and useful arrangements laid down by his father-in-law. It is an interesting thing to observe, that even in the course of such works as those which we have quoted from, Owen, when he refers to the practical operations at New Lanark, presents himself as an ordinary human being, and talks reasonably. Even from those of his writings published when the world believed him most irretrievably sunk in social insanity, we could cull many passages, which, in reference to this subject, have a sane and sensible tone in them—though it must be admitted that they retain such scintillations of flightiness as might give a watchful relative some uneasiness. No one can deny, however, that there is good sense in the following remarks, even though they are extracted from a pamphlet called “Essays on the Formation of the Human Character,” by Robert Owen, and “printed with his authority,” in 1840, though written in 1812. He speaks of himself as the organizer of the New Lanark Establishment.

“He found that all was distrust, disorder, and disunion: and he wished to introduce confidence, regularity, and harmony. He therefore began to bring forward his various expedients to withdraw the unfavourable circumstances by which they had hitherto been surrounded, and to replace them by others calculated to produce a more happy result. He soon discovered that theft was extended through almost all the ramifications of the community, and the receipt of stolen goods through all the country around.* To remedy this evil not one legal punishment was inflicted—not one individual imprisoned even for one hour, but checks and other regulations for prevention were introduced: a short plain explanation of the immediate benefits they would derive from a different conduct was inculcated by those instructed for the purpose, who had the best powers of reasoning among themselves. * * * Drunkenness was attacked in the same manner: it was discountenanced on every occasion by those who had charge of any department: its destructive and pernicious effects were frequently stated by his (the drunkard's) own more prudent comrades at the proper moment, when the individual was soberly suffering from the effects of his previous excess. Pot and public-houses were gradually removed from the immediate vicinity of their dwellings; the health and comfort of temperance were made familiar to them; by degrees d run-

* This is, as every one knows, one of the blackest evils with which some departments of labour have to contend, and some of the most sanguinary enactments of our legislature have been passed in the vain attempt to suppress it by the penalties. In a little tract by M. Blanqui, published at a trifling sum by the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques* of France, it is set forth in rather desponding terms as a chronic disease of the silk manufacturers in Lyons.

kenness disappeared, and many who were habitual bacchanalians are now conspicuous for undeviating sobriety.* Falsehood and deception met with a similar fate; they were held in disgrace; their practical evils were shortly explained; and every countenance was given to truth and open conduct. The pleasure and substantial advantages derived from the latter soon overcame the policy, error, and consequent misery which the former mode of acting had created."—Pp. 20, 21.

Few will hold that there is not a deal of good sense in these views, which are followed by many others, equally sagacious. In fact, the distinct and specific benefit of the system established at New Lanark consisted in this,—that it was a plan of organization set down in a place where such a thing was much needed; and whether or not it was a plan which would bear criticism in this generation, it was better than none.

If Robert Owen had remained the director of the New Lanark Mills, doing such things as his less sanguine partners would have readily sanctioned, he would, if we apply to him the rules by which we judge of the ordinary chances of success in commercial and manufacturing employments, have been a very rich man. There is a respectability about honest self-sacrificing consistency, however false we may believe to be the principle on which it is pursued, and Robert Owen is entitled to be considered as thus far respectable. Those who were connected with him appear, however, to have suffered under very considerable fears about the balance-sheet which might appear when he had carried out the remaining eighteen parts of the fabric of projects, equal to twenty, whereof he admitted himself to have accomplished but two. Finding that all could not run together in his harness, he sold out that he might devote his means to his favourite views in quarters where he might be less liable to interruption and control. He left, however, the stamp of his peculiar genius behind him, in certain stipulations which he exacted from the purchasers, in relation to the discipline of the establishment; and if we are not mistaken, an ancient dancing-master, daily, at a fixed hour, wends his way to New Lanark Mills, in virtue of a compact regarding him in the arrangements for the dissolution of the partnership.

There was, according to the Owenist philosophy, one fundamental defect in the establishment at New Lanark—the buildings were not in the form of a parallelogram. In the next attempt this was of course to be rectified. It was in the year 1825 that a complete experiment was attempted of the plan "to remoralize the

* This last word is in the original, *society*, but we have taken the liberty of making it *sobriety*, as a mere correction of an error of the press, probably incurred by a printer who thought, that wherever there might be a doubt, he could not be wrong if he used a word like socialism or society.

lower orders; to reduce the poor-rates, gradually to abolish pauperism, with all its degrading consequences, and to relieve the country from its distress." The sum required was £96,000, but whether any more was actually contributed, than the purchase-money which Owen had obtained for his interest in the New Lanark establishment, we do not know. It is certain, however, that not above a quarter of the parallelogram was built, and the truncated edifice erected at Orbiston, in Lanarkshire, received from the neighbours the name of Babel. It had at one time about a hundred and eighty inmates, collected from all parts of the country, but it soon died, having produced no better effect than a temporary increase in the quantity of ardent spirits consumed, and in the number of illegitimate children born, in the parish of Bothwell. The abandoned edifice was found to be inapplicable to any of the purposes of an irrational world. It was sold as building materials, and not a single stone was left to mark the spot which had become the grave of Owen's project and his fortune, but not of his hopes.

A short period of years, commencing with 1841, embraced within them the great triumphant days of the Communists and Socialists in Britain. They swarmed in pamphlets, and had some regular periodicals, such as "The New Moral World," a large weekly newspaper, and "The Promethean or Community Apostle." A great portion of the contents of "The New Moral World" were such matter as we have already quoted; indeed, we question if we have quoted anything which has not appeared perhaps more than once in the columns of this official organ, for it is not one of the deficiencies of the sect to neglect any opportunity of repeating what any of its members may once have said. Another department of the contents of this periodical was less innocent. It consisted of a weekly digest of the disgusting details of crime and brutality to be found in all the newspapers published throughout the empire. The filth of society was thus carefully treasured up, with a view of showing what an abominable thing is society unrationalized or uncommunized; and each instance of vice or barbarism occurring in a population of between twenty and thirty millions, was introduced with an exordium, calling on all people to see that "the irrational system of society," even by the confession of its supporters—the newspaper press—admitted of murder, robbery, seduction, imposition, drunkenness, and an endless list of farther offences, completely excluded by the system of rational co-operation.

While they indulged themselves in these periodical works they were at the same time making vigorous efforts in other shapes; and the zealous exertions of their own body combined with the outcries and denunciations of their opponents to give them

at one time really a formidable appearance. Under the blighting influence of being let alone, of neither being attacked with calumny and ferocious abuse, nor threatened with prosecution, they subsided into what they now are. We do not profess to give a full account of their constitution and operations during the years of their prosperity. The traces left behind their empire are so slight, that investigations about vehmic tribunals, illuminati, and other matter of past centuries, can be more satisfactorily conducted. Yet they had a deal of official pomp around them. There was a "Central Board," with a secretary ever issuing documents, competing in solemn formality with those of the Government departments. There was a Congress, and it did not receive any distinctive title to separate it from other bodies called by a like name, but was simply called "Congress," as our legislature is called Parliament. There was a "Governor of Harmony," with a great train of official persons supporting him, whom it really would be a very tedious task to enumerate.

The substantial fruit of all this profuse regulation was to be the establishment of "Harmony Hall" in Hampshire, an institution with the outward features of which the world was made so well acquainted by the newspapers of the day, that those who have observed the parochial politics of the time may probably retain a fuller impression of it than we are able to convey to them. As at Orbiston, there was a considerable sum of money sunk at Harmony Hall, but we cannot state the precise amount; some authorities make it sixteen thousand pounds, others twice or thrice as much; it is of no great consequence to the world to know which estimate is the more accurate.

This country is the richest in the world; and those who collect the crumbs falling from the tables of the generally received and popular objects of pecuniary support, may be able to cut no inconsiderable figure in a balance-sheet. Thus the sum embarked in Harmony Hall looked pretty large, while it was no greater than a small county town often supplies to meet some local exigency. Whoever desires to study the history of this experiment, may find pretty full materials for it in the documents appearing from time to time in "The New Moral World." Committees will be found reporting on such matters as the following (1st June 1844):—

"*Hack stable-boy.*—This office should by all means be filled up by the son of a member, as it is an important and responsible situation, and a young man could be got to fill this situation.

"*Cowman.*—There is now a cowman employed at 8s. a-week; this office, we think, could be done by a member from the branches.

"There is also a boy at the pump, and who also looks after the pigs, &c. This office could be filled by one of our own members' children."

While the money was in the course of expenditure Harmony Hall seems to have justified its title; but when the golden cement that kept it together had melted, the social fabric fell to pieces. The theorists did not find the working men agreeable companions at table, association having decidedly failed in polishing their habits up to the anticipated pitch of refinement. The members talked irrationally, debated, quarrelled, and carried irrationality to the pitch of deposing Mr. Owen himself from the chair. The man who should have been mending shoes preferred making hay; people failed to perform the functions of life in the precise routine in which they should have been performed. Some were in bed when they should have been up; or wandering about when they should have been asleep. People absented themselves from dancing and music, or danced and sang at the wrong time. Children came into existence who should not have existed; while, on the other hand, turnip-fields did not yield the precise produce required of them; and commodities did not sell at the estimated prices. The building alone survived, and it is now, we believe, occupied as a boarding-school. Owen consoled himself for the failure after the manner of the French prophets, who promised to raise a body from its grave in St. Paul's church-yard, but failed, owing to there being much want of faith in the mob of fifty thousand people who looked on. The inhabitants of Harmony having been all brought up under the existing irrational system were not competent to understand and practise a better one. Thus it ever is with the Utopian theorist; he forgets that human nature is not only the substance on which he must work, but the engine which is to do the work.

It might be expected that we should give the reader some idea of the literature of the peculiar thinkers whose doings we have been recording; but the field is a barren one. We would not be thanked for exhibiting from a volume of "Social Hymns for the use of the Friends of the Rational System of Society," such specimens as this:

"Hail, hail! the Social System hail!
And welcome every cheering ray
That echoes forth the pleasing tale,
That man shall know a happier day."

We have been desirous to look at Socialism merely in its economic light as a supplier of the material comforts, and a regulator of the temporal actions of men. To go beyond actions and practical projects or suggestions into the wide field of opinion, would bring us in contact with views which it is not desirable to recall in any shape; and which are the better deserving of mental burial that they have been generally retracted and re-

pented of by those who promulgated them. There is, however, one name in Socialist literature which we would desire not wholly to pass over—that of Goodwyn Barmby. He is a man of genius, but it is of the strangest and most grotesque order; and his writings are more like Turner's pictures than anything else to which we can compare them. Where he speaks of "the sin of buying cheap and selling dear," and says, "everything is a sin in which you neglect the commandment to do as you would be done by, and buying cheap and selling dear is a heinous sin," he is intelligible enough; but it is seldom, indeed, that Goodwyn descends to such sublunary matters as buying and selling. He makes many attempts to limit and specialize his speculations by means of diagrams and analytical tables, but without much success. The reader may make what he can of the following

"TABLE OF THE PROGRESSIVE SOCIETARIAN STATES."

I α.			} Early Ages.
PARADIZATION.			
2.		3.	} Middle Ages.
PASTORALISM.		CLANISM.	
IV.			} Middle Ages.
BARBARIZATION.			
5.		6.	} Middle Ages.
FEUDALITY.		MUNICIPALITY.	
VII.			} Latter Ages.
CIVILIZATION.			
8.		9.	} Latter Ages.
MONOPOLISM.		ASSOCIALITY.	
X ω.			
COMMUNIZATION.			

Nor does the filling up of the details make the picture much clearer—thus

"The unitization of the antagonistic, intellectual, and animal wants of the human being must be effected by the operation of the unitary, cordal, moral, or Divine nature in humanity. The heart must organize societarian conditions of communization, in which, through love, the mind and body may both work, and both enjoy in common together. This it will effect through the transitionary state of associality, by a negativism of monopolism, connected with the doctrinal affirmation and actual institution of association on a right and general basis, and organized in the progressive mood for transition to communization."
—(*The Promethean*, vol. i. p. 26.)

There is not much mischief in this, one would think. Indeed,

Mr. Barmby has the art of so completely concealing what he means, that we have detected him preaching his peculiar opinions in the "People's Journal" and other respectable periodicals, the editors evidently promulgating Communism, as Monsieur Jourdan talked prose, without knowing it. But Mr. Barmby has other merits. He is the author of some sweet, quaint poetry, that recalls the days of Jonson and Herrick. It may be less to our present purpose, but it will be a more agreeable task than others we have been performing, to conclude this sketch with a specimen of his poetic efforts. The following stanzas are taken from some lines, with the title of "Move On," in the People's Journal :—

" All the waves of sea are flowing
As the winds of heaven are blowing :
With a gentle beam-like quiver
Flows the streamlet to the river :
With a stronger-waved commotion
Flows the river to the ocean :
While sea's billows evermore
Flow and gain upon the shore :
Wave on wave, in bright spray leaping,
Like endeavours never sleeping ;
While the pool, which moveth never,
Grows a stagnant bog for ever—
White-gilled lie its tenant tench,
Green its water, foul its stench ;
Wildering marsh-fires o'er it run,
While straight flows the river on.
Move on ! keep moving !
Progress is the law of loving.

" Thus within the skies and ocean
Life is married unto motion ;
Stars revolve, and rivers flow—
And earth ? What said Galileo ?
When in dungeon damply lying,
Faint and tortured, hardly dying,
Yet for truth and honest pride—
Yet ' it moves ! it moves ! ' he cried :
And the world ? Its life is motion,
As with stars and as with ocean.
It is moving, it is growing,
All its tides are onward flowing :
The hand is moving towards the loaf,
The eye is moving to the roof,
The mind is moving to the book,
The soul lives in a moving look,

The hand is moving from the sword,
The heart is moving towards the Lord.
Move on! keep moving!
Progress is the law of loving."

It will perhaps be admitted that, in dealing with the opinions of these men—Socialists, Communists, organizers of labour, or by whatever title the devisers of artificial systems desire to be known—we have let them speak for themselves. If the picture be a ludicrous one, the blame or merit is theirs, not ours; but it has solemn enough associations to arrest an earnest attention. While Owen babbles of harmony, unity, and rationality, the streets of Paris run blood. The moral to be derived from the whole motley picture of ridiculous lights and tragic shades, is to teach men modesty, caution, and self-abasement. It displays the folly and the wickedness of those who believe that the qualities with which man has been endowed are insufficient, while their own individual intellects are all-sufficient to direct the world, from its highest aspirations to its minutest actions—of those who, in the despotic pride of self-conceit, think they can abrogate the moral laws of the universe, and substitute for them the mechanism of their own infallible ingenuity. In all their follies and failures they have taught us more than ever to see that it is in the individual consciences, responsibilities, and faculties of men, such as God has made them, and not in the absolute predominance of individual, regulating minds, commanding the embodied multitudes, that good is to be done, and onward progress is to be made. We see that the combination and artificial organization of mankind are powerful for the accomplishment of the bad ends of the ambitious, but incompetent for good. Organization can wield the sword, but it cannot wield the spade. It failed to combine the fifteen hundred tailors in the Hôtel Clichy, but it has combined an army of half a million, the braggarts of all the world, by whom men are daily expecting some bloody work to be begun. The Communism that is truly practicable—the communism of the bayonet—is the most alarming fact of the day. While dynasties and nationalities are losing their influence over men's minds, there is another power which the selfish and ambitious are finding better suited to their purposes—the power of *standing armies*. In this monster, which is frightening all good and peaceful men, may our unscrupulous theorists see, like Frankenstein, the realization of their rash audacity.

- ART. V.—1. *Notes and Lectures upon Shakspere and some of the Old Poets and Dramatists, with other Literary Remains of S. T. Coleridge.* Edited by Mrs. H. N. COLERIDGE. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1849.
2. *An Inquiry into the Philosophy and Religion of Shakspere.* By W. J. BIRCH. London, 1848. 12mo.

THE drama of Shakspere was an invention of his own, and to this day he stands as the great and only master in it. His plays are all the existing examples of an art which is quite as distinct from any other poetical development as Gothic or Greek architecture is from any other style of building. The unique character, and apparently inexhaustible significance of Shakspere's art, gives it a perennial and increasing interest to the critic: the longer he gazes, the vaster seems the expanse which he desires to measure; the more deeply he sounds, the farther does he appear to be from ascertaining the ultimate depths of that spirit whose plenary artistic inspiration makes it almost an irreverence to name the name of Shakspere in the same sentence with that of another poet or artist whatever. Below the surface of an ocean of beauty and wisdom, the abysses of which are dark from their depth, and not from any opacity in the waters, we have essayed to dive, and are now to produce such of our results as have sometimes seemed to us to merit preservation among the treasures which have been redeemed from the same source by the labours of critics, English and German, during the past half-century.

Until very recently the popular feeling about Shakspere has been far in advance of Shakesperian criticism; and even now, when literature boasts of the labours of Ulrici, written criticism still fails to render adequate reasons of the faith we all have in that name, which would be sufficient of itself to render us the most famous nation upon earth. Happy shall we be, when the understanding has circumscribed the colossal mind of Shakspere: not until then will that mind have done its work: not until then dare we hope that another mind shall rise with power to make a great and wholly new effort in poetry. As it is, we feel of Shakspere that he is greater than we know, and that we must long follow him, as sheep the shepherd, ere we can look to enter on "fresh fields and pastures new."

Ulrici is the only Shakesperian critic who, in our opinion, has attained and steadily observed the height of his great argument. The lucubrations of Augustus Schlegel are comparatively weak and desultory. Goethe has seen far into the spirit of a

single play; Coleridge has contented himself with "uttering rather seeds than plants;" Ulrici alone has approached the subject with due reverence and resolution; we might even say with good common sense. Most others have claimed admiration for Shakespere on account of qualities which he has in common with other poets. The force, propriety, and music of Milton's language have not been surpassed by Shakespere; single characters have been depicted by certain English novelists, ancient and modern, in a manner that would have done him honour; Dante and Chaucer have excelled him in the vividness with which an image is conveyed by words to the eye, or a feeling to the heart. Ulrici alone has sought and found, in the construction of the entire drama of Shakespere, a peculiar secret of his art, and something like a justification of the high sentence of fame concerning it.

Ulrici's most remarkable discovery is, that each of Shakespere's plays has, for its foundation, some moral idea or theme, which is reflected and echoed over and over again, with endless variety and profit, in all the characters, expressions, and events of the piece. The subtle German critic would have produced more converts to his doctrine had he illustrated it fully by the analysis of some one play, instead of having merely suggested its prevalence, by means of a slight sketch in each. Before bringing forward other and quite unexamined questions, we beg to illustrate Ulrici's principal view by a rapid commentary on the "Merchant of Venice," that play being chosen by us on account of the unusual simplicity of its construction.*

When we say that the theme of the "Merchant of Venice" is the relation of the *letter* to the *spirit* of law, and the various liabilities of man to dwell on the first and to neglect the last, we make but a very crude and general statement. The play itself is the only full and true definition of the theme. There is always a certain amount of falsehood in the ordinary expression of any moral idea; such an idea is, in fact, incapable of direct statement. In this it is that the Shakesperian drama finds its meaning and justification: the moral idea, which must always remain a riddle to words, is soluble in action. The exhibition of this solution has the highest interest and value for us all.

* As a reply to the wide scepticism with which Ulrici's views have been received in England, it is well to state that those which relate to the central theme, or ground-idea, as Ulrici calls it, of each play, were *rediscovered* by the writer of this article, who was engaged in writing a work upon the subject when the translation of Ulrici's work came out and first fell into his hands. As far as the writer had proceeded with the analysis of the plays the coincidence of his results with those of Ulrici was so complete as to afford the most unanswerable proof of their validity, to those who require proof of that which ought to be self-evident.

In the first passage of the first scene of the *Merchant of Venice* we have an instance of the *letter* or *appearance*, without any corresponding spirit or substance. Antonio's sadness is intentionally inexplicable. In the different judgments of Antonio's friends concerning the probable sources of this sadness we have a general statement to begin with, of the fallibility of all appearances or expressions. When Antonio denies that he is either anxious about his ships, or in love, Salarino says—

“Not in love neither? Then let us say, you are sad
Because you are not merry: and 'twere as easy
For you to laugh, and leap, and say you are merry
Because you are not sad. Now, by two-headed Janus,
Nature hath framed strange fellows in her time;
Some that will evermore peep through their eyes,
And laugh, like parrots, at a bagpiper:
And other of such vinegar aspect,
That they'll not show their teeth in way of smile,
Though Nestor swear the jest be laughable.”

Bassanio, Lorenzo, and Gratiano come in and make further remarks of precisely similar purport. The two last, indeed, leave the stage again, immediately after Gratiano has commented upon Antonio's sadness. Bassanio then observes that “Gratiano speaks an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice,” &c., after which he begins the business of the plot by speaking of his debts; but up to this point the whole aim of the poet, in about 130 lines, is to impress upon us the fact of the general fallibility of appearances, by taking the extreme case of appearances that have no corresponding substance, as the sadness of Antonio, the talk of Gratiano, and the characters which he and Salarino allude to in their comment upon Antonio's melancholy. In this play Shakespeare has observed his usual practice of exhibiting the theme, first in its most ordinary and least important forms, and of allowing the true interest to depend upon the gradually increased significance of its application and occurrence in the more rare and momentous events of life. Here we may also remark that the fact of the ultimate identity of all moral goods or evils is the cause of the resemblance which obtains between a large class of Shakespeare's characters, namely, those which stand, as it were, upon the outskirts of the plot, reflecting faintly, and in the most general way, those qualities which become distinguishable into separate vices or virtues as they come within and help to produce the vortex of the interest. Extreme folly seems to have constituted the ultimate view which was taken by Shakespeare of all moral evils, and it is into this form that all the evils, which separately constitute the themes of the different plays, resolve themselves in the lower and less important characters.

In the remaining portion of the first scene, Antonio is exhibited making the true use of riches in the assistance of his friend, as a preparatory contrast to Shylock, in whose coffers hoarded wealth loses its meaning. In the next scene, between Portia and Nerissa, the nature of wealth, as an often erroneous expression of happiness, is commented upon, and in other parts of the play, riches, with their use and perversion, afford similar aid in the development of the central idea. In this second scene, the theme is brought out in various other ways. Nerissa moralizes on the ethics of wealth, and Portia says, "*good sentences and well pronounced!*" Nerissa adds, "*they would be better, if well followed;*" and Portia introduces a long commentary upon the infrequency of a correspondence between men's acts and their professions and injunctions to others. We are now made acquainted with the device of the caskets; and, whereas hitherto the frequent falsehood of the letter or expression has been insisted upon, we are now shown a remarkable instance of the value of the letter, even when the spirit of the law is not perceived. Portia complains that the will of a living daughter should be curbed by the will of a dead father; but she obeys his law, for, as Nerissa says, "that father was ever virtuous; and holy men at their death have good inspirations; therefore the lottery that he hath devised in these three chests, of gold, silver, and lead, will, no doubt, never be chosen by any rightly, but one whom she shall rightly love." Portia does not as yet see the wisdom of the law, but she trusts to that of the lawgiver, and is not mistaken. Portia's description of her suitors, in this scene, reflects the theme in ways too numerous and subtle to be described here: we can only remind our readers of the County Palatine, who "hears merry tales, and laughs not;" of Monsieur le Bon, of whom Portia says, "God made him, and therefore let him pass for a man;" and of "Faulconbridge, the young baron of England," who "is a proper man's picture; but, alas! who can converse with a dumb show." If the reader will be at the pains to accompany the perusal of this Paper by occasional references to the play, he will be at no loss to detect many more hints and reflections of the theme than we have space to notice. The second scene closes with Portia's remark, upon receiving the news of the Prince of Morocco's arrival, "*if he have the condition of a saint and the complexion of a devil, I had rather he should shrive me than wive me,*" &c.

In Scene III., the developments of the central idea are of the most decided character. We are introduced to Shylock, whose whole being is a dead letter; whose every habit and association is the result of the observance of, and attachment to, spiritless form. Of wealth, of justice, of the laws of relationship, of the

injunctions of his religion he comprehends and fulfils nothing but the forms. His language abounds with formal, harsh, and superfluous expression: witness his first answers to Bassanio, in this scene, which are all repetitions of Bassanio's words: Shakespeare has brought together the best and most various means of developing the theme. From the apposition of Christianity and Judaism, severally the highest and most violent developments of spirit and of form, to the merest technicalities of language, as the mercantile sense of the phrase, "a good man," meaning a person who is solvent, nothing has been overlooked. In this, and other scenes, every available point of the Jewish character and worship has been adopted and employed with surprising subtilty: witness, in this scene, the allusions to forbidden meats, distinctions of tribe, the "publican," the "sacred nation," the remarkable transactions of Jacob and Laban, with the Jewish and the Christian applications of that history, the observations of Antonio, that

"The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose.
An evil soul producing holy witness
Is like a villain with a smiling cheek;
A goodly apple rotten at the heart;
O, what a goodly outside falsehood hath!"

and the strictness of the terms in which Shylock negotiates concerning the bond: all of which is thrown into relief by the presence of the Christian, Antonio, who "to supply the ripe wants of his friend, *will break a custom.*" Shakespeare has not, however, neglected to avail himself of, and to reprove indirectly the then popular Judaism of Christians with regard to Jews. The development of the theme thus gains delicacy, without losing any necessary decisiveness. This scene, like the last, concludes with words that strongly reflect the theme.

"Antonio. Hie thee, gentle Jew.
This Hebrew will turn Christian; he grows kind.
Bassanio. I like not fair terms, and a villain's mind."

Act II. scene I. opens with the Prince of Morocco's long speech about the complexion of his face, which, he fears, will prejudice him in the eyes of Portia, who replies that she is "not solely led by nice direction of a maiden's eyes," and leads him to the caskets, the choice of which does not, however, take place in this very short scene.

The next scene is a remarkable one: every word of it conveys the central thought. Launcelot Gobbo, even more than Gratiano, "talks an infinite deal of nothing." The amusing casuistry by which he is determined to follow the suggestions of the fiend, in preference to those of his conscience, together with the

affected selectness of his expressions, as "the fiend is at mine elbow, and tempts me; saying to me,—Gobbo, Launcelot Gobbo, good Launcelot, or good Gobbo, or good Launcelot Gobbo," &c.; and his errors of language, as "certainly, the Jew is the very devil incarnation; all contain unmistakeable allusion to the central idea, they are all instances of the inadequation of spirit and form, meaning and language. The blind "Old Gobbo" now enters, and assists the suggestion of the theme, by failing to recognise his own son, for want of the sense by which corporeal form is recognised. Launcelot continues his circumlocutions, and affectations, and many things are said, on both sides, which demand reference to the theme, for their only possible justification and artistic meaning. Bassanio enters: the father and son have a request to make of him, which they approach with a vast amount of rigmarole, until Bassanio insists that they will come to the point. "What would you?" he says; and now Launcelot answers in three words, "serve you, sir;" that being, as Old Gobbo remarks, "the very defect of the matter." Gratiano now comes in, and desires to accompany Bassanio to Belmont: consent is given on condition that the former will change, for the time, his usual manner, which is "too wild, too rude, and bold of voice;" Gratiano promises to "put on a sober habit, talk with respect," &c. They agree, however, that his manner will do well, as it is for a merry meeting which they are to hold on the coming evening with some friends, and so ends a long scene, the whole business of which, as far as regards the mere plot, might have been got over in one-twentieth of the space.

The little scene, between Jessica and Launcelot, which follows, consists of three speeches, two of which are made up wholly of expressions having manifest allusion to the theme, "tears exhibit my tongue. Most beautiful pagan,—most sweet Jew!" &c.; and,

"Alack, what heinous sin is it in me,
To be asham'd to be my father's child!
But though I am a daughter to his blood,
I am not to his manners: O Lorenzo,
If thou keep promise, I shall end this strife,
Become a Christian, and thy loving wife!"

The Christian disposition of Jessica, and her conversion, serve to throw the character of Shylock into high relief. Her conversion, however, is very formal. Religion has apparently but small part in it.

In the next scene, a brief one, the principal allusions to the central thought are the *repeated* mention of the *disguises* under which Lorenzo and his friends are to undertake the elopement of Jessica, Solanio's remark that the affair will be "*vile, unless it may be quaintly order'd*, and better in his mind not undertook,"

and two or three fresh instances of the never-ending juxtaposition of the ideas of Jew and Christian. There are other allusions, in this and other parts of the play, which, depending as they do upon certain ill-understood principles of the philosophy of form, we forbear to remark upon. We will only say, that the obscurity of the principle in these cases in no way interferes with the force of the effect. For the due admiration of a beautiful female face, an acquaintance with its anatomy is not at all needed.

Scene V., "before Shylock's house," shows us the Jew and Launcelot setting out for the feast of Bassanio and his friends. Shylock perverts the meaning of the feast by going there, in malice, "to feed upon the prodigal Christian:" he calls repeatedly for Jessica, and at last Launcelot helps him with his voice, but is reproved by Shylock,—

"Who bids thee call? I do not bid thee call."

Launcelot replying, "Your worship was wont to tell me I could do nothing without bidding." Both Shylock and Launcelot declare their faith in dreams and omens, the latter accompanying his confession with his usual superabundance of words: "It was not for nothing that my nose fell a-bleeding on Black-Monday last, at six o'clock i' the morning, falling out that year on Ash-Wednesday was four year in the afternoon." We have also further mention of the coming *masque*, obviously an important item among the various means of suggesting the theme; and other passages, of which the primary meaning will be intelligible to the reader of the foregoing pages.

Scene VI. shows us "Gratiano and Salarino *masqued*." Observe, that not only have we, in the "Merchant of Venice," masquers, and women (Portia, Nerissa, and Jessica) in men's clothes, as sometimes in other plays, but our attention is irresistibly drawn to the fact by the extraordinary frequency and importance of these disguises, and by repeated remarks upon them by various personages in various parts of the play. In this scene, besides the vivid effects of form which are gained by the disguises of all the persons, and the comments of Lorenzo and Jessica upon her dress, and the darkness by which her modesty is saved from blushes, we have notices of the punctuality of lovers in keeping their appointments, a long speech by Gratiano upon the incongruities of expectations and events, Lorenzo's mention of his "father Jew," (he being about to wed Jessica,) Jessica's lines on the blindness of love, &c.

Scene VII. is a short but very important one, consisting almost wholly of the Prince of Morocco's commentaries upon the three caskets of lead, silver, and of gold, with their superscriptions, and of the lines which reveal to him his mistake in choos-

ing the last. The bearing of this event upon the central thought of the play is manifest. We quote only the lines discovered in the golden casket :—

“ All that glisters is not gold,
Often have you heard that told :
Many a man his life hath sold
But my outside to behold :
Gilded tombs do worms infold.
Had you been as wise as bold,
Young in limb, in judgment old,
Your answer had not been inscroll'd :
Fare you well ; your suit is cold.”

Portia closes this scene by saying,—“ Let all of his *complexion* choose me so.” Let the reader here remark, that whenever the theme can be stated without the appearance of being directly “*didactic*,” it is so stated. The rhymes contained in the several caskets are examples.

The business of the next scene is the juxtaposition of the utterly selfish and mercenary nature of the Jew, with the perfect self-forgetfulness of Antonio in his friendship for Bassanio. The relation of these two characters is very curious. In the whole of Shakespeare's plays we meet with no other instances of character—in the one case so hopelessly selfish or sensual, in the other so purely benevolent or spiritual. We repeat, that the main business of this little scene is the highly important apposition of these living exponents of the two poles of the all-pervading idea.

We come now to the choice made by the Prince of Arragon of the silver casket. This scene is crowded with suggestions or open declarations of the theme. The Prince talks of “ the fool multitude that choose by show,” and yet his reason for not choosing the gold casket is the vain and superficial one, that he “ will not jump with common spirits.” In selecting the silver casket he makes a speech which requires no remark :—

“ ‘ Who chooseth me shall get as much as he deserves.’
And well said too. For who shall go about
To cozen fortune, and be honourable
Without the stamp of merit ! Let none presume
To wear an undeserved dignity.
O, that estates, degrees, and offices,
Were not derived corruptly ! and that clear honour
Were purchased by the merit of the wearer !
How many then should cover that stand bare !
How many be commanded that command !
How much low peasantry would then be glean'd
From the true seed of honour ! and how much honour
Pick'd from the chaff and ruin of the times,
To be new varnish'd !”

The portrait which he finds of the blinking idiot is the true likeness of himself in his pride of self-desert. The scroll in the silver casket is not less pregnant with the idea than that which was discovered by the former suitor. Portia says,—

“ O these deliberate fools ! when they do choose,
They have the wisdom by their wit to lose.”

And Nerissa, who illustrates the meaning of this and of certain other incidents by her *obvious* mistakes concerning their import, adds,—

“ The ancient saying is no heresy,—
Hanging and wiving go by destiny.”

Bassanio's advent is now announced. The praises lavished upon his appearance by the servant makes Portia fear that “ he is some kin to her.” This scene closes, as did a former one, leaving the choice to constitute a second scene. From this and several other peculiarities of construction, “ The Merchant of Venice ” derives a breadth and a depth of light and shadow which do not exist to the same extent in any other play of Shakespere, and which serve to develop the sense of *form* to an extraordinary degree, with results, with regard to the theme, that cannot be duly appreciated until we come to speak of the construction of the Fifth Act.

The opening of Act III. shows us another great *talker* in Solanio. He would that the gossip who has reported the loss of one of Antonio's ships “ were as lying a gossip in that as ever knapped ginger, or made her neighbours believe she wept for the death of a third husband ; but it is true, without any slips of prolixity, or crossing the plain highway of talk, that the good Antonio, the honest Antonio,—O that I had a title good enough to keep his name company ! ” Salarino interrupts him,—“ Come, the full stop : ” and Solanio exclaims,—“ Ha ! what say'st thou ? Why, the end is, he hath lost a ship.” Again we ask attention to the fact, that the characteristics which illustrate the theme are not merely set before the reader, but they are *forced* upon his mind by repetition, and by the comments of other characters. Among other developments of the theme in this scene are the *double senses* in which certain expressions are taken by the Jew and by Solanio ; the reply of Salarino to Shylock, who says, “ My daughter is my flesh and blood ; ” the frequent repetitions of the Jew's exclamation, “ Let him look to his bond ! ” Shylock's long speech on the identity of the senses of Jew and Christian ; his renewed lamentations over his losses, and his curses upon Jessica, his daughter ; and the almost demoniacal development of the “ sensual man ” in his rejoicings at the loss of Antonio, con-

quering, as for the moment they do, his love of money. Once for all, let us remark that Shylock's *phraseology* is a continual illustration of the theme.

We come now to the choice of Bassanio. This lovely scene is, in respect of the theme, one of the most remarkable in the play. The opening speech by Portia, among other and somewhat obscure allusions to it, contains an additional example of the employment of *superabundant language* as an illustration of the idea ; but in this instance the superabundance is justified :

" I speak too long ; but it is to peize (poise) the time ;
To eke it, and to draw it out in length,
To stay you from election."

Bassanio insists upon choosing immediately, and Portia consents, in a long speech consisting chiefly of comments upon *the propriety of music as an expression or accompaniment of his fate in either case*, and of an elaborate, and on Shakspere's part, intentionally, artificial *simile*, in which " Young Alcides," " the virgin tribute paid by howling Troy to the sea-monster," and the " Dardanian wives," are all brought forward to express the position of herself, her lover, and her attendants. The song, " Tell me where is fancy bred," is not less obvious in its indirect bearing upon the central thought ; and the passage, by which Bassanio prefaces his choice, is of such strong, pointed, and important significance, that it may be regarded as the nearest expression which occurs in the play, of its general " argument."

" So may the outward shows be least themselves ;
The world is still deceived with ornament.
In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt,
But, being season'd with a gracious voice,
Obscures the show of evil ? In religion,
What damned error, but some sober brow
Will bless it, and approve it with a text,
Hiding the grossness with fair ornament ?
There is no vice so simple, but assumes
Some mark of virtue on his outward parts.
How many cowards, whose hearts are all as false
As stayers of sand, wear yet upon their chins
The beards of Hercules and frowning Mars,
Who, inward search'd, have livers white as milk ;
And these assume but valour's excrement
To render them redoubted ! Look on beauty,
And you shall see 'tis purchased by the weight ;
Which therein works a miracle in nature,
Making them lightest that wear most of it :
So are those crisped, snaky, golden locks,

Which make such wanton gambols with the wind,
Upon supposed fairness, often known
To be the dowry of a second head,
The skull that bred them in the sepulchre.
Thus ornament is but the guiled shore
To a most dangerous sea ; the beauteous scarf
Veiling an Indian beauty ; in a word,
The seeming truth which cunning times put on
To entrap the wisest," &c.

Bassanio, choosing the right casket, expatiates upon the living expressiveness of the portrait, and by his admiration of its beauty, justifies himself from the suspicion of a cynical distrust and neglect of appearances. He reads the scroll—

" You that choose not by the view,
Chance as fair and choose as true," &c. ;

and he illustrates his emotion at his success by comparing it to that of a victor who hears with giddy and astonished mind the sound of popular applause, scarcely believing it to be the expression of his merit. Portia delivers herself to her happy suitor with a speech which shews that she, no less than he, is blest with the lovely modesty that is blind to the form of its own deserts. It is remarkable that Bassanio answers her by something very like a repetition of his foregoing simile. The pregnancy of his words with respect to theme justifies their quotation.

" Madam, you have bereft me of all words,
Only my blood speaks to you in my veins ;
And there is such confusion in my powers,
As after some oration fairly spoke
By a beloved prince, there doth appear
Among the buzzing pleased multitude ;
Where every something, being blent together,
Turns to a wild of nothing, save of joy,
Express'd and not express'd."

Let us reflect a moment upon the admirable adaptation of the device of the caskets to the development of the theme. A most important incident is determined by the demand which is thus made for a wise judgment of appearances ; each casket contains, first, a reply to the chooser, in the form of a symbolical painting ; and, secondly, a scroll in which a theme is, as nearly as possible, directly and literally worded. Again, the choice naturally gives rise to three contrasted sets of comments upon the interpretation and nature of appearances. Finally, the seemingly arbitrary device has its true meaning illustrated and justified by the exhibition of its perversion and foolishness in the hands of Nerissa, who capriciously determines that her acceptance or rejection of Gratiano's suit shall depend upon the success or non-success of

Bassanio. Bassanio's choice is a real test of his wisdom and desert; but Gratiano's success, as far as regards himself, is pure chance. The two methods, however, by which their fates are determined, are true reflections of the characters of their attachments; Bassanio's love is wise and deep; Gratiano's hasty and superficial, as appears sufficiently from his speech, "my eyes, my lord, can look as swift as yours," &c.

The news of Antonio's losses now reaches Bassanio, and the rest of this long and magnificent scene is taken up with the comments of Portia upon the changes of colour on Bassanio's cheek, as he reads the letter of Antonio; with Bassanio's confession to Portia that he is in substance "worse than nothing;" with Solanio's narration of the Jew's obstinacy in demanding his bond, in spite of the remonstrances of "the Duke himself, and his magnificoes," who are compelled, if called upon, to administer the *letter of the law* against Antonio; with Bassanio's eulogy upon his friend, as

"The kindest man,
The best condition'd and unwearied spirit
In doing courtesies; and one in whom
The ancient Roman honour more appears,
Than any that draws breath in Italy;"

and with Portia's determination that the form of her marriage with Bassanio shall be gone through at once, but that he shall never "lie by Portia's side with an unquiet soul:" in all of which the incidents, language, and characters clearly illustrate the theme, and lay the foundation for certain much more striking developments to be noticed soon.

The next scene does nothing for the progress of "the plot;" it only deepens the development and contrast of the superlatively sensual and spiritual characters of Shylock and Antonio, and explains the absolute necessity, under which the authorities of Venice stand, of observing the letter of the law, though at the occasional sacrifice of the spirit.

In the following scene Portia is praised as possessing "a noble and a true conceit of godlike amity." And here we must pause to observe that a totally unselfish friendship seems to have been regarded by Shakespeare as the highest degree of spirituality of which the human soul is capable. We cannot agree with Ulrici in regarding Shakespeare as having been a Christian in any usual acceptation of the word. That he heartily and constantly believed in God is not to be questioned, notwithstanding the elaborate and the injurious attempt by Mr. Birch to prove the contrary; but it may reasonably be doubted whether Shakespeare ever experienced or comprehended the highest kind of religious

spirituality. Had this been the case, he must surely have left some decisive traces of it in his works. Portia then remarks upon the "like proportion of lineaments, of manners, and of spirits," which must subsist between close friends, and thence infers a likeness of Antonio to Bassanio, and, through him, to herself; she declares her intention of retiring into a monastery during the absence of her husband, and commissions Lorenzo and Jessica to represent Bassanio and herself in her house until she returns. To Nerissa she now confides her intention of disguising herself as a man; dwells long upon the method and skill which she will employ in order to transform her appearance completely; and suggests to Nerissa how certain words which she speaks might be taken "if she were near a lewd interpreter."

Launcelot's language, in the next scene, offers numerous allusions to the theme. He dwells upon and repeats the doctrine of the visitation of the sins of the father upon the children—the doctrine, in its ordinary, and in Launcelot's acceptance, the most formal and spiritless that ever entered into a religion. He adds jocularly that there is one hope for Jessica, in that her mother might have played false; but even then, he continues, she must be damned "both by father and mother." This important instance and illustration of the theme is made the most ample use of in this scene. Lorenzo remarks, concerning Launcelot's talk, "How every fool can play upon the word! I think the best grace of wit will shortly turn into silence, and discourse grow commendable in none only but parrots;" and much more comment to like purpose is elicited from Lorenzo by this "wit-snapper," who, "for a tricky word, defies the matter." On the exit of Launcelot, Jessica delivers an extravagant eulogy on Portia, and our attention is awakened to the fact of its extravagance by the playful parody of Lorenzo,—*"Even such a husband hast thou of me, as she is for a wife."* They close the scene by indulging in much the same kind of "wit-snapping" as they have just reprobated in Launcelot.

The first scene of Act IV. is the famous judgment scene. Here the deadly power of the letter of the law assumes the most tremendous interest. There is apparently no escape from its observance, but such as would be made at the expense of the sacrifice of the higher law of national expediency. The characters of the Jew and Antonio, respectively the fullest impersonations of the letter that killeth, and of the spirit that giveth life, attain their ultimate developments. Among other remarkable allusions to the theme in the opening of this scene, we will mention Shylock's oath, "*by his holy Sabbath*," to have "the due and forfeit" of his dreadful bond; his illustration of his "lodg'd hate" and "loathing" to Antonio by certain curious facts,—

"Some men there are love not a gaping pig;
 Some that are mad if they behold a cat;
 And others, when the bagpipe sings i' the nose," &c. &c. ;

facts which, as far as we know of them, are *causeless effects*, and consequently purely *formal*. These facts are dwelt upon and repeated in order to confirm their effect. Not less striking in relation to the theme are Gratiano's introduction of the doctrine of Pythagoras concerning the transmigration of souls, and Shylock's reply to Gratiano's execrations,—“Till thou canst rail the seal from off my bond,” &c. Nerissa and Portia enter disguised as lawyer and clerk. We repeat the remark, that in this play disguise is always made subservient to the development of the theme, no less than to that of the plot: the fact is made as conspicuous as possible. In this scene, for example, the entrance of the disguised persons at two several times, instead of together, assists the impression, as also does the circumstance, that among the persons deceived are the very husbands themselves. In the remaining portions of this scene the following are to be noticed as being among the chief means of directly or indirectly evolving the theme. Portia's systematic, lawyer-like, and formal way of conducting the case, *most especially* the arguments by which she endeavours to move the Jew to mercy, representing mercy, which is essentially a violation of form, as “mightiest in the mightiest,” “enthroned in the hearts of kings,” and “an attribute to God himself,” coupled with her strict adherence, and the good reasons which she gives for her strict adherence, to the letter of the law, the occasional value of the two opposite extremes of spiritless form and formless spirit being thus declared; Shylock's demoniacal persistence in his determination to obtain the letter of his bond; and above all, perhaps, his final overthrow and punishment by an interpretation of that bond in its strictest literal sense. Observe, also, the dead formality of the proposed christening of the Jew, as suggested by the words of Gratiano, who wishes that he might be taken “to the gallows, not to the fount;” and the righteous breach of form in the gift of Portia's ring, which Bassanio had been solemnly charged by his wife to keep. The detection in this scene of numerous minor allusions to the theme must be left to the sagacity of the reader, for we must hasten towards the conclusion of this part of our subject.

If a play needed nothing more for its perfection than the full development and conclusion of an interesting plot, the “Merchant of Venice” would be complete at the end of the fourth act. The only incident of the fifth act is the arrival of the news of the unexpected safety of Antonio's ships. The few lines which convey this fact might easily have been added to the end of the

fourth act, and the play would then not only have been satisfactory in finish and form, as far as regards the plot, but it would have been the most perfect in form of any of Shakespeare's plays. In no other play are characters and incidents invented and combined with such a striking, integral, and definite effect of form as in these four acts of the Merchant of Venice. What shall we say of the conclusion of the play as it stands? Can we hope to explain the splendid anomaly by any of the accepted rules of art? No. Its true justification is to be found in its violation of those rules; in the reckless disregard of ordinary form which it exhibits; in the final triumph which it expresses of spirit over form. The day of stormy incident is past, and after it "the moon shines bright" at Belmont. No noon-tide could be so bright, serene, and spiritual as that happy night of music, moonlight, and love. Each person engaged in this wonderful scene has had his or her trial of faith and patience; for Portia's notion of the duties of "godlike amity" had induced a chivalrous postponement of delight even upon the part of those who were not directly interested in Antonio's fate. The whole scene is the perfumed breathing of a clear conscience; it has more of heaven in it than is to be discovered anywhere else, in poetry, music, or in painting. That the chief source of this exceeding beauty is to be found in the peculiar relationship borne by the whole and the parts of this act to the theme, will appear more plainly by an enumeration of some of the more striking instances of that relationship. The idea of *form* is strongly and sweetly suggested by the opening passages, in which various incidents are spoken of as having happened "on such a night as this." The same notion is humorously conveyed by our old friend Launcelot, who comes in "hollaing," and goes on doing so, *after he has found the people he seeks*. Every one must have remarked the importance which attaches to *music* in this act; its nature and effects are repeatedly mentioned and dwelt upon. After four acts of conflicting form and spirit, we are invited to contemplate their intimate marriage, their indissoluble and indistinguishable union, in "the touches of sweet harmony:" stars and angels are spoken of as "still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims." Beasts are asserted to be sensible to music's influence; and "the man that hath no music in himself" is pronounced to be "fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils." When Portia enters, and observes the effect of music by night, she says,—"*Nothing is good, I see, without respect;*" and she adds much concerning the importance of form and season. On the entrance of Gratiano and Bassanio the incident of the rings is brought into full play: the wives pretend to quarrel with their husbands for having parted with the formal pledges of their faith, and a number of

amusing *double-ententes* are bandied about. The care with which this incident is elaborated, and the great extent to which it is made to aid the theme, will be manifest to any one who will be at the pains to study the latter half of this act. Finally, the last lines of the play call our attention once more to the noble postponement of pleasure which has been made for a slight point of high honour; and this is done in immediate connexion with the incident of the rings,—that is to say, the necessity of maintaining the smallest *substantial* law is affirmed at the same moment that a total disregard is exhibited for the mere *letter*. Of the characters generally throughout this play, it may be said that their vices or absurdities are made to depend upon their adhesion to the letter at the sacrifice of the spirit of law, while their virtues appear in their preference of the spirit to the letter.

Thus have we slightly and imperfectly traced the course of the idea of the “Merchant of Venice.” To have followed it more closely would have compelled us to make frequent reference to philosophical principles which are little understood. We trust that we have done enough to enable the reader to do much more for himself. The extent to which he will be able to detect the theme, we are persuaded, will be in precise proportion to the extent of his knowledge of the human mind and heart, and to the depth of his philosophy. If, as is probable, Shakespere was the greatest philosopher as well as the greatest poet of the world, it must almost necessarily follow that the best analysis which it is in our power to make will fail to exhaust its subject. If Mr. Carlyle writes truly that “the morality by which Mirabeau could be judged has not yet got uttered in the speech of man,” the same may at least be admitted of the criticism which is to include the works of Shakespere. Often, in passages of the “Merchant of Venice,” and other plays, have we felt the existence of the idea, without being at all able to define its condition, just as we know that the sun is behind a cloud by the amount of scattered light which can be attributed to nothing else.

Before passing on to other peculiarities of Shakespere’s art, let us record a few reflections which suggest themselves as the result of what has been already said.

A most significant consequence of the system, which we have traced through the “Merchant of Venice,” and which we assert, with Ulrici, to prevail, under certain modifications, in each of the plays of Shakespere, is the fact that all the characters in any one piece are developed in relation to some one moral truth. Hence they escape that *sculpturesque* totality and isolation, which are exhibited by the characters, and especially the chief characters, of all other dramatists. There are no heroes or heroines in Shakespere’s plays, that is to say, no one person constitutes the central

interest. The chief interest is, or ought to be, found in the single but many-sided moral truths which they all pretty equally illustrate, and from their various relations to which they derive their proper significance. Viewed thus, the wonderful harmony of Shakespeare's plays ceases to be a mystery. The connexion of the characters is no longer derived merely from their co-operation in the same series of incidents; they become vitally related by the various reflection of one and the same idea. The whole character is, however, in each case, conveyed, for its relation to the whole of morality is sufficiently suggested by its full development with regard to some particular phase. It is impossible to conceive a higher notion of artistic unity than that which is thus realized in the works of Shakespeare.

A. Schlegel has made some clever remarks upon the impropriety of introducing "superfluous traits of character" in a play. He does not appear to have discovered that *all* traits of character must be "*superfluous*" when there exists no central object, by their relationship to which they can alone acquire the quality of *sufficiency*.

If the interest of mere incident is unelevated, that derived from mere character is impertinent and curious. They are to be pitied, and not argued with, who cannot find interest in a moral truth sufficient to justify its central and predominant position in a work of art. Shakespeare himself has affirmed that the drama's "end, both at the first and now, was, and is, to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to Nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image."

Schlegel's well-known and generally accepted notion of a positive and all prevalent *irony* in the works of Shakespeare must be abandoned. As long as character is regarded as the chief thing, either sympathy or irony must be assumed in the author; but *indifference* is the real condition of the poet who employs his characters purely as the means to an end; as the signs and cyphers in the statement and elimination of a moral problem.

Lord Bacon says that a little philosophy leads to Atheism; so a little criticism leads to the denial of profound intentions in works of art, to a denial, in fact, that they are the productions of "*artists*," in the etymological and only comprehensible sense of the word,—which is a sort of parody of Atheism. Again, when just views of an ancient work of art are for the first time propounded they are often discredited by the little critic, for no better reason than that they are new. Let us remind the little critic, if we have the misfortune to have such an one among our readers, that it is a common fault of great men not to allow sufficiently for the marvellous stupidity of the bulk of those who are to be their judges. Hence it comes that to this day some of the greatest and oldest works of art have never had their primary meanings

comprehended, or, at least, they have never had them published. Thus "Comus," which to muddle pates seems to be a clear poem, has never revealed its most important meanings as an allegory on chastity (a subject justifying allegory) to any of its many commentators; and yet without those meanings the passages containing them are little more than elegantly expressed nonsense. It seems as if all the great poets of the world had written for a time that is not yet come. With Shakespere it seems eminently so. But if we lament the blindness which calumniates or mispraises the glorious lights which shine almost in vain among us, how much more shall we bewail the dishonesty which pretends to behold loveliness in forms that can only appear as crude, barbarous, and vacant, while their true nature remains unknown? We respect Voltaire for calling Shakespere a barbarian: that more critics have not called him such goes far to convince us that Hamlet indulges in an hyperbolical estimate of the world's truthfulness, when he asserts, that "to be honest is to be one in ten thousand." It is not surprising that plays like "Othello" and "Measure for Measure," in which the plots are exciting, the general forms "regular," and the first and superficial effects, upon the whole, satisfactory, should please the multitude, and the ordinary teachers of the multitude; but that a work like "Timon of Athens," or "Love's Labour Lost," should be not only tolerated but praised by them for its excellence as a total composition, is a fact that can only be accounted for by recognising the existence of an extensive cowardice and dishonesty of intellect. If the last mentioned plays, for instance, really contain no more than is commonly seen in them they ought to be regarded as the productions of a madman, for no mind endowed with the consecutiveness of sanity could have created them. Not until "Love's Labour Lost" is seen to be an exhaustive satire upon all kinds of "book-learnedness" and false wit, can a glimpse be caught of the law of its construction; neither can any thing justify "Timon of Athens," either as a whole or in its parts, but the wonderfully subtle, exact, and multifarious illustrations which it affords of that lax and lavish temperament which is commonly called good-nature and liberality, but which demands nothing but a change of conditions in order to show itself as the bitterness and narrow cynicism of Apemantus.

Having now done, to Ulrici's remarkable view, that justice which he has failed to do to it himself, we may proceed to examine another general and quite unnoticed principle, upon which Shakespere seems mainly to have founded the superlative harmony of his tragedies. We are not in a condition to pronounce upon the *exclusive* possession by Shakespere of what we consider to be the great secret of "Romantic" composition, for we are not acquainted with the Spanish dramatists; but we venture to affirm

that of English dramatists, Shakespeare alone has possessed an acute perception of the nature of harmony, and has employed his knowledge by acting on its principles. Some of the best of our old play-writers, Ford and Massinger for instance, who are commonly termed "Romantic" poets, belong in their best productions, more properly to the school of the antique; the majority, however, form a class by themselves, partaking neither of the antique nor of the truly "Romantic." The merit of these dramatists lies in their faithful but artless copy of *fragments* of the surface of nature; whereas a truly "Romantic," that is, a Shakesperian drama, is, as we shall presently show, a miniature imitation of Nature herself; a copy indeed of fragments of the surface of Nature as far as regards the materials employed, but an imitation of Nature herself by virtue of the way in which the artist has combined them. Another set of dramatists have mixed these two styles, which may be called the rhythmical and the picturesque, without combining them. This Fletcher has done, who attempted to imitate Shakespeare, before he understood him. The great fame of this writer rests not so much upon his pretensions to the title of a truly romantic poet, as upon his possession of an attribute which in his age was almost peculiar to himself. Farce is defined by Schlegel to be *self-conscious comedy*; we would call the serious dramas of Fletcher, *self-conscious tragedy*. But in none of these writers can we detect the least glimpse of that systematic harmony to the employment of which we conceive that Shakespeare's hitherto unapproached and apparently unapproachable glory as a tragedian is in a great measure to be attributed.

A clear distinction between harmony and rhythmus, in dramatic construction, is of essential importance to the adequate comprehension of the following observations. We begin, therefore, with definitions.

The regular succession of parts, according to the law of continuity, constitutes rhythmus.

The harmony of the Shakesperian drama may be described in the same words with the harmony which is perceptible to a thinking mind in the most heterogeneous mixture of the elements of the material universe; in both cases it originates in the *discontinuous juxtaposition of parts between which we have previously been made aware of the existence of a continuity*. Let us illustrate these definitions, and compare the objects defined.

Schlegel calls the lyrical, "a protracted development of the moment," now the rhythmical in the drama may be said to be a protracted development of the lyrical. This we may learn by reference to the Greek tragedies, in which the expressions of the ideal audience, represented by the chorus, are lyrical, because they are intended to exhibit the concentrated impression of a

rhythmical entertainment. Effects purely rhythmical formed the end and aim, not only of the ancient tragedy, but of the whole of ancient art; and in the extreme beauty of the figure by which Winklemann has illustrated its characteristic property, we have almost everything that can be said upon the matter. "Antique perfection," he says, "is *the tongue upon the balance of expression*." Here the result of unmixed rhythmus is exquisitely described; its correspondence to the *course* of nature ("the everlasting to be which *hath been*") and to time, is plainly indicated; and lastly, we have the ever unsatisfied longing which is attendant on the perception of simple beauty, completely accounted for.

Now the two species, the Greek and the Shakesperian dramas, are plainly distinguishable, but they are not, as is often supposed to be, contradistinguished from one another; for though rhythmus forms the essence of the one, and harmony that of the other, and though rhythmus is totally distinct and may exist separate from harmony, yet harmony can only exist in conjunction with rhythmus; indeed, inasmuch as rhythmus is the very ground of harmony, and as the former, where in perfection, has a constant tendency to the production of the latter, the romantic drama may be not improperly regarded as the antique drama *full blown*; or as the expression—perhaps imperfect—of that which the antique art seemed always about to express.

We will here hazard the statement of what we suspect to be a grand distinguishing property of harmony in relation to rhythmus. We have already mentioned the essential correspondence of rhythmus to *Time*. May we not in harmony detect a similar correspondence to *Eternity*? This idea may be supported by more facts than one. Such are,—

I. The *picturesqueness* which is given by harmony to a progressive performance, in its whole, or parts; that picturesqueness demanding, as it does, that we should view unprogressively, or at once, that which is nevertheless *collaterally connected with another quality whose progressiveness is the prime condition of its being*.

II. The circumstance that satisfaction is always the result of, and indeed is in all things dependent upon, harmony, considered in relation to the invariably unsatisfying effects of rhythmus (which corresponds to *Time*), also in relation to the judgments which we have reason to make concerning the capacities of the human mind.

III. The truth that as *Beauty* is always dependent upon, though it is not always produced by, rhythmus; so sublimity is always founded on, though circumstances may prevent it from becoming the invariable accompaniment of, harmony.

These arguments might easily be multiplied, but since the question, though very curious and interesting in itself, is only serviceable here as an illustration of the foregoing definitions of rhythmus and harmony, we leave it and proceed to apply some

of the above views to the interpretation of Shakespere's works generally.

Plots which in themselves are strongly calculated to excite our curiosity, are commonly deprived by Shakespere of this charm, in order to make room for another and a greater charm. This he does by allowing us to anticipate the leading points of those plots, thus calling our attention rather to the workings of character by which they are brought about. To the system of development of character, therefore, it is that we must look in order that we may discover the principles by which Shakespere has surpassed in harmony, all other dramatists, anterior, posterior, or contemporary.

The *perfect idea* of Shakespere's system is this:—

The whole of the characters of any one tragedy are so chosen that they are susceptible of being arranged as a chain, each link of which is connected with its adjacent link by a continuity running through them all. In the beginning, the whole of the characters are exhibited in a general concord, which is commonly effected by representing them in circumstances under which all characters are alike. In the progress of the play individuality is gradually developed, until, at the end, the whole chain is extended, which is done by the introduction of circumstances under which all the characters are unlike. This development in its progress constitutes the *rhythmus*. But besides this, at every step in the course of the drama, the characters, whose individualizing attributes have been more or less developed, are placed in contact with each other, which, however, *never happens until the continuity between them has been exhibited*, and this constitutes the harmony, the depth and fulness of which consequently increase in proportion to the advance obtained by the *rhythmus*; the opportunities for producing the former being, of course, most numerous when the development of which the progress constitutes the latter is completed.

A. Schlegel defines the romantic, in *contra*-distinction to the antique, in this manner. "The antique art and poetry," he says, "separate in a strict manner things that are dissimilar; the romantic delights in indissoluble mixtures, all contrarieties." Now, according to the higher views which we have taken, *the romantic delights in dissolving apparently indissoluble mixtures, in developing through all things a continuity incompatible with the notion of contrariety.*

The clue which we have now given will enable the careful reader to untwist for himself

"The chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony,"

wherever harmony exists; but let us forewarn him of circum-

stances likely to call up unfounded doubts of the validity of that clue. He must not expect to be able to trace the rigid and formal observance of a rule which, *in its verbal expression*, Shakespeare has repeatedly violated. He must put himself, if he can, in Shakespeare's place, bearing in mind the truth that rules which have been deprived of poetical power by enunciation in set terms, belong rather to critics than to poets.

In Shakespeare's comedies he will find no trace of this scheme, because the essence of the true comic lies in its chaotic character, that is, in the absence of harmony. Neither must he, for more reasons than one, expect to discover it in the "Histories." By their necessarily *transitive* nature, they drop the claim to the title of complete wholes. That nature, again, is totally incompatible with systematic harmony; for how absurd would it have appeared if Shakespeare had *re-developed* every character in each of the plays, which are but portions of one great poem! Yet this he must have done in order to obtain the effect in question. But even had he done so, the harmony thus procured could only have existed for those of his audience who, besides being totally unacquainted with the dramas preceding and following that upon which they chanced to be occupied, could also lay claim to an unusual ignorance of English history. The highly artificial unity of progress in the rhythmus of the pure tragedies is consequently absent in the Histories; but its absence is concealed to a considerable extent by a certain uniformity of lyrical feeling which, for the most part, pervades the language of all the characters in the latter, and in these only. The essential distinction between the two classes of drama may be thus described: *the Histories are picturesque as wholes, the Tragedies are picturesque only in their parts.*

Let those of our readers who require further explanation, compare the scheme of harmony above developed with Coleridge's beautiful definition of the picturesque: "Where the parts by their harmony produce an effect of a whole, but there is no seen form of a whole producing or explaining the parts, *i.e.*, when the parts only are seen and distinguished, but the whole is felt, the picturesque arises."

Concerning the difference of the tragedies and "histories," we will only add, that the picturesqueness of the histories depends upon our intuitive perception of harmony in an assemblage of natural things which do not hold situations in the chain of continuity very far removed from one another; and that the harmony of the tragedies is an essentially artificial constituent which is superadded to the natural harmony that they would otherwise possess in common with the "histories." In the pure tragedies, then, and serious ideal dramas alone it is that this artificial scheme is to be traced.

If we examine with care and candour some of the principal tragedies of Shakespere, we shall be compelled to admit that there are portions of them which, by reason of their apparently episodal character, the present doctrines of dramatic criticism do not suffice to explain. Such are,—

1. Those parts of Hamlet which treat of the threatened invasion, the wars, and the subsequent passage through Denmark of Fortinbras; topics wholly extraneous to the main interest.
2. The earlier portions of "Lear" treating of the fortunes of Gloster, which, though in the end they amalgamate with the main interest, produce an episodal effect in the beginning.
3. The portions of "Romeo and Juliet," in which the dissensions of the Montagues and Capulets make an important figure, without adding much to the vividness of the chief interest.
4. The passages of "Othello," in which State topics, chiefly the wars of Cyprus, are treated of to an extent totally unwarranted by the very slight degree in which they accelerate the development of the plot.

Now, besides harmony, there is yet another requisite to the perfection of form in a romantic drama. Harmony will of itself confer that prime requisite, the unity by which every part of the performance is made to "tell" in bringing out the conception; but harmony alone fails to impress us sufficiently with the notion of *independent unity*, which in Shakespere has been procured by what we shall henceforth denominate the *foreign contrast*; an expression which of itself will explain a good deal to those who either are tolerably well read in Shakespere, or will take the trouble to refer to those of his plays in which the attribute in question has been particularly pointed out. The following are the rationalia of the methods by which the effects of independent unity are there obtained.

We have already said that the main action, by its systematic harmony, has the effect of a little nature in itself. Now, if another action be placed in juxtaposition with the main action, the parts of the former not being in harmony with the parts of the latter, although the wholes may harmonize with each other, the main action will not only retain the appearance of a complete nature, which it possesses in virtue of its being an assemblage of parts connected by the system of nature itself, but it will also deceive us into the partial belief that it is a new and independent nature, by reason of its juxtaposition with the picturesquely harmonious fragments of the literal nature which forms the *foreign contrast*.

Another way in which the *foreign contrast* produces an effect of independent unity is this:

In the beginning of the play, the different actions, like the different characters, are often represented as *identical*; the main

action, however, grows out and deepens, while that which is subservient to the *foreign contrast* remains stationary and uninteresting, still, however, shewing itself here and there during the progress of the true action. These occasional obtrusions act like *seed leaves* that sometimes remain upon the stem of a plant, assuring us that it is no off-shoot from another.

The *foreign contrast* in "Hamlet" acts upon the first principle, that in "Othello" depends upon both principles; for besides the State topics, which are identical in their mode of action with the *foreign contrast* in Hamlet, there is yet another interest which acts upon the latter principle as well as upon the former, namely, the amour of Roderigo, which runs all through the play. But in Macbeth, where we find the foreign contrast in its highest perfection, in addition to the means already explained, a third method has been employed. In Macbeth the foreign contrast is literally of a different nature to that, the operations of which constitute the true interest, and that this should be the case, was, we are persuaded, the determining motive with Shakespeare for the introduction of the witches. Horror in Macbeth is carried to its greatest possible height. The effects of the *human* parts of this tragedy are almost superhuman; the tendency of the foreign contrast is to circumscribe and limit,—and could the limits of so tremendous a picture be of the same materials by which the same purpose is answered in the lethargic "Hamlet?" That this was Shakespeare's view of the subject we think is proved by the nature of the principal foreign contrast in "Lear." In the effect of this tragedy, which is his masterpiece, Shakespeare has pushed nature to its uttermost boundaries, indeed, he has merged it in the supernatural. How, then, is the foreign contrast obtained in "King Lear?" The story of Gloster is only episodal during the introduction to the tragedy, before any of the great effects are produced; that which at first officiated as foreign contrast becomes amalgamated with and part of the main action. Infinite may be bounded by infinite; finite by finite; but finite cannot circumscribe infinite. Why, then, did not Shakespeare provide a supernatural foreign contrast, wherewith to circumscribe and confer independent unity upon "Lear," as he has done upon "Macbeth?" Simply because "Lear" was independent without it. In "Macbeth," the effect, though enormous, still comes within the sphere of nature; but in "Lear" it is supernatural, and in that which affects us supernaturally nothing can be required to assure us that it is no link in the chain of the natural. Nevertheless a foreign contrast of some sort was wanted; for besides the already mentioned offices of this element in a drama, there is yet another and very important desideratum which it provides for. Through the medium of the foreign contrast, which to the end remains stationary, cold, and

uninteresting, a *gauge* is supplied by which the increasing depth and fervour of the main action is measured. For reasons which have been already given, the foreign contrast in "Lear" could not be *external*; Shakespere has therefore made it *internal*. It is in the very bosom of the play. The hearts of Regan and Goneril constitute the foreign contrast in "King Lear." By the time that the affairs of Gloster begin to interest us too much to allow of their retaining this office, the characters of the two daughters have been fully developed, for small is the development required by utter selfishness. The hearts of "these daughters," once known to us, like the earthen pyrometers of the chemist, remain unchanged in the furnace of feeling, only gauging the surrounding heat by their shrinking.

Coleridge, perhaps the only great, and at the same time *perfectly candid* critic upon Shakespere, professes his inability to regard the characters of Regan and Goneril otherwise than as disturbing forces. Schlegel attempts to justify the foreign contrast in "Romeo and Juliet," and portions of that in "Othello," by observing that they withdraw the action from the sphere of the *purely domestic*. Are not the admission of the one, and the weak explanation of the other, powerful arguments for the validity of these views, if indeed anything more than their plain statement is required to stamp their truth upon the mind of the reader?

Let us warn the reader that he is only to expect to find the *foreign contrast* where systematic harmony is to be found; for we have already shewn that the former is in some of its relations intimately connected with the latter. The airiness of the comedies of Shakespere would have been destroyed by a foreign contrast; and the "histories" could have little external foreign contrast for a reason exactly the reverse of that for which "Lear" has none. The latter is independent *per se*, the former by their nature are dependent for their effect upon each other, or upon the knowledge of the reader. There are unequivocal traces of the *foreign contrast* in some of the "histories;" but this only happens when their transitive character has been in a great measure destroyed by isolation. In "King John," for instance, among the various ends gained by the introduction of Faulconbridge, perhaps the most important is the gauge to the depth of the action, supplied by the occasional glimpses that we catch of his uniformly cold and ironical character, which in no one of its relations appears to be capable of amalgamating with the main interest.

The reader will be at no difficulty in tracing with more or less distinctness, the foregoing principles in many other of the plays of Shakespere, besides those which we have mentioned. It is with much regret, however, that we find ourselves compelled, for want of space, to leave those principles with little more than a bare statement of them.

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ART. VI.—*Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen Age, ou Recherches Historiques sur l'origine de la Souveraineté Temporelle du Saint Siège, et sur le Droit Public du Moyen Age relativement à la déposition des Souverains.* Par M. * * *, Directeur au Séminaire de Saint Sulpice, (Abbé Gosselin.) Paris, 1845.

IN our Number for May last, we gave an account of the general character and objects of this important work of the Abbé Gosselin, which presents in a very favourable light the views now generally maintained by continental Romanists on the interesting subjects it discusses. These subjects are sometimes comprehended under the general head of the temporal power of the Pope. But this general topic admits of an obvious twofold division, into the Pope's right as a temporal prince to the government of the States of the Church, or his temporal sovereignty, and his claim to exercise jurisdiction generally in temporal matters, to dispose of kingdoms, to depose sovereigns, and absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, which may be properly designated his temporal supremacy. The first part of Gosselin's work is occupied with an investigation of the history and grounds of the Pope's temporal sovereignty, and this topic we have already explained and discussed. The second part of the work is devoted to an investigation of the more extensive and interesting subject of the Pope's temporal supremacy, and to this we would now invite the attention of our readers.

This subject of the Pope's temporal supremacy, or, more generally, of the right of the Church, and of the Pope as ruling and representing it, to interfere authoritatively in the regulation of civil and secular affairs, has been for above 700 years discussed and debated within the Church of Rome itself, and it has been one main occasion of internal divisions and contentions among its adherents. It has led to a great deal of interesting discussion as to the origin, grounds, and objects of civil and ecclesiastical power, and the functions and relations of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The Roman Catholic Church of France long reckoned it one of its chief glories, that it had always strenuously opposed the Pope's temporal supremacy, and maintained the independence of the civil power; and many of its most illustrious men—such as Richer, Launoi, De Marca, Natalis Alexander, Bossuet, Fleury, and Dupin—have exerted their great talents and learning in defending views upon this subject which were sound and scriptural, but very distasteful to the Court of Rome. The defence of the Pope's temporal jurisdiction and supremacy by the

immediate adherents of the Papal Court, commonly called by the French, Ultramontanists, and the opposition made to it by the divines of the Gallican Church, and by Protestants, form a very important and interesting department of the great controversy between the empire and the priesthood, the State and the Church, the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities ; and a survey of it affords abundant materials for confirming the great truth, of the distinctness and mutual independence of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, and of the unlawfulness of the one claiming any jurisdiction or right of authoritative control over the other. The Popes had succeeded in getting themselves generally acknowledged as the vicars of Christ and the monarchs of the Church, and had established themselves as temporal sovereigns in the imperial city, before they ventured to claim a general right of authoritative interference in temporal matters, and before they presumed to depose kings and to absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance. Gregory VII., in the latter part of the eleventh century, was the first Pope who claimed and exercised the power of deposing a sovereign and absolving his subjects from their oaths and obligations, and this has procured for him a very unenviable notoriety. Ever since that time, the generality of the immediate adherents of the Popes have defended this power as justly and lawfully belonging to the head of the Church. Not one of his successors in the Papal chair has ever disclaimed this power, while not a few of them have both claimed and exercised it. Innocent III., Innocent IV., Boniface VIII., Clement VII., Paul III., Pius V., Sixtus V., and Gregory XIV., have pronounced sentences of deposition upon emperors of Germany and kings of England and France, and have pretended to absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to impose it upon them as a Christian duty to carry the Pope's sentence of deposition against their sovereign into practical effect. These proceedings of the Popes have been defended by many of the most eminent Roman Catholic theologians, but they have been vigorously assailed by others, especially by the defenders of what are called the Gallican Liberties, and they have been much dwelt upon by Protestant writers, as affording interesting indications of the character and policy of the Church of Rome, and valuable materials for the exposure of some of the claims which she puts forth.

Notwithstanding the lengthened discussion that has taken place in regard to some of the topics involved in the investigation of this subject, there is no great difficulty in tracing the leading outlines of the history of this claim to temporal supremacy, and of the grounds on which it was based.

There can be no doubt, that the primitive doctrine of the

Church, in regard to the proper relation of the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities, was that which Scripture so clearly sanctions, viz., that the State and the Church are, in their constitution, and by God's appointment, distinct and independent societies, each supreme in its own province, and neither having any jurisdiction or authoritative control over the other. Very unequivocal assertions of this great truth, so flatly inconsistent, both with the doctrine of the Erastians, and with that of the Church of Rome in its palmy days, have been produced from the Popes of the fifth and sixth centuries—from Gelasius, Symmachus, and Gregory the Great. Similar statements have been produced from Popes even in the eighth and ninth centuries, after they were established as temporal princes, and were generally acknowledged as the heads of the Church. These statements are produced and commented upon by the defenders of the Gallican liberties; and they afford ample warrant for the title which Simon Lowth, one of the nonjuring clergy of the Church of England, gave to a curious work which he published in 1716—"The independent power of the Church, not Romish, but primitive, and Catholic." It is true, that long before the Popes ceased to disclaim jurisdiction in temporal things, there had been a large intermixture or confusion of the secular and the spiritual. Long before the civil establishment of Christianity by Constantine, the bishops had been accustomed to decide many of the civil questions that arose among Christians in the capacity of arbiters, and their right to decide some questions of this sort was sanctioned and ratified by the first Christian emperors. As they came, in the course of time, to be possessed of large property, this, combined with their influence over the minds of the people, gave them political power, a right to interfere, and a capacity of interfering with effect, in the management of national affairs; and all this they were careful to improve for increasing their authority. The Bishops of Rome had, in their own sphere, their full share of the influence in temporal matters which was derived from these sources, and which, when tried by a mere worldly standard, irrespective of scriptural principles, might be reckoned legitimate; and when they had once succeeded in getting themselves acknowledged as the rulers of the Church, as supreme judges in all ecclesiastical matters, they had no great difficulty in persuading men that they had some right of interfering, in the last resort, in all those temporal matters, in the management of which their subjects the bishops had a share.

It is certain, that no sooner were they established as temporal princes, and recognised as supreme rulers and ultimate judges in all spiritual matters, than they determined to bring the whole world and all its affairs under their control, by dragging to their

tribunals all temporal questions that had any connexion, immediate or remote, with ecclesiastical subjects, and seeking to influence the disposal of crowns and kingdoms. They displayed in this all the selfish ambition, and all the unscrupulous manœuvring, which have always been the great characteristics of the Romish apostasy. So long, however, as the general principle of the distinctness and mutual independence of the civil and ecclesiastical powers was admitted, the Popes could not found their interferences in temporal matters upon a *jus divinum*, but were bound in consistency to admit that it was derived from, and, of course, regulated by, human laws, and the general concession or consent of men. But this state of matters did not satisfy their ambition. It did not afford a sufficiently elevated or secure foundation on which to rest their claims, and it furnished no sufficiently plausible pretence for their assuming the whole extent of power to which they aspired. Human laws, and the consent of parties, would scarcely enable them to grasp sceptres and to dispose of crowns. And accordingly, we find that the first open attempt of the Popes to depose sovereigns and to absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance, and the first explicit attempt to base their right of interference in temporal matters upon a *jus divinum*, upon their divine right to rule the universal Church as the successors of Peter and the vicars of Christ, were cotemporaneous. These two things meet together in the pontificate of Gregory VII., the notorious Hildebrand, in the latter part of the eleventh century. Gregory and his successors founded the right which they claimed, to depose sovereigns and to absolve their subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon their divine right to the power of the keys, the power of binding and loosing, upon the supreme and universal dominion possessed by Jesus Christ, and conferred by him upon Peter, and upon all his successors in the See of Rome. This view was defended by most of the theologians and canonists of the Church of Rome till after the Reformation, though there were always some eminent men, especially in France, who maintained the primitive scriptural doctrine that restricts the power of ecclesiastical office-bearers to spiritual matters, and asserts the independence and supremacy of the civil magistrate in his own province.* Scarcely any Romanist now-a-days, even beyond the Alps, even among those who maintain the Pope's personal infallibility, and his superiority to a General Council in spiritual matters, ventures to maintain his temporal

* There is a full collection of the testimonies of Romish writers against the temporal supremacy of the Pope, in a very learned work of Crakanthorp's, entitled, "The Defence of Constantine, with a Treatise on the Pope's Temporal Monarchy," published in 1621.

supremacy, his right to interfere authoritatively in civil and national affairs; and the labours of those of them who discuss this topic at all, are now commonly directed to the object of palliating the assumptions of the Popes in former times, and concealing or explaining away the grounds on which they were defended. This is the great object of the second part of Gosselin's works of which we propose to give some account.

Before doing so, however, it may be proper to state more fully how this subject was usually explained and discussed by Romish writers in former times; and with this view, we shall refer chiefly to Cardinal Bellarmine, who is still justly regarded as the greatest of Romish controversialists, and without a knowledge of whose works no one can be regarded as fully master of all that can be said in defence of Popery. In the first volume of his great work, "*Disputationes de Controversiis Christianæ fidei adversus hujus temporis Hereticos*," he treats very fully *de Romano Pontifice*, believing, as he says in his preface, the supremacy of the Pope to be the foundation of Christianity. He discusses this fundamental topic in five books, and the fifth he devotes to the temporal power of the Pope. He has also a separate treatise on the temporal power of the Pope, in reply to William Barclay, a learned Scotchman, who was Professor of Law in one of the French universities, and who had defended the views generally maintained upon this subject by the Gallican Church. This treatise of Bellarmine was condemned and suppressed by the parliament of Paris, as injurious to the rights of sovereigns. The temporal supremacy of the Pope likewise occupies a prominent place in two very curious works which Bellarmine wrote in reply to King James VI., in the controversy occasioned by that monarch exacting an oath of allegiance of his Roman Catholic subjects after the Gunpowder Plot.* In these various works of Bellarmine, we have abundant materials for judging how the subject of the Pope's temporal supremacy was usually stated and discussed at that period, especially if we compare them with the works against which they were written.

In his "*Disputationes*," he begins his discussion of the Pope's temporal supremacy by stating three different opinions which were held concerning it. The first is, that the Pope has *jure divino* immediate and supreme jurisdiction over the whole world, in civil or temporal, as well as in spiritual or ecclesiastical mat-

* When the King complained that Bellarmine, in his first work, had not treated him with the respect due to a crowned head, the Cardinal replied, that the Pope was superior in rank and dignity to all kings, that Cardinals, being next to the Pope, were on a level with sovereign princes, and that he therefore was James's equal.—Bell. *Apologia pro Responsione*, C. IV.

ters ; and he refers to a considerable number of approved writers who supported this opinion. The second, he says, is not so much an opinion, but rather a heresy ; and it is this, that the Pope has no power in temporal things, no jurisdiction over secular princes, and no right to deprive them of their authority. This opinion, or rather heresy, he represents, as maintained chiefly by the Reformers, but it had been asserted before Bellarmine's time by some French Romanists, and it was afterwards put forth as one of the four articles of the Gallican liberties, and was openly and explicitly maintained by Bossuet, Fleury, and Dupin. The third opinion, he says, is held by the generality of Catholic writers, and is that which he himself espouses and defends. It is this, that though the Pope has not directly and immediately jurisdiction in temporal things, yet he has indirectly a right of interfering authoritatively in the regulation of them, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, for the good of religion and the interests of the Church ; and this indirect power or jurisdiction in temporal matters includes a right to depose secular princes, and to abrogate civil laws, when the interests of religion require this. As the Pope is of course the sole judge as to when and how far the welfare of religion, *i.e.*, the interests of the Church of Rome, require him to interfere in temporal matters, this indirect power of interference gives him as much authority as he may find it convenient to claim, and is thus practically identical with the first opinion, which represents him directly and immediately as sovereign ruler in all matters temporal and spiritual. Still Bellarmine's denial of the direct temporal supremacy of the Pope was very unpalatable to the Court of Rome ; and Sixtus V., to whom his great work was dedicated, had put his treatise *De Romano Pontifice* into the *Index Prohibitorius*. The publication, however, of this Index was delayed by Sixtus's death, and his successor, Urban VII., was prudent enough to erase Bellarmine's name from it before giving it to the world.

Bellarmino, after proving that the Pope is not the lord and master of the whole world, nor even of the Christian world, and that he has not any merely temporal jurisdiction directly *jure divino*, proceeds to prove that he has supreme temporal jurisdiction indirectly. His proof of this is derived partly from reasons and partly from examples. His reasons are deduced from the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power, as established by the higher and more exalted character of the ends or objects to which it is directed, the necessity of some power in temporal matters in order to the Church's fitness for the full execution of its own functions, the alleged duty of a nation to depose a heretical king who employs his power for the promotion of error, and the implied condition attaching to the sovereignty of Christian princes,

that they hold their power in subjection to Christ ; the two last arguments being supplemented by the assumption, that the Pope is the supreme judge of what is heresy, and of what is accordant with the mind, and fitted to promote the cause, of Christ. His examples in support of his doctrine are the cases of Uzziah and Athaliah, as recorded in the 2d Book of Chronicles, and then the instances in which the Popes had actually interfered in deposing sovereigns and in transferring kingdoms, a branch of evidence which not only Protestants but the Romish defenders of the Gallican liberties, treat as a very flagrant specimen of begging the question. Upon these grounds Bellarmine openly and explicitly, and without any disguise or qualification, maintains the right of the Pope to depose kings who have become heretics, or who are exercising their power for the injury of religion or the Church. He explicitly asserts also the right of the Pope to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance ; but, in explaining and defending this right, he makes use of the discreditable juggle which has been adopted by the generality of Romish writers in discussing the power of the Church to grant dispensations from oaths and vows, and which is fully and plainly developed by Dens in his Theology. It is this, that the Pope does not properly absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance while the oath continues to exist and to bind, but that, by deposing the sovereign, he changes the matter of the oath, and relaxes its obligation by annihilating it, or taking it out of existence. The Pope deposes a sovereign, as he is entitled to do this the deposition is validly effected, and as the person deposed is now no longer sovereign, all obligations contracted to him cease, and the oath of allegiance falls to the ground. These views as to the Pope's deposing and dispensing power are explicitly stated, and zealously defended by Bellarmine, and they have been since maintained, more or less explicitly, by the generality of Romish writers, except those connected with the Gallican Church. The defenders of the Gallican Liberties deny altogether the Pope's right to depose sovereigns and to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and maintain that in every instance in which a Pope attempted or professed to do this, he was guilty of unlawful usurpation, and that in asserting his right to do it he was teaching an erroneous doctrine, and affording proof that he was not infallible. The chief difference to be found among Romish writers beyond the pale of the Gallican Church, with reference to this subject, turns not on the truth of the doctrine of the Pope's deposing and dispensing power, but on the question, whether the doctrine has been so sanctioned by the Church, or by any authority that represented and bound the Church, as that the denial of it was heresy. The French divines contended that the

doctrine was untrue, and that though many Popes had taught and acted upon it, the Church had never sanctioned it. Other theologians, while holding the doctrine to be true, or professing something like neutrality concerning it, have joined them in trying to show that the Church has not settled this point, but left a latitude for a difference of opinion regarding it. This view would probably have been more generally adopted by Romish writers had it not required a sacrifice of the doctrine of the personal infallibility of the Pope; for it is certain that Popes have maintained this doctrine, and acted upon it. The French think they can prove that no general councils, to which alone they ascribe infallibility, and which they regard as superior in authority to the Pope, have ever sanctioned this doctrine. They find it difficult enough to evade the evidence drawn from the proceedings and decrees of the third and fourth Lateran Councils, and of the Council of Constance, in favour of the Church's right to exercise jurisdiction in temporal matters, and to dispense with oaths, and they have wisely refused to undertake the burden of attempting any proof of this sort in regard to the Popes. Bellarmine, in his *Disputationes*, spoke of the denial of the Pope's deposing power as almost a heresy, but he afterwards called it heretical without qualification. In the controversy which arose in consequence of King James exacting an oath of allegiance of the Roman Catholics, Bellarmine had to contend not only with the king, but with some of the Romish priests in England who thought it lawful to take the oath, though it embodied a disclaimer of the deposing power, and though the Pope had forbidden them to take it. In the heat of his zeal upon this occasion, he denounced the denial of the deposing power as heretical, and the English priests, on the other hand, maintained that the Church had never sanctioned this doctrine, and that they were not bound as Catholics to maintain it. Their champion on this occasion was Roger Widdrington, who wrote two books upon the point, viz., *Apologia pro jure Principum*, and a defence of it. These are works of very considerable ability, and though they profess to prove only, that the denial of the Pope's deposing power is not heretical, and is not clearly and certainly erroneous, they indicate great sympathy with the sound views held by the defenders of the Gallican Liberties.

These are fair specimens of the views taught on the subject of the Pope's temporal supremacy by the great body of Romish writers during the 17th and 18th centuries. They illustrate the general policy of the Church of Rome, the important differences on questions both theoretical and practical that exist in her communion, and the extreme difficulty found on some occasions in ascertaining what the doctrines of the Church of

were met not only by disregard and practical opposition, but by literary hostility on the part of the most eminent men of the age. We have a considerable number of writings composed at different periods, from the pontificate of Gregory VII. downward, professedly defending the rights of sovereigns in opposition to the claims and pretensions of the Popes. These works have been collected by Goldastus in his *Monarchia Sacri Romani Imperii*. They are interesting chiefly in a historical point of view, as proving that a literary controversy subsisted upon the subject, from the time when the papal claims to a power of deposing were first advanced, and showing in what way that controversy was then conducted. They can scarcely be regarded as throwing much real light upon the essential principles and the intrinsic merits of the contest between the empire and the priesthood. Some of those defenders of the rights of sovereigns, having their views perverted by the belief in the Pope's spiritual supremacy as head of the Church, and by the confused intermixture of things civil and things ecclesiastical which had prevailed from a very early period, made concessions which injured their cause, and afforded advantages to the defenders of the Popes. Others of them ran in the heat of controversy into the opposite extreme to that against which they were contending, and propounded views very similar to those which, in modern times, have been known under the name of Erastian.* Still their works are interesting and important, as showing that the papal claims to temporal supremacy were decidedly and intelligently opposed from the time when they were first advanced; and as proving, moreover, that they were both assailed and defended upon religious grounds—upon considerations which professed to rest upon Divine authority.

Upon the grounds that have now been adverted to, Gosselin's assertion of the general prevalence, during the Middle Ages, of a conviction on the part both of sovereigns and people,

* Some of them, for instance, denied that it was lawful for the ecclesiastical authorities to excommunicate sovereign princes even for offences for which other men ought to be excommunicated—a foolish notion, which has been defended in more modern times by some of the Episcopalian advocates of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown in England. Marsilius of Padua, one of the most eminent among them, in his "Defensor Pacis," has propounded views which are, in substance, identical with the fundamental principle of modern Erastianism, viz., that Christ, as King and Head of His Church, has not appointed therein a government in the hands of Church officers distinct from the civil magistrate. There is a very interesting exposition and refutation of Marsilius's views upon this subject in Richer's treatise, "De Potestate Ecclesiæ in rebus temporalibus," Lib. iii. c. 5. Richer, in common with the most eminent defenders of the Gallican Liberties, held on this point the golden mean between the Popish and the Erastian extremes—the doctrine that has been generally maintained by Presbyterians; and, what is very curious and interesting, he held also, on the subject of the appointment of ministers, the principle of non-intrusion in its obvious, and only honest, sense;

of the Pope's right to dispose, in certain cases, of crowns and kingdoms, must be very materially modified. The conviction was commonly professed only by those whose secular interests were promoted by the mode in which, upon any particular occasion, the right was exercised; and it was as generally opposed by those against whom its exercise was directed. But the main question turns, not so much upon the extent to which this conviction prevailed, as upon its origin, its authors, its grounds. Now, there can be no reasonable doubt, that this conviction, in so far as it existed, owed its origin to the ambitious schemes, and the persevering activity, of the Popes and their adherents, that it was devised and promoted by them for the purpose of advancing their own selfish ends. It is easy enough to point out, as Gosselin does, circumstances in the condition of society, and in the character of the governments, of the Middle Ages, which favoured the assumption of this supremacy on the part of the Popes—which made their attempt to grasp universal dominion more natural, and perhaps more excusable, than it would otherwise have been, and which tended greatly to promote their success, while they exhibit the plausible grounds which, at the different stages in the progress of their ascendancy, they were able to adduce in support of their claims. But all this does not prove that they did not aim sedulously and unceasingly at securing this temporal supremacy, this universal worldly dominion; or that, in aiming at this object, they were animated by elevated and generous motives, or guided by a regard to the rules of justice and integrity. The truth is, that the rise of their temporal supremacy followed in the wake of their spiritual supremacy over the Church as the vicars of Christ, and that the history of both present very much the same general features. They both present the same progress from claims comparatively moderate in extent, and reasonable or at least plausible in their grounds, to claims extravagant and absurd—the same steady and unshrinking prosecution of selfish interests, as distinguished from the proper objects of a Church of Christ—the same vigilant and skilful improvement of every event or combination of circumstances for promoting the end in view—the same unscrupulous disregard of the ordinary rules of morality, and the same triumphant and marvellous success.

Gosselin never suggests, or attempts to deal with, the position, that the Popes laboured to produce, and succeeded in producing, the belief of their right to depose sovereigns, though it must be evident that this position, if true, affords a sufficient answer to his vindication of the Popes, based upon the mere fact of the existence of this belief. The position indeed is so obvious that it could not escape the notice of any one investigating this sub-

ject, and it is so unquestionably true, that he did not think it expedient to grapple with it. He traces indeed elaborately a variety of opinions and practices, originating at an earlier period, which paved the way, both for the result of the Popes assuming a power of deposing sovereigns, and for their success in producing a belief that they had a right to do so ; but these opinions and practices were, to a large extent, unfounded and erroneous, and had owed their origin very much to the efforts of a worldly-minded clergy, and especially of the Popes and their adherents, aiming at the temporal aggrandizement of the Church. It was indeed very natural, in the then condition of society, that the Popes, being independent temporal princes, and being generally acknowledged as the rulers of the Church, should be consulted in disputes that arose about the interpretation of treaties, and the construction of oaths and obligations. It was very natural too, from the position they occupied, that even independently of any questions of casuistry that might be started upon these points, they should be applied to as arbiters to settle differences between neighbouring princes, and between sovereigns and their subjects. All such applications they were most careful to encourage, and they never failed to improve them for the purpose of transmuting their position as mere doctors and arbiters into that of rulers and judges. The encouraging of applications and appeals to Rome by ecclesiastics in spiritual questions was one great mean which they employed and improved for establishing their claim to spiritual supremacy, and in this way they had succeeded in getting themselves practically recognised as the ultimate judges in all spiritual questions in the Western Church, before they ventured to put forth any very explicit claim to universal spiritual supremacy, as belonging to them *jure divino*.

They followed the very same course in their attempts to establish their temporal supremacy over sovereigns and kingdoms, with nearly equally great, but much less permanent, success. The real object after which they aspired in this matter, was not merely to be recognised as entitled to interfere occasionally in the disposal of crowns and kingdoms when the interests of religion or the Church seemed to demand this, but to be formally acknowledged as the ordinary lords paramount, or feudal superiors, of the different kingdoms of Europe. They succeeded in getting themselves acknowledged in that character in Naples and Sicily, and even in England during the reign of King John ; and they professed thereafter upon this ground, to treat these kingdoms as fiefs held of the holy see, and their sovereigns as vassals. Their conduct in these cases clearly indicates the objects they aimed at, and the motives by which they were animated. Gosselin dwells upon these cases as evidences of the general ac-

knowledge of the Pope's temporal supremacy during the Middle Ages. They are not altogether irrelevant for this object, but they bring out also very clearly a consideration which wholly frustrates Gosselin's purpose in adducing them, viz., that the Popes themselves were most active in urging and extending their own claims to temporal supremacy, and unscrupulously improved every opening for effecting this, and for establishing their power on the firmest secular ground.

One thing on which Gosselin dwells largely, as showing that the temporal power of the Church, and ultimately the temporal supremacy of the Pope, was generally recognised in the Middle Ages, and was sanctioned by the constitution and laws of states, is the fact, that in most countries civil pains and penalties were by law attached to ecclesiastical censures, that excommunication from the Church by the ecclesiastical authorities was held to deprive men of all their civil rights, and that this principle was at length extended even to sovereigns, who, when excommunicated by the Pope, were regarded as thereby validly deposed from their office. It is true that the laws of many countries deprived excommunicated persons of all their civil rights, but it is only very partially true, as we have explained, that this principle ever came to be generally applied to sovereign princes. But even if it had, and in so far as it was thus provided by law, this is just an illustration of the erroneous and injurious intermixture of things civil and sacred, which the clergy introduced and favoured for their own selfish and ambitious purposes, and which the Popes were careful to improve and extend for establishing their own temporal supremacy, showing ever a determination to engross in their own persons all the power, temporal and spiritual, which the clergy had at any time, or by any means, succeeded in acquiring.

Gosselin is farther at pains to bring out all the evidence he can collect from the Middle Ages, of its being either an express or virtual condition of the tenure of the crown in many kingdoms, that the sovereign should not profess or favour heresy, but should be an obedient son of the Church, inferring from this, that the Pope's right, in virtue of his spiritual supremacy, to determine what was heresy, and to cast out from the communion of the Church, became legally and constitutionally a virtual power of deposing sovereigns in certain cases. We do not dispute the abstract competency of attaching such a condition to the tenure of a crown; and there can be no reasonable doubt that when such a condition has been constitutionally imposed and accepted, the nation is entitled to enforce it even by deposing its sovereign, if necessary. And if the nation happen to believe, that the Pope is the supreme and ultimate judge to all men in

all questions of doctrine and discipline, it will, of course, in point of fact, regard the Pope's decision as affording conclusive proof, that the emergency has arisen in which, in virtue of the constitutional compact, it is warranted in withdrawing its allegiance. But there is nothing in all this sufficient to prove either that the Pope had a right to depose sovereigns, or that this right was generally conceded in the Middle Ages. If it could be proved, indeed, that a nation was *bound*, upon scriptural principles, and as a Christian duty, to attach this condition to the tenure of the crown, and to enforce the condition in every instance in which it was violated by the sovereign, this might afford a plausible argument in support of the Pope having, as the acknowledged head of the Church, at least an indirect temporal supremacy or power of deposing kings. And this accordingly, as we have seen, is one of the arguments which Bellarmine employs in defence of his doctrine upon this subject. The argument, however, only appears to tell in favour of his doctrine, and does not do so in reality. For it is in the nation, and not in the Pope, that the power of deposition rests; and there is not in the case any concession to him of jurisdiction, direct or indirect, in temporal matters, though he has, *per accidens*, a certain capacity of exercising some influence indirectly upon the practical result. It is a provision of the British constitution that the sovereign must be in communion with the Church of England; and even though it had been farther provided, that a decision to that effect by the Archbishop of Canterbury was the only and the sufficient proof that this condition was violated, it would be quite unwarrantable to say that the Archbishop had a right to depose the sovereign.* But, moreover, the principle, viewed as an argument in support of the doctrine that the Pope has the power, at least

* The fallacy of Bellarmine's argument upon this point is well exposed in the following passage of Widdrington:—"Respondemus igitur Cardinalem Bellarminum in eo potissimum elaborare ut probet, principem infidelem vel haereticum, si alios pertrahat ad haeresim vel infidelitatem, posse a populo sibi subjecto principatu privari; praesens autem controversia, quaeque in hac quaestione a Bellarmino instituitur, non est, An et ob quas causas possint reges a republica temporali deponi, sed solum, An summus pontifex habeat auctoritatem jure divino privandi principes suis dominiis. Nam sive respublica temporalis possit suum principem ob aliquam causam aut crimen deponere, sive non possit, (quae quaestio potius ad philosophum moralem quam ad theologum spectat, et aliquod circa eam asseverare facilem praeberet tumultibus, rebellionibus et regicidiis occasionem,) attamen hinc nullum efficax peti potest argumentum, ad probandum, summum pontificem ullam prorsus jure divino habere potestatem, etiam in ordine ad bonum spirituale, principes temporales e suis dominiis exterminandi. Nam dato, sed non concesso, illicitum esse Christianis tolerare regem haereticum vel infidelem si ille conetur pertrahere subditos ad suam haeresim vel infidelitatem, quomodo tamen hinc recte deduci potest, summum pontificem habere potestatem principes deponendi?"—(Responsio Apologetica, pp. 44-5.)

indirectly, of deposing sovereigns, is wholly invalidated by the consideration, that a nation is under no obligation as a matter of christian duty to attach such a condition to the tenure of the crown, but that, on the contrary, the dictate both of scripture and reason upon this point is, that, to adopt the language of the Westminster Confession, embodying the belief of all Scottish Presbyterians, "infidelity or difference in religion doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to him." Bellarmine employs this consideration about heresy and excommunication as a proof that the Pope has *jure divino*, at least an indirect temporal jurisdiction which may authorize him to depose sovereigns. Gosselin, however, enters into no abstract discussion on this point; but, in accordance with his general theory, merely adduces the fact, that such a condition was formally or virtually attached to the tenure of the crown, as a proof of the general prevalence of the belief that the Pope has the power of deposing. But the observations we have already made are sufficient to shew the unsoundness of this, as well as the other application of it, while here again we have to notice, that the advocacy of the idea that it was necessary to attach such a condition to the tenure of the crown, was just one of those skilful and plausible contrivances by which the Popes succeeded in practically establishing their temporal supremacy.

Gosselin, then, we think, has failed in vindicating the Popes of the Middle Ages from the imputations which have been commonly cast upon them. He has not succeeded in proving, either, that they did not base the temporal supremacy which they claimed and exercised, upon the theological opinion of a divine right, or, that there was any other good and valid ground for it, which was independent in its origin of their own efforts and contrivances in establishing this supremacy, and in persuading men that it belonged to them, and belonged to them by divine authority. They must therefore bear the imputation of having taught as true, with all the authority attaching to the Papal chair, a theological doctrine which is now generally admitted by Romanists to be false, and of having laboured unceasingly and unscrupulously to establish for themselves a temporal supremacy, by a dexterous use of their spiritual authority, and a skilful improvement of every favourable incident.

These are imputations which have been established against the Popes of the Middle Ages, and not only against them, but against the Popes of more modern times. Even in the present century, Popes have taken steps and employed language which plainly implied an assumption of these old claims. Pius VII. did

so in his dealings with Napoleon, and in his interferences with the proceedings of the Diet of Ratisbon in 1803.* The late Pope, Gregory XVI., practically asserted the same claim in his interference with the proceedings of the government of Spain, in regard to ecclesiastical property. Notwithstanding all this, and notwithstanding the reasonable suspicion it inspires, that the Popes, not one of whom has ever disclaimed his right to temporal power, might renew this claim if circumstances should ever occur to favour its application, it is certain that, as we have said, almost all Romanists now admit, more or less explicitly, the falsehood of the doctrine that the Pope has, *jure divino*, either a direct or an indirect temporal supremacy. It is true, indeed, that the celebrated De la Mennais, before he renounced Popery and became an infidel, had openly defended even the highest view, that which was rejected by Bellarmine; that De Maistre, whose ingenious and elegant works have done a good deal to conciliate favour towards the Papacy, endeavoured to combine Fénélon's view of a power of direction with the old doctrine of a power of proper jurisdiction; and that Gioberti, notwithstanding his liberal views on some points, still continues to cleave to it. Still it is now generally abandoned, either tacitly or expressly. Gosselin, though he disclaims pronouncing any opinion upon the truth or falsehood of the theological doctrine of a divine right, makes it manifest, by the whole substance and spirit of his argument, that he does not regard this as affording any good foundation for the claim. Frassinous, bishop of Hermopolis, who was minister of instruction under Charles X., and the most influential of the French prelates of that period, declared, in his work entitled—*Les Vrais Principes de l'Eglise Gallicane*, published in 1826, that the doctrine of the Pope's temporal supremacy was now superannuated even beyond the Alps, (p. 72); and in proof of this he says, that it is no longer taught in the theological schools at Rome. This statement may be regarded as confirmed by the fact, that in the most recent and most generally approved Romish system of theology—the *Prælectiones Theologicæ* of Perrone, the present professor of theology in the Jesuit College at Rome, there is no mention of the temporal authority of the Pope, though of course it treats very fully of his authority as the head of the Church. Frassinous farther asserts that, in the negotiations between Napoleon and Pius VII., in which the emperor wished to oblige the Pope to declare that he would do nothing against the four articles of the Gallican Liberties, as set forth in the famous declaration

* The evidence of these statements is brought out in a very interesting work, published by authority of the French Government, entitled—*Essai Historique sur la puissance temporelle des Papes*. Daunou, the author of this work, had access to the archives of the Vatican, which were at that time at Paris.

of 1682, the Pope, though refusing to comply with this demand, hinted that he cared much less about the first of these articles, which denied to him all temporal jurisdiction, than about the other three, which limited his spiritual supremacy.

Gosselin makes a similar statement in regard to the views and feelings of some of the recent Popes on this subject. He says, (p. 748)—

“Many official pieces of undeniable authenticity shew clearly how far the holy see is from supporting the theological opinion of which we are speaking. Nay more, it openly professes in them principles upon the distinction of the two powers, and the independence of sovereigns in temporal matters, which it is very difficult to reconcile with the theological opinion of a power either direct or indirect. We may refer, in particular, in support of this position, to the Briefs of Pius VI. relative to the French Revolution; the Letter of Cardinal Antonelli, prefect of the Propaganda, to the Archbishops of Ireland, dated 23d June 1791; the Encyclical Letter of Gregory XVI. to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, dated 15th August 1832; the Exposition of Law and Fact, in reply to the Declaration of the Prussian Government, 31st Dec. 1838; and, lastly, the Allocution of Gregory XVI., pronounced in secret Consistory, 8th July 1839. It is enough, it seems to me, to read attentively these different pieces in order to be convinced, that the holy see, far from favouring now-a-days the theological opinion of power, whether direct or indirect, gladly embraces any opportunity of shewing how little importance it attaches to this opinion, and of professing openly principles which contradict it, or which, at least, cannot be easily reconciled with it.”

There is not much in this statement, even though the view given of the strain of these documents were correct. There is nothing in them, even by Gosselin's shewing, that approximates to a renunciation of the old theological opinion, and we have already had occasion to suggest considerations that go far to diminish the appearance of incompatibility between the principles which these modern Pontiffs are alleged to have sanctioned, and the claims which their predecessors advanced. But, moreover, we strongly suspect that Gosselin has laid upon these documents a weight which they are unable to bear. We do not remember to have seen any of them except the Encyclical Letter of Gregory XVI., in 1832, which so much galled the professors of liberalism among British Romanists by its furious denunciation of the liberty of the press and liberty of conscience. That document certainly does not sanction Gosselin's statement, and we have little doubt that this is true also of the others to which he refers. The whole history of Popery makes it manifest, that no reliance is to be placed upon what Popes and their adherents may occasionally find it convenient to insinuate.

The views propounded by Gosselin in regard to the temporal supremacy claimed and exercised by the Popes of former times, are those that are now generally adopted, more or less explicitly, by Romanists both on the Continent and in this country. Dr. Wiseman attempts to dispose of this topic in the following cool and easy way:—"Nor has this spiritual supremacy any relation to the wider sway once held by the Pontiffs over the destinies of Europe. That the headship of the Church won naturally the highest weight and authority in a social and political state, grounded on Catholic principles, we cannot wonder. That power arose and disappeared with the institutions which produced and supported it, and forms no part of the doctrine held by the Church regarding the Papal supremacy."—Vol. i. Lect. viii. pp. 244, 245.

Dr. Wiseman here quietly assumes that the notion of the Pope's temporal supremacy never took the form of a theological doctrine, inculcated by the highest ecclesiastical authorities, but that it merely described a practice originating in, and founded on, certain temporary civil institutions, which have now disappeared, with all that resulted from them, and are therefore scarcely worthy of any serious attention. But this view of the matter cannot be embraced by any who are acquainted with it. The temporal supremacy has been maintained as a theological doctrine, resting upon divine authority, by many Popes and by many of the most eminent Romish writers. Dr. Wiseman and modern Romanists would fain throw this fact into the background, but it must not be forgotten, for it casts important light upon the policy which the Church of Rome has ever pursued, and upon the validity of the claims which she has been accustomed to advance. It is a fact which Romish controversialists in the present day find it very difficult to deal with, but which they should be compelled to face. There is, indeed, some difficulty in determining whether or not the doctrine of the Pope's temporal supremacy has been sanctioned by the Church, so as to be binding upon all good Catholics. But the fact that this question as to whether or not the opinion forms a part of the doctrine of the Church, has given rise to much controversial discussion among Romanists, is of itself very perplexing to them. The difficulty of dealing with this fact, and the still more obvious difficulty of dealing with the fact, that many Popes have proclaimed and enforced as a theological doctrine, resting upon Divine authority, what scarcely any Romanist now ventures to defend, explain why Romish controversialists now generally try to slip past this subject in the way adopted by Dr. Wiseman. When obliged to grapple with the temporal supremacy which the Popes of former times claimed and exercised, they can do

little more than evade the real merits of the question, and attempt to involve it in confusion and obscurity; and the true history of this subject, correctly stated and applied, will always continue to afford interesting and valuable materials for exposing some of the claims and pretensions which the Church of Rome most constantly urges, and keeping alive a reasonable apprehension of her unwearied activity, her singular dexterity, and her hardened wickedness, in prosecuting her own selfish interests, and in seeking to subject everything to her sway.

Both Gosselin (pp. 12, 22, 346-350) and Dr. Wiseman (Lectures, vol. i. pp. 293, 294) dwell at some length, and with much complacency, on two works bearing on this subject, which have been published in the present day, by German writers, viz., Voigt's History of Gregory VII. and Hurter's History of Innocent III. Voigt and Hurter were both Protestants when they published these works, that is, they were not Romanists, for their Protestantism seems to have been merely nominal. They give a much more favourable view of the character, policy, and conduct of Gregory and Innocent than Protestant writers have generally done, and on this account their works are highly praised by Gosselin and Wiseman, and some of their statements are quoted as conclusive testimonies on behalf of these much injured and calumniated pontiffs. Voigt and Hurter have not discovered and brought to light any new materials bearing upon the character, motives, and conduct, of Gregory and Innocent, and the mere opinion which they have formed and expressed upon these points is not of much importance. The leading features in the character, and the principal events in the history, of these two pontiffs, are well known and easily appreciated. They were both very remarkable men, of powerful minds, and of great strength of will; and they accomplished some important results. The works of Voigt and Hurter are interesting as bringing before us a much fuller and more complete view of these pontiffs than can be derived from ordinary church histories, whether written by Protestants or Romanists, but they contain nothing fitted to change or modify the opinions of those who were competently acquainted with the subjects of which they treat. Voigt and Hurter are hero-worshippers, who having apparently no definite standard either of doctrine or duty, have become enamoured of the elevation and the audacity which distinguished the conceptions and the schemes of Gregory and Innocent, and seem, in consequence, resolved to put the best construction upon all they said and did, and to gloss over those of their opinions and practices which have brought upon them the decided condemnation of most Protestants, and of not a few Romanists. They do not judge of their heroes by the standard that ought to be applied to men who pro-

fessed to be ministers of Christ and to be following out the ends of his mission, but only by that which is actually exhibited by the common herd of worldly politicians. The latter certainly was the standard which Gregory and Innocent followed, both in the kind of objects they aimed at, and in the means they employed to accomplish them. But it is a very unnecessary and unwarrantable complaisance to judge of them only by this standard, and to abstain from applying to them any higher one. It is certain that Gregory invented the doctrine that the Pope has a right to depose sovereigns and to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, that he claimed this power as belonging to him *jure divino*, and exercised it with singular barbarity and insolence in the case of Henry IV., emperor of Germany, while, with all his boldness and apparent sincerity, he did not venture to deal in the same way with our William the Conqueror, who had given him about equal provocation. Gregory no doubt called this *maintaining ecclesiastical liberty*, as did Benedict XIII., when, in last century, he canonized him; and Voigt is complaisant enough to adopt this Popish nomenclature, telling us that Gregory's great and only idea was the *independence of the Church*, but most men will think it more correctly described as *establishing ecclesiastical tyranny*. It is certain that Gregory compelled many thousands of clergymen to part with their wives, in spite of their strenuous opposition and solemn remonstrances, and that he succeeded in permanently establishing the celibacy of the clergy as the law and practice of the Church. The man who could devise and execute such schemes had undoubtedly some of the qualities of a hero, qualities well fitted to excite the admiration of men who look merely to boldness, earnestness, and strength of purpose, and disregard the dictates and the interests of truth and morality. It is certain that Innocent III. zealously prosecuted the object of securing for himself an influence in appointing to the great ecclesiastical benefices, that he quarrelled on this subject with John King of England, that he excommunicated and deposed that monarch, absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, laid the kingdom under an interdict, *i.e.*, prohibited and prevented for a time the celebration of all religious services, transferred the crown of England to the king of France, and finally compelled John to agree to hold his crown and kingdom as the vassal of the holy see. It is certain that he condemned and annulled the Magna Charta, which the Barons of England had extorted from his vassal King John, that he imposed upon the Church the belief of transubstantiation and the practice of auricular confession, that he instigated the horrible massacres of the Albigenes by Simon de Montfort, and required secular princes to extirpate all heretics from their

dominions, on pain of excommunication and forfeiture of their territory. This man, too, had evidently some of the qualities of a hero; but it is rather strange that he should be held up now-a-days to the admiration of philanthropic and Christian men. When Hurter wrote his eulogistic *Life of Innocent*, he was professedly a Protestant, and held the office of a clergyman, but he must have been at heart an infidel. In 1845, as Gosselin tells us, he joined the communion of the Church of Rome, but he is probably as much an infidel as before.

We do not deny that some of these papal heroes of the Middle Ages, who introduced and established the temporal supremacy of the holy see, had, viewed merely as men and politicians, some striking and splendid qualities; that they had succeeded in persuading themselves, that in struggling to promote their own supremacy, they were labouring for the interests of religion and the welfare of their subjects, and that the end sanctifies the means; that in some of them ambition was divested of its more sordid and degrading elements and accompaniments, and appeared somewhat like the "last infirmity of noble minds;" and that in several instances their interferences in temporal affairs were directed to good objects and followed by beneficial results. But there is nothing in all this that should materially affect the estimate that ought to be formed of their character, motives, and conduct, when tried by the standard that ought to be applied to them, nothing that should lead us to look back to them with respect and veneration as benefactors of the species, nothing that should prevent us from noticing, in the history of the Pope's temporal supremacy, of the steps by which it rose, and of the discussions to which it has given rise, a striking illustration of the ambitious, skilful, and unscrupulous policy which the Church of Rome has ever pursued, of the kind of objects it has ever aimed at as far as it could, and of the means it has employed to effect them.

We expected to have been able to embrace in this Article some account of the Gallican Liberties, and of the very interesting controversy to which they have led, a controversy conducted by men of the highest eminence, and fitted to throw light upon some important principles, which are still discussed with earnestness both in this country and upon the continent. But our space is for the present exhausted.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs and Correspondence (official and familiar) of Sir Robert Murray Keith, K.B., Envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the Courts of Dresden, Copenhagen, and Vienna, from 1769 to 1792. With a Memoir of Queen Carolina Matilda of Denmark, and an Account of the Revolution there in 1772.* Edited by Mrs. GILLESPIE SMYTH, 2 vols. London, 1849.

COLONEL ROBERT KEITH, and his son Sir Robert Murray Keith, the former ambassador at the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, the latter, after some active service in the seven years' war, successively British Minister at Dresden, Copenhagen, and Vienna, belonged to a class of useful public servants which many things in the constitution of Scottish society, during the last century, were well fitted to produce. Bishop Burnet, who had seen much of the world, and been an inquisitive and shrewd observer, scruples not, with a sort of blundering honesty, little likely to make his advice more palatable, to tell the gentry of England that they were, for the most part, the worst instructed and the least knowing of any of their rank he ever went amongst. But the Scotch, says he, "though less able to bear the expense of a learned education, are much more knowing: the reason of which is this; the Scotch, even of indifferent fortunes, send private tutors with their children, both to schools and colleges; these look after the young gentlemen, mornings and evenings, and read over with them what they have learned, and so make them perfecter in it: they generally go abroad a year or two and see the world; this obliges them to behave themselves well. Whereas a gentleman here is often both ill-taught and ill-bred: this makes him haughty and insolent." Thus, the Restoration, and Charles the II.'s intimacy with the polished Court of Louis the XIV., had done little to rub off that grossness of manners which so surprised Principal Baillie in Charles the I.'s time, and which, though often allied with an unsophisticated and sturdy patriotism, which the more refined Scot did not always possess, must have particularly unfitted a man for representing his sovereign at a foreign court.

The class of which we speak in Scotland, and to which the Keiths belonged, were generally of ancient and originally noble races, of good families in the old sense of the word. But while this gave them a certain consciousness of rank, however poor they were, and a strong attachment to the country in which so many of their ancestors had lived and died, there were many things besides those mentioned by the historian, that tended to

temper that exclusiveness and lazy pride which are apt to make an aristocracy narrow-minded, insolent and useless. Thierry has remarked, in the sketch of Scottish history appended to his history of the Norman Conquest, that the amalgamation of different races took place here under very favourable circumstances. Saxons, Danes, and Gallo-Normans in abundance acquired lands and influence amongst us, but coming as individuals seeking shelter and hospitality, or invited by wise princes to aid the progress of government and civilisation, they sought to identify themselves with the nation, instead of uniting to oppress it. No festering sores were made and perpetuated by the permanent success of foreign invaders; and the remembrance of Largs and Bannockburn, became dear, not to a distinct class, patrician or plebeian, but to the whole population. National independence achieved for one was achieved for all, and conferred on all a certain claim to respect. No tiller of the ground, however humble, was a serf, sold and bought with the land he laboured; no baron of foreign descent held his estate and titles by right of conquest. Even difference of language made no difference in this respect. Lowlander and Highlander, the man of Celtic blood and speech, and the man of Teutonic blood and speech, were all on a level; all were Scotchmen and all were free. There was but one, and that a slight exception—that of the coal-pitmen, who, on utilitarian grounds, until within less than a century ago, were tied by law, as indissolubly to their under-ground occupation, as the law of England, until the other day, held a clergyman subject for life to his ordinary as a priest. The feudal system, indeed, subsisted in full force; but in its primitive, not its secondary; its native, not its imported condition. In other countries of western Europe it was employed as a means of confirming the conquest of an invaded country, previously subject to its own laws and institutions, and hence arose the distinction between vassals and serfs. But in Scotland all were vassals—there were no serfs. The Gurths and Wambas to the south of the Tweed had no counterparts to the north. And yet those Gurths and Wambas were slow to forget that their sires had been, previous to the Norman Conquest, perhaps rich and noble as well as free; and to this day one can hardly fail to be reminded of the relation of the Saxon and the Norman of the 12th century, and the feelings it begot, in the bickerings of the aristocratical and democratical members of our British House of Commons, the game-law feud, and that of the protectionists and free-traders.

We have no doubt that this kindly amalgamation of different races in Scotland, of itself, greatly favoured a certain kindly amalgamation of ranks here, which has greatly influenced the national character and fortunes, and has, we fear, not been pro-

moted by our intimacy with England. The times that produced such men as the Keiths, Sir Andrew Mitchell, and a host of others of that stamp, seem to be going by. Our peasants are no longer so conscious and so proud of their independence; our landed nobility and gentry, of old family, with some eminent exceptions, not so shrewd, industrious, willing to cultivate business habits, and, above all, in the public service, content to be poor. And no wonder, for great though silent changes are making, and no provident statesman seems ready to turn all these changes to the best account. The noxious influences of the feudal system were beautifully counteracted in old Scottish society, partly by our civil legislation, partly by circumstances which legislation could hardly reach; and it were well that our legislators in church and state, deeply pondering the natural propensity of society as well as individual man to evil, when left to itself, would suggest and adopt in time some such remedial measures as might effectually meet those novel corruptions which the modern condition of society threatens to produce. The tendency of the feudal system was to an aristocracy, exclusive, overbearing, devoted to war, impatient of the restraints of law—loyal it might be to the Crown, but by no means willing to set the example of respect for the decisions of the Crown's judges, neglectful of learning as fit only for churchmen and pedants, and still more disposed to despise trade as the proper occupation only of ignoble minds. But a law that compelled all the eldest sons of barons to learn Latin in a country where there were no exclusively aristocratical seminaries, by mingling the haughty youth of the aristocracy with the sons of merchants and tradesmen at the burgh schools, even where no tincture of learning, or taste for it, was acquired, must have had the happiest influence in softening down the asperities of a feudal aristocracy in the opening of life, when the temper and character are most susceptible of impressions, and plastic under them. Again, a law that compelled those barons to send their eldest sons and heirs to college to learn *jure*, that is, we presume, the civil or Roman law, was admirably fitted to inculcate respect for law in general, and to lead them to mark how far the heritable jurisdictions were purely administered; not to say that the study of Latin and the Roman law must have concurred to create a respect in the minds of the youthful chieftains, for accomplishments which they would otherwise have despised; to associate honour or fame with the judge's ermine, as well as the warrior's coat of mail; to see in scientific agriculture a pursuit eminently becoming a patriot landholder, and to apply the grand principles of equity, where all were free, to all individual rights. These kindly tendencies, introduced in the reign of James the IV., were strengthened by his son, who

wisely encouraged the study of law among his barons, by instituting the Court of Session, and making the office and emoluments of a judge an object of ambition even to the peers of that age. This necessarily connected the aristocracy with the bar, and drew all, as well as the fifteen judges, to the metropolis, which soon became also the seat of an university. There, even before the Union, they found but the shadow of a Court, and not even that shadow afterwards—a happy exemption, if we are to judge by the ill success of a vice-regal court in Dublin. Thus, what might be called the forensic aristocracy, a pretty numerous body, in proportion as London drew off the peers and wealthiest commoners, was brought into closer connexion with bankers and merchants, the heads of the other two learned professions, the college professors, and the clerks or writers to the signet, a body of legal practitioners, ranking among the gentry, yet of inferior status to the advocates. In the theory of the Scottish judicial system, all the nobles and lesser barons were expected to study law and have a competent knowledge of it, and the Court of Session was a mere special jury of such qualified persons. But in fact, it was only from such as practised at the bar as advocates, in a few rare cases as writers to the signet, that the selection was made; those advocates took fees, and a fee, though a honorarium, wonderfully broke down the prejudice against a gentleman's working for gain. And if an eldest son in one case took fees as an advocate, why should not another of a different professional taste, take fees as a physician, or his younger brothers despise the banking-house or merchant's counting-room? In short, feudal notions and aristocratical pretensions soon gave way on all sides, and yet so universal and deep-rooted was the *prestige* of rank, and the respect for old names and families, that even the opening of a shop did not infer total loss of caste; and the near relations of ancient peers, with but a few steps between them and the title, might deal in silks and laces, bear civic honours, and consort with bailies and town councillors, without being disowned by their titled cousins. What a difference between this state of things and that in France, Germany, and some other parts of the continent. Even in Denmark, Sir R. M. Keith complains of the intolerable fastidiousness of the people in respect to rank and its pretensions; and to this, perhaps, we may justly attribute the stagnation of that little kingdom during nearly the whole of the last century, and the little importance of the Danes, once so stirring a people, in the European commonwealth. As the passage is amusing we may quote it:—

“ Our week is now to be parcelled out in plays and operas, and there will be at least a place of rendezvous every evening. Yet are we starched and demure even in our playhouses, for every human

being has his or her place allotted by the book of *etiquette*, and *sticks* to it during the whole performance. Those who sit two boxes from me might as well be in Norway for any manner of communication I can have with them. My little *Juel* is within five seats of being as great a lady as *Madame de Blosset*; and as I squat next to *Madame l'Ambassadrice*, I can, at least twice in the evening, see the tip of my cherub's nose. Were she to marry into the third class of *grandees*, I should see no more of her during my stay in Denmark! It is really ridiculous to see the world parcelled out here into no less than nine classes, six of whom I must never encounter without horror. Yet my opera-glass tells me that numbers eight and nine beat us all hollow as to flesh and blood. But as surgeons become counts and prime ministers in their island, my buxom nines may hereafter be *court ladies* for aught I know."—Vol. i. p. 291.

The last allusion is to the unfortunate Struensee, who began life as a surgeon, and whose fall was doubtless accelerated by the jealousy of the Danish nobles at seeing a Holsteiner, and the son of a simple Lutheran pastor, occupying so leading a place, and enjoying the confidence of George the Third's beautiful and accomplished sister, Queen Caroline Matilda of Denmark.

Scotland, indeed, with the most ancient nobility in Europe, and with a landed gentry tenacious to a proverb of the respect due to their antiquity and their rank, presented, nevertheless, the singular spectacle of a shrewd, thrifty, industrious, and sociable aristocracy, amid a commonalty no less remarkable for its intelligence and sturdy independence. Practically there seemed an end to all feudalism, and yet feudal sentiments everywhere survived. The same Burns, who, in his inimitable song, "Is there for honest poverty," &c., seemed the impersonation of modern democracy, showed, in his "Lament for Glencairn," how deep-rooted, even in his heart, was that respect for ancient races which is now so fast dying away. It was well for all parties that feudalism should have been so modified, and that there was no need here, as in France, for some fearful revolutionary disruption to break up, or rather break down, our ancient aristocracy into sober, useful citizenship. The cross at Edinburgh, some time before the dinner hour, used finely to illustrate that state of things which saved us from such a violent wrench. There the citizens were wont to congregate between those two grand centres of influence—the Exchange and the Parliament House—to discuss local and foreign news; there the landed interest, represented by the bench and the bar, and the monied and commercial interests, represented by the city's magnates, met on a sort of neutral ground; there the citizen canvassed the merits of every new judge, and the lawyer those of every successive provost. The circle was far too small to admit of much classification. Every new face was a wonder. No sooner was a stranger, with

the air of a gentleman, discovered passing up or down, than "Wha's that?" was whispered from one to the other. The neighbouring shops and the *caddies* were consulted. A buzz of gossip arose about the unknown and his whereabouts. There, too, the patrician courted the burgher, and the burgher the patrician; there, if haply a new man had had an invitation to dine with the President or Lord ———, he was sure to appear with gold-headed cane and superbly powdered wig, lace and buckles, to whisper the honour that had been put on him; there the country gentleman and the merchant recognised each other as old occupants of the same bench at the High School or College, and quondam confederates in schoolboy feats of mischief or frolic.

We cannot close these remarks on the amalgamating process by which different ranks in Scotland were brought into kindly harmony without being seethed together in the revolutionary cauldron, without a passing acknowledgment to Holland as having powerfully contributed to temper the pride of rank in our landed gentry, and to infuse into the descendants of many a line of fierce and haughty barons that just appreciation of commercial and manufacturing industry, of learning and science, of the peaceful and elegant arts, and of the learned professions, by which our aristocracy have long been distinguished. Many of our gentry, like Sir R. M. Keith, held commissions in what used to be called the Scotch Dutch regiments. Many more studied law, medicine, and divinity at the Universities of Holland. We say medicine and divinity, as well as law, for the profession of medicine seems to have been commoner among the Scotch gentry above a century ago than now; and Boerhaave had not a few Scotch lairds among his pupils, including Sir Alexander Dick, a maternal uncle of the subject of these memoirs. Moreover, small as were the emoluments of Scotch parish ministers before the law of patronage came to be practically acted upon, that bad practice unquestionably lowered the status of the clergy by making presentations too often personal favours, which no Christian gentleman could conscientiously accept, or rewards for services which men of landed property neither needed nor wished to render.

About ninety pages of these Memoirs are given to the correspondence of the elder of the two Keiths. The first letters are tame, because almost purely complimentary, but become interesting, when Frederick the Great, Lord Chatham, Sir A. Mitchell, Marshal Münich, and the Czartoriskis figure among his correspondents. Frederick owed much to Scotchmen, and to the Keiths. To say nothing of the Field-Marshal's services, it must have been inexpressible relief, when Russia was pressing hard

on him in 1762, to learn that Peter III., from the moment of his accession, resolved to befriend him. This the sadly beset monarch expressly attributes to the zeal of Robert Keith, then British Minister at Petersburg, in a letter reflecting bitterly on his threatened desertion by Great Britain. On that occasion, Sir Andrew Mitchell, who had spent a lifetime as the representative of his sovereign at Berlin, expresses himself as overwhelmed with distress at the conduct of the British Ministry, and implores the advice of his correspondent at St. Petersburg. His letter concludes with a postscript that shows how little residence abroad and diplomatic habits had cooled his loyalty and warmth of heart. "When I think of our master," he says, "all the sentiments of tenderness, duty, and affection rise up in my mind. I am afflicted beyond measure. In case you should have had no copy of the *memorable* answer to my despatch of the 4th May, I must acquaint you that no subsidy is granted for this year to the King of Prussia! The reasons are indeed extraordinary; palliate this as well as you can. One day or other I hope to communicate to you the true one, which I think I have, by chance, discovered." It is a pity that he could not venture to put this chance discovery in writing; but one thing seems very clear, that when Frederick charged the new administration of George III. not only with breach of treaty, but with labouring to embroil Peter III. with Prussia, he must have had a strange idea of that administration's common sense in employing at Berlin and St. Petersburg ministers so devoted to his interests as Mitchell and Keith manifestly were. This is a subject into which we cannot enter here beyond the remark that George III., as a conscientious and religious man, no doubt felt scruples as to the morality of the manner in which that war began on the part of England, could have had little real respect for the sneering infidelity of the King of Prussia, and probably thought that the friendship of Russia, procured, by the confession of Frederick himself, through George's minister at the Russian Court, was an ample equivalent for the refused subsidy. Yet Prussia did not forget this breach of understanding, and revenged herself, above thirty years afterwards, by pocketing subsidies without rendering the smallest service with her troops in return.

The elder Keith must have had some fine points of character in him. He seems to have been a kind, wise, and honest friend to the unfortunate Peter III. His dislike to Russia, we doubt not, was caused not only by separation from Vienna friends, and difference of climate, but also by the notorious profligacy of the court, and the supposed necessity for distributing money among the courtiers. In 1760 he pleads hard to be recalled; and when we find, immediately following an expression of his anxiety to

return to his family, from whom he had been absent twenty years, and his dread of encountering another Russian winter, after having had two attacks of fever in the course of the last, a wish to be informed where the money (£100,000) had been lodged which he was to lay out for the public service, we can hardly doubt that such services were among the worst *désagréments* of his post. The consciousness of his own unsullied integrity seems to have made even this old diplomatist feel that such money was pitch, which he could not touch without being defiled. "I must beg the favour to know," says he, "upon whom I may draw if occasion should require: I mean only for such gratifications as I may judge it necessary to make, from time to time, to particular persons; for, as I said then, I see not the smallest appearance at present of laying out considerable sums to any advantage."—(p. 34.) He then proceeds to ask for two modest favours for his two sons, one of whom at least had, by distinguished services, earned a right to more than was asked, and concludes with a few lines which we would recommend to be learned by heart by every living servant of the Crown. "I have one reason which makes me hope for success in my request to retire, viz., that it is the first favour that ever I asked for myself; for I can venture to say, and I appeal for the truth of it to all my Secretaries of State, that in the course of twenty years that I have served the Crown I never desired increase of honours or appointments: I never asked for any employment, nor ever refused any when it was thought I could be of use to the service of my royal master." His reluctance to touch the public money in an indirect manner, and for questionable purposes, descended to his son, who, at the close of a long diplomatic career, could boast that he had never drawn a farthing to be spent as secret service money.

That son was born in 1730. His loss of his mother at the age of eleven, and his father's long residence abroad, seem to have thrown him much upon his maternal uncles, one of whom had his seat near Edinburgh; and we quite agree with the editor in thinking that that "relish for fun and frolic which neither age nor etiquette could quench, may have taken its rise from that epitome of the world, in its mixture of ranks, its struggles and competitions, nay, even its not altogether *bloodless* conflicts—the High School, as graphically described by Sir Walter Scott." His destination for the army appears from the course he was pursuing while at an academy in London, where riding the great horse, fencing, French, fortification, music and drawing divided his time. Classical studies seem then to have been intermitted, and yet so thoroughly had he been grounded in Latin, that even in the evening of life it was one of what he called his ten lan-

guages, which he could use colloquially when occasion required. But, indeed, as a diplomatist Hugo Grotius's Latinity must have been perfectly familiar to him, and highly serviceable in helping him through knotty clauses in Latin treatises. His facility in acquiring languages was prodigious, for he not only spoke and wrote French like a native, but was conversant with German, Dutch, and Italian. His letters are probably as English as a Scotchman of that period could well write, and one only regrets that in those to his sister, Miss Anne Murray Keith, the prototype of Mrs. Bethune Balliol of the Chronicles of the Canongate, instead of only giving a dash of Scotch here and there, he had not adopted altogether the genteel Scotch of that period. We next find him in one of the Scotch regiments in the service of Holland, and there, probably with much time on his hand, he seems to have beguiled his leisure with scribbling verses. The editor gives a specimen, which, taken in connexion with his epistolary powers, shows that had circumstances, as in the case of Sir Walter Scott, led him to devote himself to composition for the press, without ceasing to be a man of affairs and to mingle much in ordinary society, he might have become a highly popular writer. But he had not the slightest ambition of that kind, and evidently never wrote, whether in prose or rhyme, but for the amusement of his friends and from the fulness of a well-stored mind, keenly alive to the humorous, full of the kindly feelings, and which, when he had no friends to converse with, found it a positive relief to communicate with them on paper. It would appear that at the age of twenty-two, when at Bergen-op-zoom, he was tempted by a rise in rank to pass from one regiment to another which was soon reduced, and on this mishap laments the mistake into which his ambition had led him, with a pathetic drollery that reminds us of Cowper.

“ By the side of the slow running Zoom
A poor pensioned Captain was laid,
And while he bewailed his sad doom
A knapsack supported his head.

“ The Lieutenants who heard him complain,
With a sigh to his sighs did reply,
And the Ensigns, who shared in his pain,
Stood mournfully murmuring by.

* * * *

“ Poor I, who till now was sogay,
Must soon from that station remove ;
Go, clothed like a ploughman, in grey,
Or live in a cottage on love.

* * * *

“ Our masters have sent us to range,
 The wants of the State to supply ;
 ’Tis theirs to complete the great change ;
 ’Tis ours to be pensioned—and die !”

Little did the disconsolate Scotch-Dutch paid-off captain foresee that he was to die as a minister-plenipotentiary on the retired list, with a pension, indeed, but one that enabled him to keep the most distinguished company in London, after having been honoured with the special confidence of his sovereign in the most difficult and delicate circumstances, and taken his place in history as a distinguished diplomatist. Acting probably under the advice of his father, he, on this occasion, betook himself to Germany, to complete his military education in a garrison town, where the duty was severe, and, in winter at least, the hardships excessive. In March 1758, we find him “ the youngest supernumerary captain of a new battalion without a company, which, after having been eleven years a captain, and a month a major, is no very flattering prospect.” His, however, was not a nature easily to be discouraged. His grand object was to be of use, leaving it to others to appreciate and promote him. In the campaign of that year, under Prince Ferdinand, he filled important though temporary situations in the army. When winter came, even the dull town of Munster could not check his love of humorous versification with which he was amusing himself in a letter to one of his sisters, when interrupted by a courier from England with instructions that prevented his visiting Scotland, and led to his being appointed adjutant-general and secretary to the commander-in-chief for the winter. In order to show the great folks that the prospect of so much business did not depress his genius, he presented them next day with the following verses on Prince Ferdinand. It seems now a thousand pities that their author was so much lost to his country, in stupid foreign embassies, when he might have held a distinguished place among the Johnsons and Burkes of London.

“ No more shall Fiction lend her aid to Truth,
 And fabled heroes teach aspiring youth ;
 In Ferdinand’s example they shall find
 Lessons that mend the heart and form the mind.
 Behold him, glorious in the conquer’d field,
 George’s avenger and his country’s shield ;
 Humanity and Justice by his side,
 And the loud voice of Liberty his guide :
 Men mark that soul that sparkles in his eye,
 And learn for her to conquer or to die.

But when again the winter storms descend,
 And the rude blast the active war suspend,

See him in social life by all beloved,
And truly blest—in being self-approved.
Free with a few, and easy in the crowd,
Too great, too wise, too worthy to be proud ;
The joys his bosom feels and virtues give,
Teach with what pleasure honest men may live."

This turn for humour and talent for easy and graceful versification seems to have run in the blood of the Keiths. George the ninth Earl Marischal, and brother of the famous Marshal, was attainted and obliged to fly in 1715. Having fallen in love in Paris with a young French lady, afterwards the Maréchale de Créqui, and she with him, the lovers were cruelly separated by the insuperable obstacle of the handsome young Scotchman being a Protestant. They never met again till the Earl was seventy and his lady-love a grandmamma. On that occasion, so well described by the Maréchale—"Listen," said he, "listen to the only French verses I ever composed, and perhaps the only reproaches that ever were addressed to you :—

" Un trait, lancé par caprice,
M'atteignit dans mon printemps :
J'en porte la cicatrice
Encore, sous mes cheveux blancs.
Craignez les maux qu'amour cause,
Et plaignez un insensé
Qui n'a point cueilli la rose
Et que l'épine a blessé."

Yet the man who was so tender a lover in youth lived to be a humorist at fourscore. He corresponded constantly with his distant relation, the younger Keith ; and on being asked to send a state of his infirmities that an English physician might prescribe, he writes :—" I thank you for your advice of consulting the English doctor to repair my old carcass. I have lately done so by my old coach, and it is now almost as good as new. Please, therefore, to tell the doctor that from him I expect a good repair, and shall state the case. First, he must know that the machine is the worse for wear, being nearly eighty years old. The reparation I propose he shall begin with is, one pair of new eyes, one pair of new ears, some improvement on the memory. When this is done we shall ask new legs and some change in the stomach. For the present this first reparation will be sufficient ; and we must not trouble the doctor too much at once."

To return to the versifying adjutant-general, his stay at Munster secured to him "the life-long friendship" of Marshal Conway, some of whose letters, written long afterwards, occur towards the close of these Memoirs, and give one a high opinion of

that single-hearted and noble-minded officer. In the following campaign he was happily not involved in the censure passed on Lord G. Sackville, and received the command of a regiment of Highlanders, raised for the war in Germany, and which, as the readers of General Stewart's work may remember, highly distinguished itself in several actions, and was loaded with commendation from the highest quarters. The reduction of that corps at the close of the war threw its colonel out of active service, but his stirring and inquisitive turn of mind abhorred inactivity. In 1764, he made a tour through France, and met with a brilliant reception in Paris. In 1765, he had returned to London. It does not seem clear how he passed the next four years, but though for part of that period in command of the 87th regiment, much of his time seems to have been spent in the society of a club of twelve members, calling themselves the *Gang*, and consisting of Lord Frederick Campbell, Messrs. Bradshaw, Rigby, and Chamier, all holding office under the Government, General Grosvenor, Messrs. Cox, Harley, and Bagot, with the heads of the banking-house of the Drummonds, and himself. These were not mere wits, but united with that character the graver attributes of men of business, and were most of them family men. In 1769, the Colonel was appointed envoy to the court of Saxony. At that dullish court he seems to have felt severely the loss of London society. His first letter, dated Dresden, is a squib, professing to be written by his secretary, and announcing his death. The drollery of this epistle strongly reminds one of the quiet humour of Sir Walter Scott, and it is marked by the same rich, easy, unembarrassed style. We may give it as a specimen of the author's peculiar vein.

“TO H. DRUMMOND, ESQ.

“*Dresden*, 1769.

“SIR,—I am sorry to acquit myself of a very mournful duty, in acquainting you that his Excellency, Robert Murray Keith, envoy extraordinary at this court, late commandant of the 87th Regiment of Foot, lord of the manors of Murray's-hall, Deans, Boghouse, &c., bade adieu to this transitory state on the night of Wednesday last, immediately after the arrival of the English post, which contained nothing but a London Chronicle.

“I had been alarmed, during these two months past, at the dejection of spirits which had often seized his Excellency, and particularly on post nights. I often heard him mutter some strange names, such as Bessy, Tatty, Nerry, &c., &c.* And on many occasions he even went

* The wives of the married members of “the Gang,” who seem to have been in right of their husbands, members too.

so far as to wish them all at Old Nick, (that was his Excellency's expression,) together with a score of Drummonds, Campbells, and Mairs.

"On the above mentioned evening he called me to his bedside, and spoke to me in these terms:—'Mr. O'Carroll, how many friends do you think you have in the world?'—'Sir,' said I, 'besides your Excellency, whose friendship does me honour, I am happy enough to believe that I have three or four fast friends.'

"'You are a blockhead, Mr. O'Carroll,' (said the Envoy, with great warmth,) 'for believing any such thing. There is no such being existing as a true friend. I thought I had a dozen, male and female, but now I am convinced there is not one of them would give a Soho ticket for my soul and body. Tuck me up, Master O'Carroll, bury me at your leisure; and let me give you this last bit of advice:—Treat mankind like wolves and tigers; eat and drink, and be merry, if you can; and be sure you break the Ten Commandments every day of your life!'

"These were the last words that great minister pronounced, and in repeating them I am penetrated with the sense of the irreparable loss his family and country have sustained in him. My affliction is hardly to be expressed. It is, however, the only excuse I can allege for the trouble you now receive from, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant,

"WM. O'CARROLL."

Dresden at this time was rapidly rising from the ruins into which it had been turned in the previous war. Nearly a thousand houses had been burnt down during the Prussian siege. Yet so accustomed had Germany become to the devastations of that wasteful war, that it does not seem to have laid the slightest arrest on the downward tendencies of the people; and few seem to have seen the hand of God stretched forth to chastise those Protestant provinces, where faith had sunk so low that people seemed to weary themselves in trying to make out how little and how faintly they could believe, and how worldly and immoral they might become, without quite ceasing to be Christians. The Envoy's education and manner of life had, we fear, been little favourable to his religious character. With that eminently sociable disposition of his, he must have been tempted to look on mankind with complacency, and to make light of their vices, even when indicative of a grievous moral and religious decline. His residence at the Saxon court must soon have become wearisome to a man of his activity, but might have been interesting had he set himself to employ his influence in reviving the spirit that Luther and Melancthon sought to introduce and cherish.

"Now that I am about it," he writes to his sister, "I'll give you a little sketch of my way of living. Morning, *eight o'clock*—Dish of

coffee, half a basin of tea, *billet douxs*, embroiderers, toymen, and tailors. *Ten*—Business of Europe, with a little music now and then, *pour égayer les affaires*. *Twelve*—*Devoirs* at one or other of the Courts (for we have three or four). From thence to fine ladies, toilettes, and tender things. *Two*—Dine in public; three courses and a dessert; venture upon half a glass of *pure wine*, to exhilarate the spirits, without hurting the complexion. *Four*—Rendezvous, sly visits, declarations, *éclaircissemens*, &c., &c. *Six*—Politics, philosophy, and whist. *Seven*—Opera, *appartement*, or private party. A world of business, jealousies, fears, pantings, &c. After settling all these jarring interests, play a single rubber at whist, *en attendant le souper*. *Ten*—Pick the wing of a partridge, *propos galans*, scandals, and *petits chansons*. Crown the feast with a bumper of Burgundy, from the fairest hand; and, at *Twelve*, steal away mysteriously—*home to bed*.

"There's a pretty lute-string kind of life for you! and all, as you perceive plainly, within the verge of the ten commandments. And yet, would you believe it? I am such a vulgar dog at bottom, as to have dull plodding matrimony ever in my head."

Here he pleads guilty to card-playing; but some years after, at Vienna, he seems to have conceived a profound disrelish, for what Sir Walter Scott so justly calls a dribbling away of life, and fell on an ingenious plan for keeping in favour nevertheless with card-players. To the same sister, he writes in 1773—

"I wish Lent were in the Pope's inside! or that a good comedy were a part of the papistical penance! Cards, cards, cards! You must know that I never touch them, in jest or in earnest; and therefore am the most useless of God's creatures. '*Monsieur, joue-t-il?*' '*Non.*' '*Comment?*' '*Monsieur ne joue pas à aucun jeu?*' '*Non.*' '*Mais cela est inoui!*' *et puis on laisse là Monsieur pour jamais.* I, your unworthy brother, lost thirty bowing acquaintances, male and female, in the first six weeks by the above laconic answers to two simple questions; and yet I am incorrigible, for cards and I are incompatible. I never tire, that's one thing; I can look pleasant for a week together—and feel comfortable and laugh cheerfully when it comes to my turn, and all without cards; *ergo*, why should I play?"

"March 12.

"I have fallen upon an excellent way to please the public in the article of card-playing, without sacrificing my five senses to a parcel of red and black spots. A lady who is generally remarkably lucky at cards, but who had lately a bad run of about a week, complained t'other day loudly of her misfortunes, and said she must soon relinquish cards, her favourite amusement. I immediately thought I might strike an advantageous bargain with this dear creature, and satisfy all mankind. I therefore agreed to attack Dame Fortune with *my* money and *her* fingers; and now she plays her three *parties* every day in my name, and at my risk; and I am now one of the prettiest

card-players in Vienna—*by proxy*! This agreement has amused the whole town; and I am in no danger of being a loser by it in the end, as she plays well and luckily, and for very small sums. ‘*Monsieur le Chevalier Keith est bien aimable* ;’ *dit-on*, ‘*il joue au loup par procureur*.’ Aye, by next Carnival, I will hire me a dancer, and skip *by procuration* also !”

But in this case, he himself played his cards best. His proxy was the Countess Clary, “a little, fat, round, tidy body,” from Saxony, who did the honours of Prince Kaunitz’s table. A few years later, an emissary from the revolted American colonies happened, in Sir R. M. Keith’s absence, to be surreptitiously introduced at that all-powerful minister’s table by the French ambassador, and then *la petite veuve* (as she was called) declared “he should never either dine or play cards there while she presided, were she to be a winner by it of 10,000 crowns.”

To return to Dresden, our man of simple British tastes soon became disgusted with the stiffness and etiquette of a petty German court. On the 30th of December 1769, he writes to his father :—

“On Christmas day, I was engaged to dine with the Elector; but in the evening, we drank yours and Lady Dal’s (his aunt Dalrymple’s) healths in my small society, and Frank did the honours of the pies and punch to his fellow-servants in a very jovial and handsome manner. We are now preparing to plague one another without mercy for three or four days with visits of ceremony and stiff compliments. I am sure every man of sense should be disgusted with the new year for its nonsensical beginning. But there is no getting the better of custom; and this etiquette is part of the Magna Charta of all German courts.”

His love of simple enjoyments seems to have marked him for a fool :—

“Now, to my own matters,” he says. “We had a very wet summer, and no company in town. I have philosophized a good deal, and jaunted about now and then in the neighbourhood. I am almost the only person who loves walking, in a country where every step would raise the admiration of a landscape painter. People are surprised that a man in my situation should trudge about continually, without even a servant, especially as I am, without vanity, so elegantly provided in carriages. Your friend at the Hague has really done wonders in the chariot way; but so far from indulging in laziness in consequence, my long walks are become one of the standing jokes of the Court, and I have proposed to set up a penny post, and to be myself the carrier of all the letters.”

The Court etiquette that restrained the exuberance of his animal spirits, seems only to have made them flow out more kindly

in his letters in the same sort of drollery, which gives such a charm to those of Cowper, when "in merry pin." To his sister he writes, three days before the above date,—

"I must now talk to you of the internal state of my family, which is indeed in a turmoil and combustion, not at all unlike that of a half-petitioning borough, though from very different causes. I have in the house twelve men, and three women only. Now, the twelve gentlemen are all, more or less, *inamorati* of the three ladies, and have (or think they have) individually reason to be jealous. In the meantime, there are such bickerings and peltings, that the house is as hot as a fiery furnace. M. Barterman, formerly blacksmith, and now butler, has been so active in dealing out *devoirs* to the females, and fisty-cuffs to the males, that he is soon to make his parting bow and the best of his way to Britain. *A propos* of servants, I must tell you an anecdote of Frank, which is not much to his honour. He met with a brother nigger in London, who had changed services and countries, with all the light-heartedness of his countrymen. He is now in Denmark, and wrote to Squire Francis, with a fine project of lace, and fur, and turban, in Copenhagen. Frank first wavered, and then yielded. He begged my permission to visit the north, which I was in no humour to refuse. He accordingly laid off my sumptuous livery, and rigged himself out for the journey. I gave him an honourable discharge, and he bowed a farewell. Next day an Irish priest, called Macnally, came to tell me that his eloquence had awakened the spirit of repentance in the black soul of Francis. To be short, he wept a recantation, signed a recantation for three years to come, and received with his pardon the handsomest yellow robe in all Saxony. He had set his heart on a Persian robe and fur lining; and being a very good servant, I could not deny him the satisfaction. Sir Thomas Wyffin, freeholder of the city of Bedford, (his valet de chambre,) is by much the prettiest man and the most intimate friend I have. 'Wenus, the god of love, and Cubid his mother,' are making him look melancholy and gentlemanlike at present; but we shall soon hope to get him into flesh and spirits again. But I have another genius of quite a different stamp, and this is *his* history."

And so he goes on to tell of a "mongrel Scots wine merchant" whom he knew in Holland, fifteen years before, and who, after various turns of fortune, being at last reduced to indigence, had thrown himself on his more fortunate countryman at Dresden. The good-natured Envoy found his appeal irresistible; "and so," says he, "here he is, with a handsome suit of blue clothes, and a good wig; and a more decent bailie-looking man never walked the Cross of Edinburgh. He has the run of the house, and a ducat a month, and swears he never saw happier days."

But Keith was much too valuable a man to be allowed to vegetate much longer at Dresden. After a visit to Vienna,

where he had been warmly received by Maria Theresa and her son Joseph, as well as other surviving friends of his father, he was called to occupy the delicate post of representing his sovereign at the Court of Copenhagen, during the short and unhappy residence there of George the Third's beautiful and accomplished sister, Carolina Matilda, as queen of that silly Prince, Christian VII. This brings us to that part of Mrs. Smyth's work which first led to the compilation of the volumes before us, and of itself occupying about two hundred pages, does great credit to her taste and judgment. Into that sad history we shall not enter. Had its incidents and the personages it brought on the scene preceded the times of Shakespere, we should doubtless have had another tragedy of the great dramatist, with its plot laid in Denmark. Enough; Colonel Keith's behaviour in that trying position drew forth his sovereign's warmest approbation, and procured for him the honour of Knight of the Bath, at a time when the number, then limited to twenty-five, was complete. It was followed, also, by his removal to "a more eligible situation." He had become heartily tired of the coldness and stiffness of the manners of the people of Denmark, and his dislike had not been lessened by what he had seen of the Court.

This brings us to the commencement of Sir Robert's twenty years' residence at the Court of Vienna, being that period of his life to which he owes his chief place among the public men of Europe. We quite agree with the editor, however, in the propriety of leaving the public life of her hero to the historians of that period, with the exception of a minute account of the congress at Sistovo, which those historians, and Coxe in particular, have treated meagrely and unsatisfactorily. Still, we are not left without notices of conversations with the sovereigns of Austria, and some excellent letters from the public men of those days—those of General Conway and the first Lord Auckland in particular—which enter deeply into the history of that eventful period during which those revolutionary elements were preparing, which, by their explosion afterwards, were to make all previous history seem tame in the light of the terrible combustion they produced.

Sir Robert's residence in London, and the thorough appreciation of his character by the large circle in which he had moved there, seem to have made it a sort of established custom, at least for the aristocracy, to send their sons with introductions to him at Vienna. No fewer than five hundred such youths had from first to last passed through his hands. He used to call them his Vienna lads, and great was the satisfaction with which he learned that no fewer than twenty-seven of them had found their way into one Parliament. We doubt not that they carried with them

through life a warm recollection of the worthy knight's hospitality, *bonhomie*, and open-hearted and painstaking attention amid all the blunders and embarrassments incident to young Englishmen, thrown suddenly into the society of a distant foreign capital. Nor was he without a valuable return in the very society of such youths, many of them no doubt "neat as imported," and still imbued with the strong racy flavour of their British nationality: for even those raw John Bulls, and the letters they brought with them, must have had a most conservative influence on their kind host's British feelings while thrown for so many years among foreign scenes, persons, and manners. Although Sir Robert's ambition seems to have been more than satisfied by the easy and pleasant post of plenipotentiary at Vienna, and his happy natural temperament found German society in some points sufficiently congenial, he bitterly complains at times of the insipidity of the conversation at courts, and never forgets or ceases to appreciate the society he had left in England. The following passage is from a letter to his favourite correspondent Bradshaw:—

"I don't know how it is, my dear friend, but the same old story which you and I talked over in a post-chaise, about a thousand pounds a year, a wife and a farm, is continually trilling through my brain; and I cannot for the soul of me help thinking that in something of that kind consists the *summum bonum*. But mounted as I am on the above-mentioned hobby-horse, I can, however, assure you, with great truth, that whilst I am to serve my master abroad, I never can have a commission so honourable and agreeable as the one I now enjoy. I like the sovereigns I am sent to, their capital, and their subjects. There is not a happier man in all Austria than myself, yet I have a hankering after *home*, which, as it is built upon laudable motives, I cannot wish to suppress. I have often thought that not one in a hundred of your odd fellows, who wallow in the luxury of the land you live in, knows the value of the enjoyments within your reach. For my own part, I never think of John Bull and his *proud little island* without a singular pleasure. There is a *queerness* in John that I delight in; there is a stamp upon him—a character, a variety, a manliness, which nothing can come up to; and then John's women are so fresh and tidy, his grass so green, his mutton and his claret so good, his house *so much his own*, that I cannot relinquish my share of those advantages."—Vol. i. p. 362.

England was never described better in fewer words. And Sir Robert did live to enjoy, though but for a very few years, his share of its advantages. Scotland had evidently lost its charm for him. Almost all his surviving friends and correspondents were resident in and about London. He had lived too long amid the excitement of metropolitan company to allow the quiet of

now provincial Edinburgh to suit his taste. His rich fund of anecdote and unquenchable conversational brilliancy must have made his table, while living retired in London or at his villa near Hammersmith, a favourite resort for the surviving members of "the gang." We doubt not, that like Sidney Smith, he was a first-rate *diner-out*. And few men could be said to have died so much in character, seeing that he was struck down at his own door by an effusion of water in the chest, just after attending some intimate friends, whom he had entertained at dinner, to their carriages.

It is impossible not to regret that such a man should have dribbled out so much of his time in society so much calculated to pull him down to a level with its own dull selfishness and sensuality. Indeed, but for his English correspondents and visitors, and his love of books—for he seems to have been passionately fond of reading—he ran the risk of being utterly lost; all the more as the circle in which he moved in Vienna, unlike that at Copenhagen, was not cold and repulsive, but abundantly disposed to caress the easy, unaffected, mirthful, dinner-giving British minister. This may account for the singular fact of his finding himself so happy in Austria, and yet having such a consciousness of the insipidity and worthlessness of the society he found there. Inveterate joker and punster as he was, with a mind ever ready to take the pleasant, and, if possible, the ludicrous view of things, he possessed a strong staple of good sense and *British* feeling, which led him to feel at times his superiority to the people among whom he moved. Thus in writing to Bradshaw, who had asked his advice about the education of his four sons, he says,—

"I need not remark to you that a solid and well-founded education is, after health, the first of all blessings in every station; but I am fully of opinion that a man whose fortune is already made stands more in need of a fund of knowledge, and *self-occupation*, than one of any other class whatever. Open, therefore, the door of *every science* and accomplishment to your eldest boy, and when you see him step in with pleasure, then make his residence as comfortable and beneficial to him as you can. Should his genius lead him to any grave study which demands a length of application, I do not think you ought to check him in the pursuit, though you may not intend that he should follow the profession hereafter. The habit of application is *in itself* a treasure, no matter of how little advantage to fortune that branch of knowledge may be which is the object of it. Such a habit may save your boy from the dreadful danger of the times—that of coming into the world too early with, alas! no other time-killer than *cards* and—Newmarket.

"I myself am certainly one of the happiest of mortals, and, I thank God, I feel it. But if I were to be asked which is my surest fence against the frowns of fortune or the miseries of *ennui*, which so often

follow her smiles, I should answer without hesitation, *my love of books*; and that love you must early instil into your son and heir. Tell me what he likes best to do when nobody controls him, and hint to me the foibles which you have been able to discover in his temper and character, and you shall have my best advice upon everything. A flashy bit of a letter like this, with a few wise sentences and nostrums, will neither fulfil your intentions nor mine; but I will willingly follow the matter out, step by step, which is the only way of doing education *business*. 'It is fair in a father to give to the *sapling* that gentle twist which bends him towards the paternal wishes for his good.' 'All degrees of force carried beyond that point, and in opposition to natural talents and disposition, are not only cruel but *absurd*.'"

Such a correspondent was no mere humorist or mere diplomatist; and the generally serious matter-of-fact strain of his friend Bradshaw's letters, concurs with his asking advice on this occasion, to prove that, with all the light nonsense of his friend's letters, that friend commanded his thorough respect. But it seems to have been on rare occasions only that Sir Robert's more solid qualities were called forth.

One would almost say of such a man that he was cursed with too little ambition, too easy a temper, too much toleration for the faults of those among whom he lived. The Jesuits boast much of what was lost to the world when they and their colleges were suppressed; but if Austria, where their influence had been immense, may be thought a fair specimen of its results, truly little was lost by their suppression. Frivolity, sensuality, and gross superstition, unrelieved by any great examples of higher qualities, except perhaps in the case of the Empress herself and her sons, and that extraordinary coxcomb Kaunitz—were universally prevalent; but the British minister seemed ready to forgive everything but the stupidity of the place,—a stupidity which he must have felt dragged him down with it in spite of himself, and must have made him cling to his correspondence with the nobler natures we find among his London friends. In another letter to the sensitive and often dispirited Bradshaw, he gives the following picture of Vienna society:—

"You are persuaded, no doubt, that in every great capital a man may, by taking some pains, find out a few companions of his own stamp and cast. An arrant mistake, my good lord, and one which I have experienced to my cost. This city is, in many respects, one of the first in Europe. We have thousands of nobility; universities and academies in abundance; lawyers without end; and clergymen of all colours. I have sought in vain for my *fellows* in all these societies; and what will surprise you more is this, that if (in the course of the last nine months) there has been handled with ability or pleasantry in either of them, any one subject of instruction, moral, civil, or political,

it certainly has not been within earshot of your friend the Plenipo. All this is nothing ; but if in the same space of time he had been witness to one joyous meeting, to one hearty laugh, performed by man, woman, or child, he would have taken his share of that gaiety in lieu of the information he thirsts after, and have thought himself a gainer by the bargain. The ephemeral fly which is born in the morning to die at night, might hold up the conversation of one-half of our most brilliant circles. The play, the dance, your horse, my coach, a pretty embroidery, or a well fancied lining, these are the favourite topics, upon every one of which I am a numskull of the first water. I never play at cards ; *ergo*, I am not only a stupid fellow, but a useless one."

No doubt the very presence of an ambassador from a foreign and not always very friendly Court, and of a Protestant also, must have laid a restraint on the company in regard to politics and religion ; and we suppose it is quite the perfection of an ambassador's character to be able, amid the empty nothings of court prattle, to insinuate the views he wishes to be adopted, and to discover those that may be secretly influencing the Government under which he resides, so that, like the Roman minister described by Tacitus, he may be doing most when apparently least occupied.* Still, such a description argues a very low scale of intelligence if not of intellect, and, let us add, a marvellous lack of the finer sympathies of our nature. At that very period the immortal John Howard was visiting Austria on his errands of mercy ; and we may be assured that a little of that man's spirit infused into the social circles of Vienna, would instantly have told upon the tone of conversation in them. When the soul of man is once touched with the charity of the Gospel, it is not his feelings and heart only that are raised to the angelic standard, but his mind and intellect also are invigorated and enlarged. Alas, so incomprehensible did Howard's object seem, that he was suspected of being a spy ! Sir Robert then speaks of the striking contrast presented by the society he had left at home :—

" I would not have you to think, however, that we want capabilities for better purposes than these ; but education and custom are everything, and we have been so much habituated to swim upon the surface of things, that we never take the trouble to inquire whether there be any bottom or not.

" With you *Johns* in England 'tis quite otherwise ; for you are often so cursedly profound that you are never at ease until you are groping and floundering in the very bed of the river. I have seen scores of you stick in the mud, and seldom it is that you show your heads above water. I hate all extremes in society, but I must needs say, that that

* *Erat Sejanus otioso simillimus et quasi nihil agens cum maxima moliebatur.*—TAC. ANNAL.

which falls to my lot carries with it, *now and then*, an insipidity that wears me to the very bone. As I hope for mercy, the King should breed his foreign ministers from the cradle to that calling, give them the education of the department they are to belong to, and by denying them the good things that are peculiar to his kingdoms, fit them for the enjoyment of those that belong to others. I am not puppy enough to think myself wiser, cleverer, or more worthy of esteem than the many people I meet with daily; but I say, and persist in thinking, that 'tis a hard thing to stand alone in the midst of a great city, and be forced to say, as I do, that an eel is more like an oyster than I am to a German fine gentleman."—Vol. i. p. 442.

At a later date we find him admit that at a visit in the country paid to Prince Kaunitz, he met with some "valuable people" whom the easier intercourse permitted on such occasions had enabled him to become better acquainted with; and ere long we find him becoming wonderfully contented with Austrian society.

Coxe, in his *History of the House of Austria*, has given so very meagre an account of the proceedings at Sistova, that the large portion of these Memoirs devoted to them may be considered altogether new. Whether we look to the amusing description of the place and of Turkish manners—to the dissection of the policy of the different parties—the characters of the personages who conducted the negotiation drawn by the hand of a master—the turnings and windings, apparently endless, by which the representatives of the mediating powers had their patience so cruelly tried for many a tedious month in the dullest of all places—whichever of these we turn to, we find something to interest or amuse us, all the more as the writer's inexhaustible stock of good nature and drollery never fails him; and the same person who indites the ablest diplomatic notes, and settles the nicest questions with the most admirable tact, in writing to his sister Anne is still the same amusing crony as ever, full of anecdote, and fun, and pleasantry.

While we think a good many of the merely complimentary letters in these volumes might, for the public at least, have been better omitted, there is one letter whose absence we greatly regret. We refer to that written by Sir Charles Douglas to Sir R. M. Keith, describing the battle of the 12th of April 1782, the day after it was fought. Our readers are no doubt aware that there has been a keen controversy as to the person to whom the credit of that, perhaps the most important and critical victory in English Naval history, next to the defeat of the Armada, belongs. All are agreed that the success of the day was owing to the enemy's line being pierced by the admiral's ship, followed by those in his rear, and their doubling round on the enemy's rear, thus throwing them into inextricable confusion. Sir George Rodney was old,

infirm, and gouty. His very plan of attack showed caution. He let the enemy have the weather-gage, in order that if any one of his own ships was disabled it might at once, by putting up the helm, fall out of the line. To pierce the enemy's line required of course the helm to be put the other way, and, in technical phrase, to *luff*. Now, Sir Howard Douglas, Sir Charles's son, thought it due to his father's character to publish a pamphlet, showing that Sir Charles, the admiral's flag-captain, first respectfully suggested to Sir George that the line of the enemy should be broken by the helm being put down, and then, on Sir George refusing, gave his own orders that this should be done; in short, that his father won the day in spite of Sir George Rodney, who, however, instead of resenting such flagrant disobedience, allowed the gallant captain at last "to do as he pleased." The *Quarterly Review* treated this attempt of Sir H. Douglas to transfer the glory of that eventful day from Lord Rodney to his father with contempt. But Sir Howard sent a letter, appended to the 42d volume of the *Review*, containing what appears overwhelming evidence from eye and ear-witnesses of what passed, proving that Sir Charles seized the precise moment when the manœuvre could be executed with best effect, and, in spite of the opposite orders of his superior, ordered the ship to be steered right athwart the enemy's line, cheering the crew, and calling out,—Luff, boys, luff, and the day's our own!

Of course, in this state of things, any letter written by Sir Charles Douglas the day after the battle, and minutely describing it, must be a document of no ordinary interest; and the very circumstance of its being "nautical in its *technical* details," and "voluminous," must only make it all the more interesting, as throwing light on that ever memorable engagement.

Among Sir Robert's letters is one to Lord Caermarthen, describing a long interview he had had with Joseph II. on the subject of the intervention of Prussia in the affairs of Holland and the discontents of the Austrian Netherlands. Joseph seems to have entertained a hereditary grudge at the house of Orange, but his sympathy with the Dutch "patriots," like that of the French Court with our revolted American provinces, was singularly impolitic. It but blew the flame of insurrection among his own subjects. The letter is chiefly remarkable, however, as a proof of Joseph's unflinching firmness in maintaining his sovereign authority—a firmness contrasting strongly with the blundering movements of his generals as well as with the irresolution of the rebels, even in the moment of victory. And here we may note, that whereas Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain, during the twenty years preceding the first French Revolution, were governed by monarchs, differing much, indeed, in other

respects, but all gifted with extraordinary strength of will, their Governments seem to have felt the *tonic* influence of such chiefs, since all lived through the agitations of the revolutionary tempest; while France, Holland, Italy, Spain, and other countries that were weakly governed during that preliminary period, were either absorbed altogether by the *Grand Empire*, or had their thrones subverted and their dynasties changed.

In a letter from Lord Auckland, then our ambassador at the Hague, the following remarkable passage occurs in reference to the obstinacy with which Baron Herbert, acting for Austria at the Congress of Sistova, had insisted on some absurd pretensions, and that, too, in a very unfair spirit :—

“ I need not inform you that the conduct of the Imperial plenipotentiaries, which surprises many, does not surprise me. You know that I did not expect anything that could come within the rules either of good faith or of good policy. I have long considered the hand of Providence as bearing, in an especial manner, upon the present established governments of Europe, so as to make them operate blindly and obstinately towards their own destruction, towards the general anarchy of mankind, and a vast scene of wild calamity and carnage.”—
Vol. ii. p. 481.

These lines were written in June 1791. How singularly were the forebodings they express verified in the course of the following four-and-twenty years! and may we not regard them as receiving a second fulfilment now? Alas! the *old Book* to which Marshal Conway alludes, still so well known, still so little heeded, cannot be neglected with impunity. Its existence is a great fact, the neglect of it is another great fact, and the sure, the inevitable result is, that governments “operate blindly and obstinately towards their own destruction, towards the general anarchy of mankind, and a vast scene of wild calamity and carnage.”

Sir Robert died in July 1795. That he must have exercised a great though quiet influence both at home and abroad in the highest circles, there can be no doubt. Yet one cannot but regret, that with all his respect for “the ten commandments,” his early education and subsequent habits were little fitted to promote depth of character, or to make religion a matter of serious study. Still, when we see the regard entertained for him by correspondents evidently not wanting in these respects, we may possibly be censuring him amiss; and amid all this exuberance of light and easy writing, there may have been an under-current of serious conviction which his ordinary correspondence does not reveal.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Papers relating to the Punjab.* 1849.
2. *Leaves from the Journal of a Subaltern, during the Campaign in the Punjab.* Edinburgh, 1849.

THERE is a well-known passage, in one of the Horatian odes,* over which the commentators and critics once fought a great battle. Though the *casus belli* was merely a disputed letter, nation has ere now risen up against nation upon questions of no greater import. The belligerents were the critics and commentators, on one side, of the romantic and poetical world; on the other, the men of literal matter-of-fact and the disciples of the schools of physical science. The former fought valiantly for the *f*, the latter no less stoutly for the *s*. The romantic school were ready to lay down their lives in defence of the "*fabulosus Hydaspes*." The literal interpreters and the banner-bearers of the physical sciences were no less devoted in the cause of the "*sabulosus Hydaspes*." In spite of a prosodical doubt, fatal to their cause, the latter had possession of the disputed territory; and in bold type described the Hydaspes as the *sandy* river. There was not much poetry in the epithet, but there was some truth. Geographers and geologists were content with it as it stood. The commentators, one and all, of the dry-as-dust school, were naturally inclined to cleave to it. The substitution of another word, differing, however slightly in sound and construction, so alarmingly in meaning, seemed nothing less than a most unorthodox and impertinent innovation. A new race of critics had risen up to give a more fanciful interpretation to the passage. Horace, they contended, was not a geographer or a geologist, but a poet. It was not his to describe the mere physical characteristics of the rivers, and mountains, and plains, which imparted a picturesque grandeur to his odes. He was a poet; and he naturally surrounded those rivers, and mountains, and plains, with the most poetical associations. The word was "*fabulosus Hydaspes*"—the fabulous Hydaspes—the legendary Hydaspes—the far-off eastern river, peopled with fables and traditions, invested with all kinds of fanciful associations, suggestive of wild and incredible stories—in a word, if a single word can describe the much that is conveyed, the *romantic* Hydaspes. What fables had come from that mysterious river—fables of ants larger than foxes—of tigers as tall as horses—of the mighty cymbal-playing elephant, and the strange chimerical griffon;—the wild tales of

* Sive per syrtis iter æstuosas,
Sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum, vel quæ loca fabulosus
Lambit Hydaspes.

blended fiction and truth which Megasthenes, and Nearchus, and Arrian, and others had handed down from the great Alexandrian era—the records of heroic exploits on the banks of those famous Indian rivers—deeds worthy of the gods, scarcely less surprising and portentous than the miracles wrought, in wantonness or in malice, by the heroes of the mythological world.

Now, here was an interpretation worthy of the poet. If Horace did not write "*fabulosus* Hydaspes," it was very clear that he ought to have written it. No single word in the Latin language could have imparted so much meaning to the passage. It was a fine resonant word in the ear; but how pregnant and significant the sense; what a large suggestiveness in it. It was a chapter in itself. The victory gained over the dry-as-dust critics we hold to be complete and humiliating. They have no better foundation to rest upon than the *sand* which seems to fill their thoughts. As it was in the time of Alexander—as it was in the time of Horace—so it is in our own time. That same Hydaspes is still *fabulosus amnis*—still a river pregnant with romantic associations. It is one of many fabulous eastern rivers, which centuries hence will be dear to the poet as the cherished scenes of the romantic achievements of the Christian warriors of the nineteenth century. Such achievements require but the mist of ages to impart to them the mysterious grandeur which now seems to accompany the march of the Macedonian army through the barbaric realms of King Porus, as along the banks of those mighty streams, which were said to be the breadth of a day's journey, the stately hosts flowed on to victory. There is nothing in ancient history to compete in military grandeur, or in romantic interest, with the Afghan and Sikh campaigns of the British army; and there is many a captain and subaltern in the service of the Company or the Crown whose exploits are distinguished by a more great-hearted enthusiasm, a more chivalrous valour, than the best deeds of the mighty Grecian warriors who followed the fortunes of the Macedonian madman almost to the borders of the Hindostan.

It was with no little regret that, when attempting in the last Number of this Journal a rapid sketch of the Fall of the Sikh Empire, we found ourselves compelled to discard much, if not all, of that illustrative personal matter, which gives life to the political narrative, and imparts to history its legitimate romance. We would fain have dwelt episodically upon the exploits of individuals, and have been less sparing of those picturesque accessories, without which the chronicle of the past is seldom better than a dull recital of unsuggestive events. What was denied to us then we may, in some sort, accomplish now. An episodic chapter of Indian history may well be devoted to the modern

heroes of the Indus, the Hydaspes, the Hyphasis, the Acesines, and the other "fabulous" rivers, on whose banks our British legions have fought and conquered, and our tents, to be replaced soon by more abiding homesteads, are now pitched in security and in peace.

From the time when a young subaltern of Artillery threw himself into the beleaguered city of Herat, and by his own personal energy and inspiring courage upheld the drooping spirits of the Afghans, and rolled back the tide of Russo-Persian invasion, to the day when another subaltern of the Company's army, keeping with a handful of raw levies a Sikh army in check, wrote, "I am like a Scotch terrier barking at a tiger," the history of British connexion with Central Asia has been a long and exciting romance. How heroic—how touching are many of its incidents! What mighty courage, and what more mighty endurance is stamped upon its pages! The parasites of Alexander, by the aid of sundry fictions and misnomers, would fain have made it appear that his army had crossed the Caucasus. Our modern warriors have really achieved what the ancients only dreamt of; they have scaled the heights of those frosty mountains, and wintered among its dreary recesses. Everywhere, from the Sinus Arabicus to the banks of the Caspian—from the mouths of the Indus to the hills of Thibet,—have they left their footprints on the soil. On the plains of Sindh—among the mountains of Khorassan—by the lakes of Cashmere, and beside the rivers of the Punjab, have our fearless Englishmen moved and acted. They have familiarized the mysterious, and approximated the remote. They have turned fiction into fact—poetry into reality. They have conversed familiarly with Eastern satraps almost as strange and legendary as the monarchs of the Arabian Nights, or the Tales of the Genii; and drawn from the treasures of Oriental monarchs hordes of gold wherewith to build schools for our English children.*

The wars in Afghanistan and Sindh, pregnant with romantic

* Some years ago, the present Sir Henry Lawrence conceived the admirable idea of establishing on the hills an Educational Institution for the children of European soldiers. Physically and morally these little ones suffer grievously on the plains. Enervated, neglected, they develop into a forced and unhealthy maturity, if, as is more probable, the moist heats of the plains do not destroy them in their infancy. The Institution has hitherto flourished, as such an Institution deserves to flourish; the noble generosity of the founder has been seconded by many of his Christian brethren, but more than all by a heathen monarch, who has testified his friendship and respect for Sir Henry Lawrence by contributing largely to the funds of the asylum which bears his name. The Indian papers report that Golab Singh, the maharajah of Cashmere, has subscribed a lakh of rupees (£10,000,) to the Institution. Since, with the property ceded by the Newab of Bengal, Lord Clive established the noble fund which bears his name, the wealth of Eastern Sovereigns has never been turned to better or more enduring account.

incidents as they were, in isolated positions and under perilous circumstances, tried the temper of our British officers. We look back at this great Central-Asian drama, and among the many heroic and chivalrous actors who have won the plaudits of the Eastern world, we see Outram now, with a few hard riders, pursuing the fugitive Afghan Ameer; now with a small escort standing at bay before the Hyderabad Residency, in the face of a furious army of Beloochees;—we see young Clarke, who lies buried “half-way up the Surtoof,” charging the unequal host of Mhurrees, and, dying as he lived, the boldest *sabreur* in the field;—we see Brown, shut up in the Kahun Fort, waiting in grim suspense the relieving convoy which was never doomed to reach him; but neither awed by danger nor depressed by disappointments, firm and heroic to the last;—we see another with the same name,* riding eighty miles under a fierce Sindhian sun, and among hostile tribes, to carry to a distant outpost the commands of his chief;—we see young Loveday, alone in Khelat, surrounded by fierce and relentless enemies thirsting for his blood, carried about in chains, a spectacle and a warning, and massacred almost in sight of the troops which were advancing to his rescue;—we see Fraser and Ponsonby, deserted by their men, charging alone the Afghan horse at Purwandurrah, and bearing off the honourable wounds which now tell the story of their heroic courage;—we see Stoddart and Conolly in their Bokhara dungeon, racked by fever, eaten by vermin, turning and embracing each other, in hourly expectation of death, and comforting one another with the sweet words of Christian consolation;—we see, too, the many victims of the great Caubul rebellion, every day of which had its own most touching romance—many heroic deeds, and more heroic endurance giving dignity even to disaster, and shedding over captivity itself something of light and cheerfulness;—we see Sale and Macgregor, and their stout-hearted comrades at Jellalabad, keeping alive the inextinguishable flame of victory, and in a time of fearful tribulation, making a glory in a shady place. These, and many more of the true heroic stamp, doing and suffering, stand out as the romantic actors in “scenes when,” to use the words of not the least distinguished of the band, “months become years, and

* Edmund John Brown of the Bengal Engineers. The exploit here spoken of was referred to in the House of Lords by the Duke of Wellington, not in illustration of the fine enthusiasm and energetic courage of the younger officers of the Indian army, but of the affection entertained for Sir Charles Napier by all under his command. The deed itself was glorified as an emanation from the heroic character of the hero of Meanee; the doer was not even named! *Sic vos non vobis!* Captain Brown, after living more years in Sindh than would have sufficed to break down a score of European constitutions, died last year on his way homewards at Bombay.

friendship becomes firm and lasting." Many a strange exciting story of personal adventure might be written from these records of reality, beside which all fiction would be dull and lifeless; and many among the dead and living, much doing and much suffering in these scenes, have eliminated traits of character far more interesting than those wherewith genius endeavours to impart vitality to its chosen heroes of romance.

It is not from these that we would now select our illustrations, but from among the heroes of the last war on the banks of the Punjaabee rivers. The names of Abbott, of Herbert, of George Lawrence, of Nicholson, of Taylor, and others of the junior officers of the army, who in detached positions and in trying circumstances, rendered good service to the State, have been recorded in these pages; but their exploits, save in a few brief sentences, still remain unchronicled. The story of Agnew and Anderson, the first victims of the Moultee outbreak, has, in some sort, been written by us.* To Edwardes, we believe that we have done justice: we are certain that we have done no more. The very charges which have been brought against him are, in our estimation, but eulogies in disguise. That he was impulsive and over-confident; that he shrunk from no amount of responsibility; that he was very forgetful of regulation and routine, and for a subaltern officer of an army governed by the laws of seniority, was wonderfully bold and presuming, must be admitted by all who have made themselves familiar with his achievements. But to admit this much is, after all, only to admit that he was young and chivalrous, and that his impulses were of that very kind which make the best part of the heroic character. No man who has constantly in his ears the hope-subduing, heart-chilling words, "you have no authority to do this," will ever achieve anything that is great. The greatest deeds have been done regardless of, perhaps in defiance of, authority. Extraordinary circumstances demand a departure from ordinary rules of conduct; and the fearlessness with which that departure is taken, is the truest measure of the greatness of the mind whose energies are thus extraordinarily taxed. There are times and seasons when it becomes a man to strip himself of all accidental environments, and to trust only to his naked manhood. Visions of army-lists and order-books at such times only haunt little minds. Ed-

* The proceedings of the judicial inquiry into the circumstances attending the murder of these young officers, which have been published since our Article on the "Fall of the Sikh Empire" was written, go far to establish the correctness of the opinions there expressed regarding the conduct of Moolraj. In one respect, however, we appear to have done him injustice. The evidence adduced on the trial does not prove that he was a party to the indignities heaped upon Agnew's mutilated remains.

wardes, in the face of an unexpected disaster threatening his country, ceased to be a mere Lieutenant in the Company's army—he became the genius of British enterprise and British courage, and felt himself as free and unfettered as though he had been born a King. It was the abundant confidence of youth—the self-reliance of a bold manly nature that floated him over difficulties, which if he had doubted and dreaded, and thought of failure, would certainly have overwhelmed him. It was because with him there was “no such word as fail,” that he did the deeds which have made him famous. Those deeds are not to be measured by their political results. Edwardes did not take Moultan. Edwardes did not crush the rebellion which spread itself over the whole length and breadth of the land. It is not sought to appropriate for him the laurels won by others, or to give a colour and complexion to his deeds that rightfully belong not to them. But as an episode in the great epic of the Sikh war, the story of young Edwardes and his Patan levies will always have a romantic interest of its own, and years hence will be dwelt upon in the written page, with all those emotions of brave-hearted sympathy and generous admiration, which, until the spirit of chivalry is extinct amongst us, such chronicles will ever excite.

But there are other episodes in this great epic of the conquest of Sikh-land little less worthy of our admiration. At this distance, absorbed as we are with our own affairs, the leading incidents of Indian history are all that we can afford to contemplate. If there be very much going on at one and the same time; if stirring events are passing, over a very large surface of country, and the actors are many and far separated from each other, it will fare badly with those who are most remote and isolated, most out of the direct line of communication and the regular circle of the gazettes. There is manifest injustice in this; but it is the injustice of necessity. The very remoteness and isolation of which we speak make the worth of the exploit. Performed under such circumstances it swells into the heroic, whilst in the crowded foreground, and in the broad light of day, it would be but commonplace military adventure. But the loss of present fame and immediate reward is the sure result of toiling in the background. There is no help for it. Every day brings its news from the grand army. Not a day's march, a petty skirmish, an affair of pickets, that is not duly chronicled in the public prints. And then at last is fought a great battle; and in good official type, and with much inevitable tautology, everything that has been done, or that is supposed to have been done, is set forth in public despatches, and the least component of the grand action in the foreground is made of more account than the chivalrous integrity of the exploit in the remote back-

ground. With the latter the reputation of no commander-in-chief is identified. Indeed, commanders-in-chief have great obtuseness of appreciation for the achievements of aspiring captains and subalterns with improvised armies of their own; and so it happens that the commander of a regiment, or part of a regiment, a squadron of horse, or a battery of guns, acting under the commander-in-chief, or a small member of the staff of the said chief, when the hour of recognition arrives, and Brevets and Bath honours are to be meted out, comes in for a larger share of that honorary distinction so dear to every soldier's heart, than the officer who, in the isolated background, has been confronting danger for months, and, unaided, unsupported, unsustained by friendly counsel in the hour of danger, or kindly sympathy in the hour of suffering, has upheld the reputation of his country, and furthered the interests of the State, by his own untiring personal energy, and unflinching personal courage.

Such, we believe, was the hard fortune of Captain James Abbott of the Bengal Artillery, one of the Resident's political assistants. The Hazara country, which lies to the north-west of the Sikh dominions, between the Jhelum and the Indus, had originally formed part of that territory, which, by the treaty of Lahore, the British Government had purchased from the Sikh Durbar, and sold to Golar Singh; but by subsequent arrangements the province had been re-transferred to Lahore; and though the day of transition was looked forward to with some anxiety by the British authorities, there were those who anticipated the best results from the change. Among these was Captain Abbott, whom, in June 1847, the Resident described as "eloquent on the advantages of the exchange of territory." The transfer took place under the auspices of that officer; but it was some time before the condition of the Hazara ceased to cause anxiety at the Residency. The country itself is a rugged, mountainous, and barren country; and something of the rugged character of the country was stamped upon the tribes that infested it. One of the mountain clans had come down, murdering and depredating in its way; and the chiefs had openly declared their intention of pursuing the same tumultuous course, unless their jagheers were increased. It was thought at one time that it might be necessary to make a severe example of this tribe; and as the Hazara country was well supplied with Sikh troops there would have been no difficulty in chastising the people. At a later period the aid of the people was sought to keep those very Sikh soldiers in check.

Sirdar Chuttur Sing, Attareewallah, was appointed governor of Hazara. This man, the father of Shere Singh and other chiefs of some influence, was old and infirm, and at the British

Residency held of no great account. It was generally conceived, indeed, by the authorities that the father derived his importance from the son, rather than that the son derived it from the father. When it was proposed to promote Chuttur Singh to the dignity of a Rajah, he declined the honour in favour of Shere Singh. "I was surprised," wrote the Resident, "but not displeased at the proposal; for Shere Singh is active and energetic, whilst his father is in bad health." It was thought then, that all this energy and activity would be exerted in support of the Lahore Durbar and the British alliance. The daughter of the old, and the sister of the younger chief, was the betrothed of the Maharajah; and the loyalty of the Attareewallah family was held to be of the first water.

The proceedings of Captain Abbott in the Hazara country seemed to give general satisfaction both to the people and to the authorities. "Captain Abbott is going on judiciously, and will, I doubt not, soon tranquillize his charge," wrote the Resident in November. "He has completed three forts, and is daily receiving the visits of Chiefs and Zemindars hitherto recusant." Some of the tribes who had been most tumultuous and most refractory, came in and made their obeisance. At the end of 1847, the Resident wrote, "Captain Abbott reports the boundary of Hazara as all but complete. He has finished the settlement of the revenue, and the people seem highly pleased with his arrangements." And again, in January 1848, "Maharajah Golab Singh had full 10,000 men in the Hazara, and the whole country was in arms against him. Captain Abbott has not half the number, and yet has completely pacified it. The one is infinitely more alien in religion, habits, and feelings than the other to the people, and yet the results of the change of men and measures is prodigious; and thus, though no one can dream of doing without troops, it must be admitted that mankind are as much ruled and kept in obedience by moral as by physical influence. A Sikh force plundering and oppressing the people, and one under discipline and good order, must make a vast difference." But there was a still greater difference soon to be discernible—the difference between a force willing to support the constituted authorities, and one eager to throw off their allegiance, to violate treaties, and to erect a front of bold rebellion. The favourable appearances indicated above were not of very long continuance.

These appearances, however, were at no time more favourable than in the spring of 1848. In March the acting Resident wrote to Government—"The country of Hazara seems perfectly tranquil. The judicious measures of Captain Abbott, the considerate treatment of Sirdar Chuttur Singh, the Nazim, and the comple-

tion of the light assessment, have worked wonders among its turbulent inhabitants. It remains but to reduce the expense of the local establishments to render the arrangements for Hazara complete." The next paragraph of this letter commences with the words—"Everything is quiet in Mooltan." In the course of the following month every thing became *unquiet* in Mooltan; and it then appeared how very *incomplete* were all the arrangements in Hazara. A few short weeks and the cheering picture of peace and tranquillity became one of excitement and unrest. Moolraj raised the standard of insurrection; Captain Abbott, in his distant Hazara province, found himself surrounded by traitors, the Nazim at their head; and the Resident wrote to Lieutenant Edwardes—"The whole Sikh army is faithless to the Maharajah."

Early in June, the Sikh regiments in Hazara, represented as so loyal and quietly disposed, began to desert to Moolraj. The position of Captain Abbott from that time became one of imminent peril. There were other officers too, at isolated posts, no less encompassed by peril. "It is painful to think," wrote Lieutenant Edwardes, the last man in the army to magnify danger, "what the consequences may be to Lieutenant Taylor in Bunnoo, Major Lawrence and Lieutenant Nicholson in Peshawur, and Captain Abbott in Hazara. You (the Resident) are, of course, the best judge of the propriety of keeping these officers any longer at their posts, but in the territory of which I have charge, I conceive it to be my immediate duty to extricate my junior and assistant Lieutenant Taylor from the meshes of the army in Bunnoo." To estimate aright the perils which beset these detached officers, it must be borne in mind that in the districts referred to by Lieutenant Edwardes the greater part of the Sikh army was posted. It had been the boasted policy of the British authorities at Lahore to remove the Sikh regiments to a distance from the capital; and Bunnoo, Peshawur, and Hazara, were, in the words of the acting Resident, Mr. John Lawrence, regarded as "outlets for the emergencies of the Sikh soldiery." We have nothing to say against this policy; nor are we competent to attach the precise meaning intended to the Resident's words. We are now only illustrating the nature of the perils which surrounded the solitary British officers posted in these remote provinces—far away from all support and assistance—surrounded by treachery and disaffection; by open enemies and false friends. The British troops were mainly at Lahore. The bulk of the Sikh army was at Peshawur, Bunnoo, and Hazara, where a handful of British officers, at a distance from one another, vainly endeavoured to check the progress of disaffection; and when all other means had failed, and it became necessary to oppose violence to violence, strove to excite the Mussulman population by

which they were surrounded, against the Sikh soldiery, and to crush the rebellion which they could not otherwise arrest.

Captain Abbott had for some time been mistrustful of the fidelity of the Nazim of Hazara. He had seen enough to raise a suspicion in his mind that, in spite of family connexions, the old chief was a wily and dangerous plotter. This, however, was not equally apparent at Lahore; and Sir Frederick Currie believed that whatever bad feeling might have evinced itself in the conduct of Chuttur Singh, it was mainly, if not wholly, attributable to provocation received from Captain Abbott. That officer, indeed, was regarded as an alarmist; his reports were laid to the account of a romantic and excitable temperament; his suspicions were held to be the cause rather than the effect of the hostile attitude assumed by Chuttur Singh; and the old Sirdar was consoled with as a very respectable personage, greatly maligned and most despitely entreated by a very flighty British officer, who ought to have known better than to have suspected the integrity of the father-in-law of the Maharajah of the Punjab.

Now, it is very true that the cast of Captain Abbott's mind is essentially imaginative. It is fairly reflected in the curiously interesting narrative of his mission to Khiva, and his subsequent hazardous journey to St. Petersburg. There is nothing in fiction more romantic than the adventures which befell him among the Kuzzauks; and nothing more singularly idiosyncratical than his manner of narrating them. This mission to Khiva is strictly an incident of the great Central-Asian romance. It is on many accounts a very honourable incident. The personal conduct of Captain Abbott himself—his integrity—his humanity—his chivalrous courage in action—his patience and resignation in suffering,—are not the least of its creditable features. To the most disastrous of his adventures we must briefly allude, in illustration both of the character of the man and the antecedents of his life. His little party was attacked one night on the shores of the Caspian by a gang of Kuzzauk robbers, who wounded and left him for dead upon the ground. The struggle is thus detailed in his "Narrative:"—

"All was confusion; but the darkness was so great that I could distinguish nothing but moving figures—whether servants or robbers I knew not. My finger was upon the trigger of my pistol; but I dared not fire, lest I should kill my own people. Suddenly I was struck from the rear by three clubs falling together. I staggered; but the clubs being of willow I did not fall, until the blows were the next instant repeated, and I was prostrated, though without losing my pistol. I sprang to my feet; but the Kuzzauks who were standing over me instantly struck me to the earth, and one of their clubs falling upon my arm struck the pistol out of my hand. I believe I

was stunned for the moment. When I recovered, having still my sabre at my side, I laid hand upon it, and had reached my knee and right foot, when several clubs took effect and stretched me on my back, and two Kuzzauks threw themselves upon me, the one seizing my sabre, and endeavouring to wrench it, belt and all, from my body; the other trying to tear away the Emperor's jewelled dagger, bound in my girdle; a third, with a light club, showered blows from behind upon my head and shoulders. The struggles of the plunderers recalled me to consciousness, which previously was almost lost. Their tugs at my girdle assisted the strength still left me; I suddenly sat up, and drawing my own dagger, stabbed, at the junction of the throat and thorax, the Kuzzauk in front of me. The mad exultation of that moment is indescribable. He fell; and I was turning upon the others, when I saw the arm of a fourth raised to strike me with some weapon. I raised my dagger to guard my head. The sabre fell upon my hand, severing two fingers, disjuncting the thumb, and shattering the solid ivory handle of the dagger. Other blows of clubs, from the rear, stretched me again upon my back, no longer able to move. I know not whether I lost my senses; but if so, when they returned they were clear as the noon-day. My right hand was numbed, but I knew not the extent of damage, and tried to rise. The slightest motion of the head produced vertigo, and my limbs were quite powerless, the flesh being in fact beaten to a jelly; but whenever I lay still, the clearness of all my faculties returned upon a mind as calm as I had ever known it."

Many a weary day and painful night, lying in the Kuzzauk tents, he expected and prepared for a violent death. All he desired and prayed for was that the instrument might do its work cleanly and well. "I never could reconcile myself," he writes, "to the shape in which death was ever threatening—namely, the crushing together of the brain beneath the hatchet of Ahris Mahtoor." And again—

"I lay down to rest this night in the conviction that I should never rise again. I even adjusted my throat so that the death-stroke might not awaken me. It had always seemed to me that the venom of death's sting was the want of resolution to die—the last despairing struggle. As in the case of one whom an infant could disable by a touch upon the mangled and inflamed hand, any such strife must be utterly hopeless, I had from the first resolved to suffer without a struggle. Day and night I kept jealously before my eyes the image of death, and made myself familiar with his every form, and endeavoured to harden the imagination to all those particulars from which it naturally shrinks."

For a time these greater griefs swallowed up the less,* and he

* But they never swallowed up his tender concern for the servants who shared his adventures, and whose sufferings always seemed to afflict him more than his own: an honourable trait of character equally conspicuous in poor Arthur Conolly,

thought not of his maimed and crippled condition. "The loss of my hand," he writes, "was for the time absorbed in the prospect of death, a state in which the circumstance signified nothing. Afterwards, when hope revived, it became a most bitter and humiliating thought to one, who from his childhood had loved every species of romantic adventure, and had often trusted to that hand in the extremest emergency." And further on still more despondingly:—"On earth I saw but dishonour—the failure of my brightest hopes, my most ardent anticipations. I was a crippled wretch, no longer a match, with equal arms, for a child. The hand I had lost had been to me only next in value to my eye-sight. It was expert in a hundred arts which the other never could be taught. The pen, the pencil, the sword, the pistol, the bow, the spear, the mechanic's tool; all these must now be forgone, or touched with the faltering art of a beginner, at a period of life too late for instruction. The bitterness of such thoughts cannot be expressed by words."

But in spite of these gloomy forebodings, Captain Abbott lived to earn new laurels upon another field of enterprise. Escaping from the hands of the Kuzzauks, he reached St. Petersburg, and subsequently London, in safety, crippled in his right hand, but otherwise sound in body, full of heart and hope, and even

who, in his wretched dungeon at Bokhara, and in the near prospect of death, evinced the liveliest solicitude for the future wellbeing of his attendants. Among other disasters which befell Captain Abbott's servants, was one which is so amusingly narrated in the following passage, that we cannot forbear quoting it in illustration of the more sunny side of Captain Abbott's character. He has a laugh ready at times, and in season is "a fellow of infinite humour:"—"I was one day inquiring of Nizaum how he had disposed of the gold I had given him: 'O,' he replied, 'I have eaten it.' I supposed, of course, he was speaking figuratively; for it is a common phrase—'I eat so much a month,' that is, such is my expenditure; but I could not imagine how he could have spent even one gold piece in a Kuzzauk tent. I found, however, that he was expressing himself literally; that the night after the distribution, he and the other servants had deliberately swallowed all their gold ducats—Summud Khan twenty-six, and Nizaum fifteen. Now these ducats were quite as sharp-edged as the knife with which my finger had been amputated, and the milk diet upon which we were suddenly placed seemed to render their extrication quite hopeless. Summud Khan, not content with bolting twenty-six ducats, had commenced upon the tillahs, which are nearly twice as large, and have a rough saw edge. Most fortunately, the very first he tried stuck fast in his throat, like a Russian proper name, and the noise he made in coughing it up nearly led to the discovery of his diet, the consequence of which would have been the instant opening of his bread-basket, by insertion of a Kuzzauk knife. He was therefore deterred from any further attempts upon the tillahs; indeed, he might just as safely have bolted a gross of circular saws. I was horrified when I discovered the truth, for it seemed scarcely possible that any of them should recover. I searched for some pills, which had escaped the plunderers, and administered them forthwith, but they had not the slightest effect upon persons confined exclusively to a milk diet. I would have given something to have seen my people gravely and deliberately bolting ducats, like cranes drinking at a plate. The best of it was, that Yakoob, the Meer a Khor, not relishing the operation, had got Hajji to swallow *his* for him, an arrangement which led subsequently to a curious dispute, quite worthy of the Court of Chancery."

with that mutilated member good for some service still. "An accident," says an Indian writer—"one of those annual accidents which fill the royal quiver with princely arrows—alone deprived him of the honours which were subsequently bestowed upon another—a brother officer who followed in the ways which Abbott had made ready before him; and it is not one of the least noble traits of the latter's character, that he never regarded his successor with envy, but rejoiced in his superior success."* He has won, indeed, his spurs twice over; but he has little but his integrity to wrap himself round with—and happily no one knows better the comfort of such a cloak.

We have said that Captain Abbott unquestionably is of an imaginative and romantic cast of mind; but there is too much before the public now to give any shelter to the suspicion that the treachery of Chuttur Singh existed rather in the imagination of the British officer than in the heart of the old Sirdar. Sir Frederick Currie complained with some acerbity of the unwarrantable suspicions of Captain Abbott, and the general absence of friendly feeling which he had evinced in all his transactions with Chuttur Singh; but the Governor-General seemed by no means disposed to endorse the complaints of the Resident. Certain it is, that whatever may have been the case in the spring, the summer saw the rebellion of Chuttur Singh and the Sikh troops in the Hazara country wrought into a state of full maturity. One need not now go about to demonstrate how that egg was hatched. There is a more natural process to which the result is to be traced than to the steam-power of Captain Abbott's romance. Whatever romance, too, there may have been—and the circumstances by which he was surrounded were truly of a most romantic character—there was no nervous anxiety, no restless apprehension of coming danger, to unnerve the arm or to confuse the brain of the solitary British officer, who, in his detached and dangerous position, chafed at the irresolution which pervaded the counsels of Lahore, and yearned for an opportunity to strike a blow at the rebellion which was gathering strength from immunity and rioting without control.

Nothing is more contagious than rebellion. It was only in the nature of things that the Khalsa troops in the Hazara country should have sought a fitting opportunity of joining the insurgent body, from whose successful operations they anticipated the restoration of their lost independence. Was it not plainly the duty of Captain Abbott to watch, with extreme suspicion, the

* *Calcutta Review*. Lieutenant Richmond Shakespear, an officer of the same regiment—the Bengal Artillery—who glided with comparative ease over the same line of country, was, on reaching England, knighted by her Majesty. Abbott was compelled to return to India before he could appear at the foot of the Throne.

movements of a force, exposed on the one side to such temptations, and on the other, bound to loyalty and peace by such very slender ties? The irruption into the lower country of the Hazara force would have been a political evil of the first magnitude. It was believed, that one portion of it was to have joined the rebellion of Moolraj; and the other, to have moved down upon Lahore, to have seized the person of the Maharajah, and with that tower of strength, the king's name, to have declared a national war against the British invaders. The disasters which have befallen us in strange countries, have not hitherto resulted from over-caution, but from over-security. We have erred on the side of confidence—not of mistrust; and have seen only friendship and truth, where bitter enmity and black-hearted treachery really lay lurking around us. "I am of opinion," wrote Major Lawrence, from Peshawur, and he was in a better position there to form a correct estimate of Captain Abbott's conduct than was Sir Frederick Currie at Lahore, "that the present collision has arisen from Captain Abbott's anxiety to prevent the troops in Hazara from deserting their posts, and proceeding to join Moolraj at Mooltan; in which design, he had reason to believe, they were aided and instigated by the Nazim Sirdar, Chuttur Singh, and Attaree. Captain Abbott naturally supposed that the movement of such a body of Khalsas once commenced, would operate upon all the troops on this side of the Jhelum and Indus, and place the British functionaries in a most critical position, as well as endanger the integrity of the empire. * * * I am told, and my experience confirms it, that whatever be the disposition of the Sirdar towards us, his confidential advisers are notoriously disaffected, corrupt, and profligate, and that he holds them in little check. Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that on the Pukli brigade manifesting a disposition to quit its post, contrary to the repeatedly expressed orders of Captain Abbott, he should have taken the only means in his power to prevent them, by calling on the people of the country to oppose the movement."

The murder of Colonel Canora by the Sikh troops brought matters to a crisis. Even the Resident then seemed no longer disposed to believe in the fidelity of Chuttur Singh; for the act, whether sanctioned or not by the Sirdar, was one that seemed irretrievably to commit him, as the murder of Agnew and Anderson had involved Moolraj at Mooltan. It still remains a moot point whether Chuttur Singh or Captain Abbott was acting on the defensive. We cannot devote more space to an attempt to disentangle it. Captain Abbott, who had established an extraordinary influence over the minds of the armed tribes by whom he was surrounded, who was beloved—nay, almost wor-

shipped by the people, as a model of justice and humanity, and a type of the truest heroism—did not appeal to them in vain. They rose up at the call of that solitary Englishman, and soon the country was bristling with armed mountaineers. Chuttur Singh was appalled at this movement. He believed that Captain Abbott was bent upon the annihilation of himself and the Khalsa army in Hazara; and Captain Abbott *was* bent upon annihilating it, rather than that it should move down on Lahore.

It is alleged, that it was only in self-defence that Chuttur Singh resorted to the measures which ended in the murder of Colonel Canora. Dreading the attacks of the armed people, he directed his guns to be moved into a good position for defence. The American commandant, Canora, refused obedience to the mandate, unless backed by Captain Abbott; and he perished at his guns. From this time, the breach became irreconcilable. The two parties were in open antagonism with each other; and the future seemed to disclose nothing but a necessity to fight it out. Chuttur Singh prepared at once for the struggle. He wrote to Shere Singh at Mooltan, announcing what had occurred, and exhorting him to be ready for action. To another son, Golab Singh, at Lahore, he wrote directions to hasten from the capital, and to join him without delay. To the Maharajah of Cashmere, and to others, he appealed for assistance; and was evidently, even whilst professing his anxiety to bring affairs to an amicable adjustment, conscious that there was little hope of any other solution of the difficulties that surrounded him than a resort to arms.

There was an outward attempt to patch up the difference between Chuttur Singh and Captain Abbott; but it must have been seen from the first, that the mission of Jhunda Singh was a mere show. Their wounds were not to be so healed over. "They stood aloof, the scars remaining." The disaffection of the father-in-law of the Maharajah was awkward and inconvenient; but it was a fact. It was not a pleasant article of faith; but as the thing existed, there was little use in persisting in unbelief. "Sirdar Jhunda Singh," in the simple words of the Governor-General, "turned out as great a traitor as Chuttur Singh;" and though another party was despatched to take his place, all hope of an adjustment had long been at an end.

On the 17th of August, Captain Abbott wrote to the Resident, that he had at length determined to attempt the destruction of the mutinous brigade:—

"Day and night," he said, "the subject pressed upon my mind; but when at length I received your distinct instruction to take advantage of the hatred of the people for the Sikhs, and destroy the brigade, should it attempt to escape from its cantonments, all my scruples were allayed, and I prepared to carry out my duty at any cost. How ardu-

ous was that duty I cannot easily describe. The Sikh brigade, supplied with carriage and ready to march at one hour's notice, lay at the distance of two long marches from my station. The only defile in which it could be assailed with any reasonable hope of success, could be passed by it in a single march, and was one march from my post. * * * Up to the very moment of march I could make no arrangements to intercept them on the road; I could not depend upon being joined by above 500 of the armed peasantry. My own guard did not at that time exceed 100 men, and there were 80 Sikh sepoy with me, who would certainly take part with their comrades. The instant of attacking the mutinous brigade would place me at war with the whole Sikh army—a war which I had no funds to support, the revenue having already been paid into the Nazim's hands. But my duty had been prescribed, and I lived upon the watch to carry it out to the uttermost."

With this view, he dismissed half of his Sikh escort, raised the number of his guard, assembled the Hazara chiefs, called upon them by the memory of their murdered parents, friends, and relatives, to rise and aid him in destroying the Sikh forces in detail, and moving to the nearer vicinity of Huzzepore, recruited his finances from the treasury of that place, and gradually increased his levies from among the bravest and most faithful of the tribes.

On the 20th of August, as he was mustering his recruits, news was brought to Captain Abbott that the Sikh brigade had commenced its march. Leaping at once to the conclusion that the intelligence was correct, without a moment's delay, without even revisiting his tent, he marched off with his levies to seize the passes before the enemy could occupy them. "A fiery march of thirty miles secured this object." But the Sikh detachment had not moved. It was not long, however, before authentic intelligence arrived that Chuttur Singh had marched upon Husan Abdal, where Captain Nicholson was posted. In an hour, Abbott was in motion again with his levies. "We marched," he wrote, "under a burning August sun, forty miles, and halted three miles on the right rear of the Sikh army." "I have neither table, chair, nor tent," he added; "my ink is nearly dried up by the intense heat." Moving up, on the following day, his recruits to within a mile of the Sikh army, he "prepared for severe measures with Chuttur Singh's force;" but negotiations were opened with Captain Nicholson, and whilst these were proceeding, Abbott reluctantly consented to withdraw his levies to a distance. On the evening of the 26th, the son of Chuttur Singh was in the camp of the former officer negotiating terms for the Sirdar; and Captain Abbott, chafing under the necessity of inactivity at such a time, was watching the result with intense anxiety, and not without some suspicion that treachery was brew-

ing. His suspicions were soon confirmed. He could discern, from the position that he had taken up, that the old chief's camp was astir. A party of Sikh horsemen was seen galloping from that quarter, and it was obvious that the force was about to move. Captain Abbott, who was never long in making up his mind what to do, and never long in doing it after he had made up his mind, at once resolved to dispute the progress of the insurgents.

"I immediately," he wrote to the Resident at Lahore, "got together my levies with all possible speed, and hastened to the Moti Ravine, in the hope of occupying it in time to dispute their passage; but the Mussulmans, who observe the fast rigidly, were gasping through thirst. I, however, halted for a moment, and encouraged each separate Gole, showing them that night was favourable to their cause, that the fire of the guns would be harmless, and the sabre master of the ravine; and they pursued their way in light spirits. On approaching the ravine, I perceived, through the twilight, two dark masses, which appeared to be elephants, and, thinking to catch those animals with the guns upon their backs, made a dash at them with my cavalry. The howitzers, however, were loaded and in position, and opened a fire which swept the whole line of my approach, so that I was obliged to draw the horsemen off to the right, under cover of the village, and to one of the recesses of the Moti Ravine. I then returned to look after the foot, which had wholly disappeared, having dived into a small ravine when first the artillery opened upon it. In the darkness of the night it was long before I could discover a single Gole, and very long ere any considerable portion could be thrown into the ravine. I saw, with feelings of extreme impatience, a long column of dust, indicating that much of the Sikh force had already passed over, and by the time that, having entered the ravine, I had penetrated down it to the gun-road, not a straggler was left on the farther side. I tried to rally my people to an attack with the sabre, but either they had been bribed to remain inactive, or their fears made them so, for neither encouragement nor taunt could persuade more than a handful to follow the Sikh march along the ravine, which, for half a mile, ran parallel to it. I then, after many fruitless attempts to inspire confidence, ordered the horse out of the ravine, that we might unite with Captain Nicholson's camp."

It would be difficult to conceive any more mortifying circumstances than those by which Captain Abbott thus unexpectedly found himself environed. He had improvised a force, in an hour of pressing danger, believing that he could rely upon his new levies. He had made with them two long forced marches under a fiery August sun; he had come up with the enemy; he had been arrested by a show of negotiations, at a time when confident of success he was eager to fling himself upon them; he had watched their camp with intense anxiety—had assured himself of their treachery; and, as the shades of night were thickening the gloom

of the ravines, had made a dashing movement to intercept their progress—only to find that he was surrounded by traitors and cowards. The temper of a man is tried indeed when he finds himself the only European soldier among hordes of barbarians, speaking a different language, following a different creed, serving a different master, moved by different impulses, and aiming at different objects. It is this segregation from all the solace of sympathy, and the support of mutual counsel—this absolute necessity of entire self-reliance—that calls forth the strength of a man's nature, and shows of what stuff he is made.

On the morning of the 27th, Captain Abbott and Captain Nicholson fell back upon Hussan-Abdul, with intent of covering Attock, upon which place it seemed probable that the insurgents would advance. It was obvious that they had no power of resisting Chuttur Singh in the field. Their levies were not true to them. Before regular troops these armed peasants were of little use in the hour of need. In this extremity it was determined that Captain Abbott should place himself on the defensive at Nara, and that Captain Nicholson should throw himself into Attock.

The interest of the narrative here diverges into three different paths. The positions of Captain Abbott at Nara, of Major Lawrence at Peshawur, and of Lieutenant Herbert, who, after a day or two, relieved Captain Nicholson at Attock,* were all equally perilous. The Khalsa regiments were either in open revolt or on the very verge of rebellion; and the Afghans were prepared, however inharmonious the combination, to make common cause with the Sikhs. A leader of greater ability and enterprise than the old and feeble Chuttur Singh would have brought matters speedily to a crisis; but he appears to have been irresolute and apprehensive—to have thrown away many opportunities, and to have wasted much good time. "Chuttur Singh's proceedings," wrote the Governor-General, in October, "are very unaccountable, and at present exhibit a great want of energy . . . He marches and countermarches from place to place in the upper portion of the Sindh Saugur Doab, without seeming to be able to come to any decision as to what course he should pursue." But what the old chief did not accomplish, time and circumstance did for him. It was in the nature of things that rebellion should grow apace throughout that infelicitous autumn. It needed no

* Captain Nicholson remained in the neighbourhood watching the movements, threatening the rear and flanks of Chuttur Singh, and prepared, if Attock were besieged, to throw himself into the place, and to assist Lieutenant Herbert. The gallantry and energy of this officer were conspicuous throughout the rebellion. It is mortifying to us to be compelled, by the limited space at our command, to pass over so cursorily the services of this officer and Lieutenant Taylor. For the same reason we are compelled to omit the notice, which the services of Lieutenants Pollock and Hodson well merit from every historian of the Sikh campaigns.

fomenting from without ; the elements of expansion were within. Attock was in a state of siege ; Bunnoo had burst into revolt ; and Peshawur was soon in a blaze.

Captain Abbott continued to hold his own at Nara,* confident of success and eager for the affray. "Captain Abbott," wrote the Resident early in October, "writes of expecting that the Sirdar will attack his position at Nara ; and he seems confident that if the Sirdar does so, he can repulse him with heavy loss. He, moreover, says, that if the Sirdar is defeated in the attack, the rebellion will be at an end." It was not long before an opportunity was afforded him of exchanging compliments with his old enemy. About the middle of October, Chuttur Singh with six regiments, some cavalry and guns, moved up to the relief of Simulkund, in which was a detachment of Sikh troops which had declared in favour of the insurgents. As it was impossible to prevent the relief of the place, Captain Abbott had offered safe-conduct to the garrison ; but the offer had been declined, and it was suspected, therefore, that the object of Chuttur Singh was, after relieving Simulkund, which lies at the foot of the hills, to ascend the mountain on which the British officer was posted with his levies. The garrison having evacuated and fired the fort, joined the relieving army. But the attempt to carry the hill was unsuccessful. Captain Abbott disputed their progress manfully from rock to rock and from bush to bush, until, greatly as the Sikhs outmatched him in numbers, they turned back and retreated. "Could I have persuaded my reserve," he wrote a few days afterwards, "to charge sword in hand, the retreat might have been converted into a rout. But my exhortations were so coldly received that I desisted." It was the misfortune of Captain Abbott that he was never supported. The men whom he commanded were wholly unworthy of such a leader. Chuttur Singh moved off towards Attock. "The report of his purpose," wrote Captain Abbott, "to force his way to Torbaila was strong, so that I have had my people under arms to resist him. He could not reach Torbaila without heavy loss. I have been the last three days without shelter, and without chair or table, watching the enemy."

And here we must leave this stout-hearted soldier whilst for a little space we dwell upon the achievements of another of that little band of detached "politicals." Lieutenant Herbert, a young officer of the Bengal infantry, had been despatched to Attock, at the beginning of September. In the preceding month, Captain Nicholson had thrown supplies into the fort, and turned out a portion of the Sikh garrison, replacing them

* Misprinted "Dhara" in our last Number—p. 656.

by a body of Patans,—a movement of great importance, as securing, for a time, that important position, which otherwise would have fallen even then into the hands of the insurgents. When, at the end of the month, he threw himself again into the fort, expecting the immediate advance of Chuttur Singh, he contemplated the expulsion of the remainder of the Sikhs, and wrote to Major Lawrence for some reinforcements of Patans, adding in every letter, “Cannot you send Herbert or Bowie?” Major Lawrence immediately despatched the former officer to Attock; and 600 Patans were sent to reinforce the garrison. Lieutenant Herbert reached Attock on the 1st of September. On that day, Captain Nicholson wrote to Major Lawrence,—“There are now three months’ supplies in the fort; there is no deficiency of ammunition either; and with a trustworthy garrison of 800 or 1000 men, there is no reason why it should not hold out whilst the provisions last. I have placed the guns in position, and am having the ammunition stored. I have not turned out any of the garrison; but I have made arrangements so that it can be easily effected, if ever necessary.” From this time, up to the beginning of November, we gather little or nothing from the Blue Book relative to the position of Lieutenant Herbert. On the 5th of that month, the young European commandant wrote to the Resident at Lahore,—“I wrote to you yesterday an account of my Patans having solemnly sworn on the Koran to remain true to the British Government, as represented by me, and hold out the fortress to their best. I this morning gave them the written promise of protection and reward to themselves and families, and of punishment to those of the enemies, who join the rebels, which they asked for in return.” “God grant,” he added, “I may be able to hold out until succours arrive!” The Peshawur troops had, by this time, broken out into open revolt, and joined the rebellion of Chuttur Singh; and it was apprehended that a vigorous effort would be made by the insurgents to reduce Attock, if Lieutenant Herbert could not be induced to cede it, and the garrison could not be corrupted. Major Lawrence, then a prisoner in the hands of Chuttur Singh, to whom he had been given up by Sooltan Mahomed, wrote on the 13th of November, to Lieutenant Herbert, saying,—“The Sirdar sent to me this morning to say, that he is most anxious to save the shedding of blood; and therefore hopes that I will tell you, that he knows, under the circumstances of your position, having no men on whom you can depend, and already more than 100 having deserted, you have no chance of holding Attock till relieved by our troops, and that he recommends you either joining us, or withdrawing as best you can. He even promises that you and the Nizam-ood-dowlah Maho-

med Oosman Khan, shall be conveyed in safety at once to Lahore." At the same time, Chuttur Singh himself wrote to Lieutenant Herbert, exhorting him to leave Attock, and offering him safe-conduct; but the young British officer was to be seduced by no such promises of safety. "Deeming the defence of this post of great importance," he wrote to the Resident, "I have taken upon myself the responsibility of offering large rewards to the garrison should they prove faithful to the last. I received a letter from Chuttur Singh, advising me to leave Attock, and place myself in his power; promising to treat me with every respect. *I replied, that I had no intention of quitting the fort, until I received orders from Maharajah Dhulleep Singh and yourself.*" And again, on the same day, he wrote to Major Lawrence, "with regard to my own position, *I am perfectly confident that, with the help of God, I can hold out Attock for a length of time.* I have a strong garrison of Mahomedans, inimical to the very name of the Sikhs, at whose hands they have suffered severely, and who have all sworn upon the Koran to stand firm by me to the last." By this time operations had commenced against Attock. The enemy had opened their batteries, and been answered from the fort. Nothing could have been more gallant than the defence; but it was plainly an ineffectual struggle. The elements of failure were within. The garrison was not loyal. Their Koran oaths did not bind them. Already had it become too plain throughout the country that Mussulman fidelity, based upon hatred to the Sikhs, was but a mere delusion. Mussulmans and Sikhs were now banding together. "By a letter from Lieutenant Herbert, dated the 6th December," wrote the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, "I regret to inform you that his tenure of the fort of Attock had become very precarious. He had been blockaded for twenty-seven days, and his troops were showing strong symptoms of insubordination." Two days before Lieutenant Herbert had written to Lieutenant Taylor, who by his energy and gallantry in the Bunnoo country, had shown that he was made of as good stuff as the heroes of Peshawur, Attock, and Hazara, "The minds of my men are much shaken, and serious symptoms of insubordination have shown themselves; these have for a time been set to rights, but every day increases my difficulties, and I cannot answer for keeping them together from day to day. It is not physical force, but treachery and stratagem, I have to fear. No effort will, I expect, be spared by the Barukzyes to excite the former among my people, and their probability of success is too great."

From that time the danger of the brave-hearted young soldier's position, shut up in that beleaguered fort, enmity without and treachery within, grew every day more imminent. His artillery-

men were rapidly deserting ; the remainder were clamouring for their pay. The treasury was nearly empty. Outside the fort the enemy were increasing in numbers and their efforts becoming more vigorous. They had attempted to burn the gates of the fort, and had moved up their heavy guns. It was reported that Dost Mahomed was coming down to direct operations in person, and the Mussulman commander of the beleaguered force declared his conviction, that if the Afghans appeared before the fort the garrison would desert in a body. Succours had long been expected ; but weeks and weeks passed away and there appeared to be no hope of assistance. The brave young officer saw that human strength could no longer avail him. "The Almighty," he wrote, "has, in his great mercy, permitted of my holding the fort now for forty days, and on him I hope that I may be able to do so longer, but, humanly speaking, it would appear almost impossible, and I therefore, with all humility, earnestly beg that you will do your utmost to induce his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to hasten the advance of the army, or send some troops to the relief of this fort without delay."

No succours came to the beleaguered garrison ; but the Afghans, under a son of Dost Mahomed, appeared on the other side of the river. The Patans had been temporarily sustained in their loyalty by an expectation of the speedy arrival of a British force ; but when it seemed that no troops were advancing to the aid of Lieutenant Herbert, and that, on the other side, the Afghans had come to aid the besiegers, their little remaining fidelity received a severe blow, and it was believed that when the Douranees crossed the river all resistance would be at an end. Letters had been addressed to the Afghan garrison, which Herbert had fortunately intercepted and answered ; but it was only too certain that the proclamation of a religious war would have the effect in time of seducing all the followers of Islam from their allegiance to the Feringhees. Surrounded by all these hostile and depressing influences, the young English commander had indeed a difficult part to play. But with a firm trust in the goodness of Providence, his energies never deserted him. Every day seemed to diminish the chance of success. His treasury, as we have said, was nearly empty, and his troops were clamouring for pay. In this embarrassment he sold all the surplus stores in the Fort, and raised a sufficient sum to enable him, by constant disbursements of coin, as well as by a liberal issue of rations, to keep his men, from day to day, in good spirits and good humour. The weakness of the place itself, too, distressed him. "It appears to me," he wrote to the Resident, "that you have a very mistaken idea of the strength of this place, which is so weak that it could not withstand a well-directed and vigorous cannonade of a few hours,

and it is only the want of energy on the part of the enemy that has prevented them, long ere this, having effected practicable breaches where the walls are much battered." And in reply to the commendations of the Resident, he evinced his humility and his faith by saying—"If I have been successful thus far, it is a cause of gratitude to the Almighty, who, in his mercy, has relaxed the energy of the enemy, and granted that my men have hitherto remained staunch."

This was written on the 27th of December. The new year dawned inauspiciously on the brave young English commandant of the beleaguered fort on the banks of the Indus. On that day Dost Mahomed and the Douranees appeared opposite to Attock, and commenced the passage of the river. Upon this, Herbert summoned his principal officers to a council of war, and the result was what he anticipated. All disguise was now thrown aside. It appeared only too certain that neither they nor their men would any longer defend their position. In this extremity he abandoned all hope of continued resistance, and wisely determined not to swell the triumphs of the enemy by suffering himself to fall into their hands;—so at midnight on the 3d of January, in this present year, having prepared two rafts, he, with a small party of attendants, quitted the fort and trusted himself to the dark waters of the Indus.

In the meanwhile Captain Abbott continued to maintain his position with a bold front—now in the face of the Sikhs, now in the face of the Afghans, hoping all things, braving all things, with unfailing constancy and courage. Lieutenant Taylor, who had got possession of the Fort of Lukkee, in the Bunnoo country, held his own with the same heroic spirit that had upheld his companions in danger. Major Lawrence had fallen into the hands of the enemy; but he had done his duty in a manner worthy of a name that has been celebrated for a century in the military annals of the East. No stranger was he to peril—no stranger to captivity. It had been his to survive all the horrors of the great Caubul tragedy, and to drag through the long imprisonment which succeeded it. He had seen Sir William M'Naghten shot down by Mahomed Akbar, and had narrowly escaped the toils which hurried his chief to destruction. He had shared all the perils of the retreat, and during the subsequent captivity, had shown the good stuff of which he was made, not only by brave endurance, but by the wise and kindly performance of the difficult duty entrusted to him, as general administrator and moderator; "at one time," as described by one who knew him well, "rescuing the captives by the charge he made with the body-guard; at another, cooking arrow-root for the children, and looking out his flannel-waistcoats and other

clothes for the ladies"—the steward of their captor's bounties, and the general referee in all cases of delicate perplexity. The same tact which had been so serviceable to him and to others under these circumstances, was exercised in the wider field which was opened out to him on his appointment to the Peshawur Residency. He had there a difficult game to play, but he played it with remarkable address. It was only by consummate good management upon his part, combined with the constant display of heroic firmness, that the troops at Peshawur, ready as they were to break out into open rebellion, were so long kept in hand. Many incidents illustrative of this might readily be cited: one, however, must suffice. "On the 28th," we quote the words of Dr. Buist, in his "Annals of India," "two regiments of Sikh cavalry and one of infantry were inspected by the Resident. Though warned beforehand that the occasion would be taken advantage of for his assassination, he rode about among the troops, and set them to rights when they blundered in their exercise, just as he would have done had he been at the head of his own regiment within the British dominions. Two native officers were put in confinement for having gone to pay their respects to an insurgent chief on returning from leave; and an emissary from Mooltan detected tampering with the men was hanged at once." On the confines of Afghanistan, exposed on the one side to the corrupting influences of the Barukzyes, and on the other to the contagious example of the rebellious Khalsa, it was marvellous that they so long recognised the authority of the British agent. But the unchecked unchastised successes of the insurgents at last did their work of temptation, and before the end of October the Peshawur troops had ceased to hesitate.

On the 24th of October, Major Lawrence wrote to the Resident reporting the defection of the Peshawur troops. "It is with much regret," he said, "that I have to report, that this force so long kept in hand, yesterday broke out into open mutiny. Everything was going on as usual; Lieutenant Bowie had ridden to the city, and I was about to mount, when the Governor, Sirdar Golab Singh, told me not to do so; that he had just heard matters were not right. I instantly sent for Lieutenant Bowie, who, fortunately, promptly obeyed the summons; five minutes later, he would have been either killed or a prisoner, for on passing the Shere dragoons, which were drawn up in line, they regularly charged him,—two small ditches, and the speed of his horse, alone saved him. From the house-top, we could see that the two Sikh cavalry corps and three infantry ones, had assembled on the grand parade, and were evidently in a state of revolt. Messengers came shortly afterwards, and confirmed this." The long-anticipated event had occurred; Peshawur

wur had burst out in a great blaze of rebellion. Not a regiment remained true to the Maharajah and the British alliance. On the evening of the second day, the guns were turned upon the Residency ; and all hope of reaction was at an end. To have remained longer in Peshawur would have been madness ; so the British officers prepared for flight. Sirdar Sooltan, Mahomed Khan, Barukzye, guaranteed them safe-conduct to Kohat ; and on the night of the 24th of October, Major Lawrence, Lieutenant Bowie, and Mr. and Mrs. Thompson, with a few Afghan horsemen, mounted and gained the gates of the city. The whole of their property falling into the hands of the rebels, they were left with little but the clothes on their backs.

Mrs. Lawrence was already at Kohat. Before the close of September, affairs wore a sufficiently threatening aspect at Peshawur to render it advisable that this lady should be removed from the dangerous vicinity of that place. Accordingly a party of horse and foot, under the command of a son of Sooltan Mahomed, was appointed to escort her to Lahore. But she had not proceeded farther than Chuckowal in the Sindh Saugur Doab, when it was reported that Chuttur Singh's forces occupied the road in advance. She accordingly retraced her steps, and, under Major Lawrence's directions, halted at Kohat, where she continued to reside, until joined by her husband.

Whether all this was the result of accident or of design, it is not easy to determine ; but the weight of probability rather inclines to the side of the latter. "I have not," wrote the Resident to the Supreme Government, when reporting the circumstances of Mrs. Lawrence's return, "been able to learn what the conduct of the Sirdar's son, and of the escort was, on that occasion ; but it is certain that at that time, and with that strong escort, Mrs. Lawrence might have proceeded with safety, or she might have crossed the salt-range, and have come by Khooshall, through a part of the country which was then quite undisturbed." And Lieutenant Taylor, writing to the Resident a week afterwards, observed, "The present aspect of affairs confirms, to a great extent, the suspicions which I believe have been previously entertained, that the interruption to Mrs. Lawrence's first journey did not occur without design, but had probably been planned by the Sirdar himself, before Mrs. Lawrence left Peshawur. If such be the case, there is little chance of his giving his prisoners up now, when his designs are to all appearance progressing successfully." This was written on the 13th of November. By that time, Sooltan Mahomed, who had been appointed governor of Peshawur, had delivered over the English prisoners to the hands of Chuttur Singh.

Treacherous among the treacherous, unscrupulous among the

unscrupulous, Sooltan Mahomed Khan, had by all the antecedents of his life earned for himself a bad notoriety. A career of ceaseless intrigue had rendered him an object of suspicion to his own countrymen; and by none was he more suspected and more hated than by his brother, the Ameer of Caubul. He had been governor of Peshawur, when that place belonged to the Afghans; and the governorship of Peshawur was now said to be the reward held out for the Barukzye alliance. His obligations to the British Government, and especially to Major Lawrence, were great. The British had found him a prisoner at Lahore; had released him from bondage; and bestowed a jaghier upon him. Even among the Afghans, the obligations of hospitality are accounted sacred, and the betrayal of a guest esteemed an unattonable act of infamy. Relying upon the existence of these supposed inducements to fidelity, and on the improbability of so wily an intriguer, to use the words of Lieutenant Edwardes, "closing hopelessly behind him the door of reconciliation with the British," Major Lawrence and his associates had placed themselves in the hands of Sooltan Mahomed. The Barukzye chief, who had promised that officer safe-conduct to a British post, betrayed his trust;* and he, Lieutenant Bowie, and Mr. Apothecary Thompson, became the prisoners of Chuttur Singh, and were conveyed to Peshawur.

On the 13th of November, Major Lawrence wrote from that place:—"Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan having given myself, Lieutenant Bowie, and Mr. Thompson, over to Sirdar Chuttur Singh, we arrived in the Sikh camp on the 11th instant, where we were received by Sirdar Chuttur Singh, who met us at some miles' distance, with several officers of rank, and paid us every honorary attention. We were strictly guarded, but otherwise well treated in every respect; and as Sirdar Chuttur Singh had promised to have my family safely conducted to Jummoo, Syudpore, Rawul Pindee, or any other secure position, deeming it desirable that we should be all together, I have given Mrs.

* Sooltan Mahomed, in a letter to Lieutenant Taylor, declared that he had been coerced. "Sirdar Chuttur Singh," he wrote, "with his army arrived at Peshawur, and, at first, in moderate terms, desired me to give up Major Lawrence. Afterwards when Chuttur Singh's tents were at Wuzeerabad, and the officers and troops around, they forcibly seized the person of the Sahib, but I was ready to die before giving up the Mehm Sahib (Mrs. Lawrence.)" And again, "As far as lay in my power, I had endeavoured to save the Major Sahib from Chuttur Singh and the Sikhs, but they took him by force. If I had resisted further they would have seized my children and family. Had my family not been in Peshawur I would have defended the Major Sahib at the expense of my life." Lieutenant Taylor says, "I disbelieve entirely the story of the Sikhs coercing him by means of his own family;" and adds, "I consider the whole of the Sirdar's defence unworthy of attention." We need scarcely say that we so consider it too.

Lawrence the option of joining me, which I expect she will do to-morrow." From that time to the 6th of March, this little party of Europeans remained in captivity, treated with no harshness or disrespect, but under strict surveillance—Major Lawrence, from time to time, being employed to conduct negotiations between the Sikh Sirdars and the British General.*

We are warned by the little remaining space at our command, to pass over this dreary interval at a bound—The battle of Goojerat was fought on the 21st of February; and a division, under Sir Walter Gilbert, was pushed forward in pursuit of the fugitive enemy—to chastise the invading Douranees, to break the remaining military strength of the Sikh empire, and to rescue the prisoners who were still in the hands of the Attarewallah Sirdars. The annals of Indian warfare contain no finer incident. In this the closing book of the great Sikh epic, there is nothing of anti-climax. The march of Gilbert's division from Goojerat to Peshawur is a great poem in itself. With almost unparalleled rapidity these chosen troops under a chosen leader, hurried on to the confines of Afghanistan—the Sikh Sirdars flying before the British General, and carrying with them the captives as their last hope of obtaining terms from their victorious pursuers. At the head of this Article we have placed the name of a volume, written with no view to publication, by a subaltern officer in the Second Bengal Europeans—a good type of his class, bold, generous, open-hearted, with a fine dash of impetuosity, and a most exhilarating flow of animal spirits.† He has described some of the incidents of this famous march, in a characteristic, off-hand, regimental-subalternish manner, which we would not willingly exchange for the stately authenticity of more dignified official despatches. Under date March 6, the Subaltern writes:—

"Major Lawrence and Bowie are in a very critical position. We can never catch these fellows, if they fly from us—they go two miles to our one; and if they are hard pressed the prisoners are at any moment liable to be murdered by some fanatic rascal or other. Bowie managed to send a letter in yesterday, saying that they were beginning to be ill-treated, and begging us to make exertions to liberate them."

* Every effort was made from the first to release them—their condition, especially that of Mrs. Lawrence, being regarded with the liveliest concern by Sir Frederick Currie and every British officer in the country. The "Meancee steamer" was sent up the Indus, and Lieutenant Taylor was directed to concentrate all his energies upon the work of succour; but in the middle of November he was compelled to write, "I fear my attempt has only led to the division of the previously comparatively happy party at Kohat, and perhaps the substitution of the Peshawur fort for a prison-house, in place of the quiet little country-house at Kohat."

† The death of this promising young officer (Ensign Sandford,) which has been announced since this Article was commenced, imparts a melancholy interest to this notice of his character.

On the 8th he writes :—

“ *Evening*—I have just heard that the prisoners, Major and Mrs. Lawrence, Herbert and Bowie, have been sent in, and are now in our camp ; if this be the case, we shall probably see Mr. Shere himself before long. Five hundred Sikhs came and laid down their arms to-day. It is raining hard, and it is dinner-time—more certain news to-morrow. *After dinner*—It is all true ; Major Lawrence and his wife and two children, Herbert and Bowie, arrived this evening. Shere Singh comes in to-morrow, and so the campaign with the Sikhs is over.”

The next day, as the British army was encamped near the site of the old city of Bucephalia, where tradition still affirms that Alexander's famous ox-headed charger lies buried, Shere Singh came into camp. On the 10th, the Sikhs began to surrender their arms, how painfully, may be gathered from the following passage of the Subaltern's Journal :—

“ Staid with my guard all day, and wrote letters ; turned out, and fell in with my guard during parade ; presented arms to the general ; and after that went to see Khan Singh's followers come in. They marched in bodies of 200 : and each man, as he passed, threw his arms on a heap in front of the General's tent. There were about 1000 of them ; and I never saw any thing like the reluctance with which they seemed to part with their weapons. Many of them were fine gray-haired old fellows, with large flowing white beards, probably some of Runjeet Singh's veterans. One old fellow I noticed, in particular, he stood for a long time looking wistfully at his arms, and the pile before him, and evidently could not make up his mind to give them up. At last, the officer on duty came and touched him on the shoulder, and ordered him to move on ; he then threw down his sword and matchlock with a crash, and turned away, saying, with tears in eyes—‘ All my work is done now.’ I quite pitied the poor fellow's feelings, and should have liked to give them all their arms back again, had I not known that they would have felt the greatest pleasure in cutting our throats the next minute. After they had deposited their weapons, they went away—goodness knows where—probably without a farthing in their pockets to procure food with. There was an immense pile of muskets, matchlocks, tulwars (native swords), spears, zamborrucks, and six or seven guns of heavier metal, and one ten-inch mortar. As I went away, I met a company of pioneers coming to break up the matchlocks. The swords will probably be sold by auction.”

And again, under date, *Rawul Pindie, March 13,*—

“ Reached the banks of the river—a swift stream, running over a rocky bed, at the foot of a barren range of hills. Here I had to get out and ride across. Thousands of the Sikhs met us on our march, going to lay down their arms. It was strange to see us passing so coolly and indifferently those with whom, but a short time back, we were waging

war to the knife, jostling one another in the ford, and, without looking, trusting to those whom, a week ago, you would only have approached sword in hand. Every man, as he reached our side of the ford, deposited his arms on an immense heap that lay on the bank. The reluctance of one poor fellow to part with his tulwar quite affected me. After he had thrown it down, he came and presented himself, *à la Hindoostan*, at the feet of the officer on duty at the pile, and begged, in a most pathetic manner, to have his sword back again. Of course, it could not be done, and heaven only knows what atrocities he may have perpetrated with it. After we had crossed the ford, we had to ascend the range of hills; and as there was only one narrow pass, crowded with troops, I made my bearers deploy to the left, and discovered a precarious sort of path just practicable. Got out of my doolie again, and scrambled up as well as I could, to the summit, leaving my bearers to follow. The scene, when I had reached it, was superb; our division of the army crossing the river, and winding along the plain; the Sikhs trooping slowly in, and throwing their weapons on the glittering pile, which shone like silver in the bright sunshine; the Bombay camp pitched at a short distance—(you don't know what a picturesque thing a camp is); and all around the black wild mountains, with bright green patches of cultivation in their bosom. It was a most beautiful and novel sight, one to remember and admire, but not to be described. Sat down on the top of the crags, and gazed upon the scene below, until my doolie toiled up to the top. Numbers of the Sikhs passed me in my wild and lonely situation, but we did not molest one another; great forbearance on my part, seeing I was unarmed. The country at the top was flat and uncultivated for a few miles, when there was another bleak range of hills. This is a regular land of mountains. Got into my doolie, and leaving the regiment in the pleasant occupation of dragging the captured guns up the steep road, proceeded to the camp, which was only a short distance a-head. It was a most lovely afternoon; a sweet fresh wind blowing over the mountains, and filling one's mind with visions of home."

Dulces reminiscitur Argos! Under what strange skies, and what strange circumstances, well up these thoughts of home in the breasts of our expatriated countrymen!

We have now brought our narrative to a close.* It has been our object in this Article to give some account of those incidents

* We ought not, however, to omit to state, that Captain Abbott held his post to the last, and when General Gilbert was advancing in pursuit of the enemy, moved down from the northward with a body of irregulars, to meet the fugitives, whilst the regular army pressed on their rear. For the services rendered by Captain Abbott throughout the campaign—nay, for all the services that he has ever rendered to his country—he has been promoted to a brevet majority—a distinction which has been conferred on numerous regimental officers, and members of the general staff of the army, who neither shared a tithe of the danger that surrounded Captain Abbott, nor rendered a tithe of the service for which the country is indebted to him. The Indian press and the Indian public have commented upon this in terms of strong indignation.

of the last Sikh war which have been obscured by the remoteness of the background, which was the scene of their romantic occurrence. The names of Lawrence, Abbott, Herbert, Nicholson, and Taylor, will ever be mentioned with enthusiasm by the annalist of Indian warfare. Indeed, if there be one thing more noticeable than another, in the war which preceded the fall of the Sikh empire, it is the distinguished gallantry of those junior officers of the Company's army, who, at a time when irresolution in high places had given confidence to our enemies, in detached positions, and surrounded by imminent danger, stemmed the tide of Sikh rebellion, and upheld the character of the British nation to the last. These men were the political assistants of the British Resident; they belonged, as did Herbert Edwardes, to a class which has been more calumniated than any body of public officers in the world—a class in defence of which we lifted up our voice, before the war in the Punjab came to give emphasis, by illustration, to the opinions we expressed. In truth, now that the old race of heroes, who saved England from the grasp of Napoleon, is fast dying out, it is to India that we must turn for those noble exemplars of the true military character, which, with a love of peace no less genuine than that which animates Richard Cobden and Elihu Burritt, we shall never see passing into tradition without some lingering feelings of regret. "It is a very fine field, India," said my uncle sententiously, "it is the nursery of captains." "Is it," replied good Mr. Caxton, "these plants take up a great deal of ground, then, that might be more profitably cultivated." But even the amiable bookworm, quoting this passage from Shaftesbury in support of the acknowledgment, came to acknowledge that many of the virtues that make the ornament and vitality of peace, sprung up first in the convulsions of war;—"It is strange to imagine that war, which of all things appears the most savage, should be the passion of the most heroic spirits. But 'tis in war that the knot of fellowship has been closest tied; 'tis in war that mutual succour is most given, mutual danger run, and common affection most exerted and employed; *for heroism and philanthropy are almost one and the same!*" The wars in central Asia have burnt this truth indelibly into the history of the country. Never, perhaps, have the highest qualities of heroism—that heroism which is common alike to the soldier in the field, and to the priest at the stake—been called into action more nobly and more touchingly, than by the circumstances which have surrounded some of the actors in these memorable events—never has there been a finer display of intrepidity in action, of fortitude in endurance, of firmness and collectedness in danger, of generous fellowship in affliction; never were deeds done more becoming the chivalry of a Chris-

tian nation, than those which render lustrous the names of these junior officers of the Company's arms, with the stamp of the "Political" upon them. It is because they were political officers that they distinguished themselves in these great fields of enterprise. The army of the East India Company is governed strictly by the laws of seniority. No important regular command can therefore devolve upon its officers, until they have long passed the age at which Alexander, Napoleon, and Wellington, achieved their enduring triumphs. The political system, which has been so much maligned, by detaching the ablest and most energetic officers of the army from the regiments, in which they only hold subordinate rank, affords opportunities for displays of heroism, and the performance of essential services to the country, which are sure to be turned to good account by our Lawrences, our Edwardeses, and our Abbotts. Nor must it be forgotten that these men, so daring in the field, so intrepid in the face of danger, with such unfailing energy and such abundant personal resources, in the midst of difficulties and perplexities which might confound a council of state—ready to storm a fortress, or to annihilate a mutinous brigade at a moment's notice—so far from being "mere soldiers," delighting in strife and carnage, are by nature the most humane and benevolent of men, no less fitted to play a distinguished part as peaceful administrators, than as military heroes, and when summoned to play the latter part, turning aside with regret from their more congenial and more beneficent labours—for your philanthropist and your true hero are never very far apart.

It is understood that the Duke of Wellington holds, as he has long held, the "Politicals" in contempt, and that from him Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier imbibed the aversion in a state of second-hand exaggeration. Five-and-forty years ago, the honourable Major-General Wellesley complained that skip-pers were appointed to act as residents, and that residents were never resident at their posts. The Duke seems to have remembered the Manestys and Lovetts of his time, and to have forgotten the Malcolms and Munros—the Malcolms and Munros, who, at the same age, were associated with him in political office, without enjoying the advantage of the propulsive power of a fraternal Governor-general. Is it from his knowledge of the qualities of these officers, that he has imbibed the prejudice which he is known to entertain against the army to which they belonged—a prejudice which has long operated, and is even now operating, to the detriment of the Company's service? It is believed that the Directors of that great Company are desirous to mark the high sense they entertain of the distinguished character and conduct of their own officers in the recent wars beyond the Sut-

lej and the Indus, by appointing one of their general officers to the chief command at one of the minor presidencies of India; but that he who ruleth at the Horse Guards has set his face as a flint against a measure which has the misfortune to be recommended only by justice, reason, and sound policy. Six-and-thirty years have passed since Sir John Malcolm, when asked by a Parliamentary Committee if this exclusiveness were injurious to the character of the Company's army, emphatically replied—

“ I believe such exclusion has, beyond all other causes, tended to damp that ardour and high military feeling, which are always essential to the character of an officer, but, above all others, of officers so situated as those of the Company's service are in India—I believe that it has diminished the ambition, and almost extinguished the hope, with regard to military fame and rank, in all classes of that service; that they have in consequence sunk in their own estimation, as well as in that of the troops under their command, and of the inhabitants of the country in which they serve.”

And again, on the same occasion, with equal emphasis, he said—

“ All the officers in his Majesty's service, who have since 1796 held stations of principal command in India, are persons for whom I have the highest respect, and with all of whom I am personally acquainted. I feel bound to many of these officers by ties of gratitude and friendship; and I believe there never was a series of officers selected, which did more honour to those by whom they were nominated; but it is a much easier task to show their high merits, than to calculate the evil effects upon a whole service, by an exclusion which banishes all hope from their breasts of ever attaining the highest ranks in the service of their country.”

And yet, the exclusiveness of 1813 is still the exclusiveness of 1849. In such a case as this, we hope that the East India Company will be true to itself and to its army—that army, whose exploits all the “fabulous” rivers of the East have witnessed, from the Nile to the Hydaspes, and from the Hydaspes to the Yang-tse-Kiang, and whose officers have afforded some of the noblest examples of Christian heroism in the annals of chivalry, as they are written in the great book of the world.

ART. IX.—*Aspects of Nature, in Different Lands and Different Climates, with Scientific Elucidations.* By ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT. Translated by MRS. SABINE. In 2 vols. 12mo. Pp. 650.

WHEN we contemplate the natural world in our own fatherland, as seen from different stations on its surface, and at different seasons of the revolving year, it presents to us but a single aspect, however diversified be its forms, and however varied its phenomena. Like the race which occupies it, the scenery within each horizon has its family likeness, and the landscape from each spot its individual features, while the general picture of hill and dale, and heath and forest, have their similitude in the character and costume of the people. During the daily and annual revolutions of our globe, the sun sheds his varying lights and hues over the more permanent and solid forms of nature, and carries in his train those disturbing elements which give an interest to each passing hour, and invest the seasons with all the variety which characterizes them. The external world may thus lose for a while its normal aspect—what is fixed may for an instant be displaced, and what is stable subverted; but amid all the new and returning conditions of the year, whether the god of day gives or withdraws his light—whether the firmament smiles in azure or frowns in gloom—whether the lightning plays in its summer gleams, or rages in its fiery course—whether vegetation dazzles with its youthful green, or charms with its tint of age, or droops under the hoary covering of winter—under all these expressive phases of its life, nature presents to us but one aspect characteristic of the latitude under which we live, and the climate to which we belong.

The inhabitant of so limited a domain, even if he has surveyed it in all its relations, has no adequate idea of the new and striking aspects in which nature shows herself in other lands, and under other climates. Even in the regions of civilisation, where her forms have, to a certain extent, been modified by art, and her creations placed in contrast with those of man, she still wears a new aspect, often startling by its novelty, and overpowering by its grandeur. To the fur-clad dweller among ice and snow, the aspects of nature in the temperate and torrid zones must be signally pleasing. The rich and luxurious productions of a genial and fervid climate, and the gay colouring of its spring and its autumn, must form a striking contrast with the scanty supplies of a frozen soil, and the sober tints of a stunted vegetation; and the serf or the savage who has prostrated himself before a petty tyrant, in his hall of wood or of clay; or the wor-

shipper who has knelt on the sea-shore, or offered incense in the cavern or in the bush, must stand appalled before the magnificent temples of Christian or of Pagan opulence, and amidst the "cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces" of civilisation. Nor is the aspect of the arctic zone less curious and interesting to the southern eye. On her regions of eternal snow, which the summer sun is unable even to thaw, the tracks of commerce and the footprints of travel are unseen. The shadow of man and of beast alone variegates the winding-sheet of vegetable life; mountains of fire, and plains of sulphur, stand in curious juxtaposition to precipices of ice and accumulations of snow, and from the glacier margin of the ocean are detached the gigantic icebergs, which, drifting to the southern seas, and raising only their heads above the waves, often threaten the tempest driven mariner with destruction. To these singular aspects of arctic nature we may add one still more singular—the one long day of light, and the one long night of darkness, which alternately cheer and depress its short-lived and apparently miserable population.

The inhabitants, both of the old and new world, who occupy populous cultivated plains, are no less startled with nature's aspect, when they enter the lofty regions of the Himalaya and the Andes, or cast their eye over the trackless deserts of Africa, or the elevated plateaus of central Asia and America, or the Patagonian desert of shingle, or the grassy Llanos of Orinoco and Venezuela, or the endless forests of the Amazons. The phases of the material world are there altogether new. Even the European, whose horizon is a circle, and the shepherd of the Landes, who is elevated on stilts in order to watch his flocks, would stand aghast in the boundless desert of Sahara, which no foliage colours, and no moisture bedews; and the crystal or the chamois hunter of the Alps, who has paced the flanks of Mont Blanc, or the peasant who slumbers at its base, would view with mute admiration the peaks of Dwalaghiri or Pinchincha; while the naturalist, who had been amused with the eruptions of Vesuvius and of *Ætna*, would stand unnerved beside the outbursts of Catopaxi or Hirouæa.

Nor are these striking aspects of nature confined to the structure of the inorganic world; they are displayed to us with no inferior interest in the diversified phenomena of animal and of vegetable existence. Although organic life is universally distributed throughout the earth, the ocean, and the air, yet under different latitudes it exhibits very opposite aspects. The vital functions are nearly suspended in the gelid regions of the poles, where man is almost driven into hybernation like the brutes; while in the zones of the tropics we recognise the high pulse and the florid plethora of a rank and luxuriant existence. Within

the vessels that heat has expanded, the sap of life flows with a more genial current, and the noble forms of mammiferous life bound with a light and elastic step over the thick carpet of flowers which nature annually weaves under a tropical sun and a cloudless sky.

But it is not merely on the surface of the earth, and within the aqueous and aerial oceans which cover it, that nature displays her most interesting phases. Everything that we see around us—the soil and its productions—the jungle and its denizens—the ocean and its life, are all of modern origin. Man himself, as the representative of his race, is but an upstart in the chronicle of time. The primæval antiquities of our planet, and the records of its ancient life, lie buried in the crypts beneath us. Its history is engraven on walls of stone, in characters which long baffled his ingenuity; but the geologist and the naturalist have at last deciphered them. He whose power is infinite could have called the earth into being in the very instant which preceded the creation of man; but that power has been exercised through other agencies, and in conformity with material laws; and long cycles of years have thus been required to prepare the earth for the reception of beings intellectual and immortal. To read that history, to study these antiquities, and to contemplate with wonder and awe the subterranean aspects of nature, is a privilege which none who understand it will renounce, and a duty which none who enter upon it will decline.

The aspects of nature around us, and above us, and beneath us, while they are a never ending source of instruction and enjoyment, cannot fail to prepare the mind for nobler studies, and for higher destinies.

There is, doubtless, no living philosopher who could conduct us, with the same safety and interest as Baron Humboldt,* over these wonderful fields of the material world. With his own eye he has seen the grand phenomena which he records. He has trodden the deserts and the Llanos of the far west; he has climbed its volcanic cones, and breathed the vapours which they exhale; he has swept over its cataracts, and threaded its forests; and with the profound knowledge of a naturalist and a philosopher, he has described what he saw with all the precision of truth, and with all the eloquence of poetry.

In the work which we have placed at the head of this Article, its author "has sought to indicate the unfailing influence of external nature on the feelings, the moral dispositions, and the destinies of man," and viewing the "soothing influence of the contempla-

* See our reviews of his *Kosmos*, in No. vii., and of his *Researches in Central Asia*, in No. xi. of this work.

tion of nature, as peculiarly precious to those who are oppressed with the cares or the sorrows of life," he dedicates his work more especially to them, and invites them, while "escaping from the stormy waves of life," "to follow him in spirit to the recesses of the primæval forests, over the boundless surface of the steppe, and to the higher ridges of the Andes." Enjoying, "in his eightieth year, the satisfaction of completing a third edition of his work, and remoulding it entirely afresh, to meet the requirements of the present time," he "hopes that these volumes may tend to inspire and cherish a love for the study of nature, by bringing together, in a small space, the results of careful observation, on the most varied subjects, by showing the importance of exact numerical data, and the use to be made of them by well considered arrangement and comparison, and by opposing the dogmatic half-knowledge and arrogant scepticism, which have long too much prevailed in what are called the higher circles of society."*

In the *first* volume of his work, Baron Humboldt treats of the *steppes and deserts* of the earth—of the *cataracts of the Orinoco*, and of the *nocturnal life of animals in the primæval forests*; and in the *second*, he discusses the *physiognomy of plants*, describes the *structure and mode of action of volcanoes in different parts of the globe*, treats of the *vital force*, and concludes with a description of the *plateau of Caxamarca, the ancient capital of the Inca Atahualpa, and the first view of the Pacific Ocean from the crest of the Andes*. These different treatises, as we may call them, are concise and popular, for the perusal of the general reader, and are followed by copious annotations and additions, for the use of those who wish to investigate more profoundly and extensively the subjects to which they relate.

The widely extended, and apparently interminable plains, which have received the name of steppes, deserts, Llanos, pampas, prairies, and barrens, present themselves to the traveller under all the zones into which our globe has been divided; but in each they have a peculiar physiognomy, depending on diversity of soil, of climate, and of elevation above the sea. The heaths in the north of Europe, with their purple blossoms, rich in honey, extending from the point of Jutland to the mouth of the Scheldt, are regarded by our author as true steppes, though their extent is small, when compared with the Llanos or pampas of South America, or the prairies of the Missouri, or the barrens of the Coppermine river, on which the shaggy buffalo and the musk ox range in countless herds.†

* This observation is entirely inapplicable to the "higher circles of society" in England.

† The Indians sometimes kill from 600 to 700 buffaloes in a few days, by driving the wild herds into artificial enclosures.

The desert plains in the interior of Africa are parts of a sea of sand, separating fertile regions, or enclosing them like islands. On these desolate plains neither dew nor rain descends; and except in the Oases, to which malefactors were sent in the later times of the Cæsars, vegetable life is wholly extinct. Herds of antelopes, and swift-footed ostriches, roam through these vast regions; and though the verdant shores of the watered Oases are frequented by nomadic tribes, the African desert must be regarded as uninhabitable by man. Bordering nations cross it periodically, by routes which have been unchanged for thousands of years, and by the aid of the camel, *the ship of the desert*, the adventurous merchant is enabled to cross it from Tafilet to Timbuctoo, and from Moorzouk to Bornou. The extent of these vast plains, lying partly within, and partly in the vicinity, of the tropics, is three times as great as that of the Mediterranean Sea.

The most extensive, if not the loftiest steppes, on the surface of the globe, occur in the temperate zone, on the plateau of central Asia, which lies between the gold mountains of the Altai and the Kuenlun. They extend from the Chinese wall to beyond the celestial mountains, and towards the sea of Aral, through a length of many thousand miles. About thirty years after his journey to South America, our author visited an extent of 2800 miles of these Asiatic steppes. Sometimes hilly, and sometimes interrupted by dispersed groups of pine forests, they exhibit a far more varied vegetation than those of the new world. The finest parts of these plains, inhabited by pastoral tribes, are adorned with flowering herbaceous plants of great height; and while the traveller is driving in his Tartar carriage over their pathless surface, the thickly crowded plants bend before the wheels, and such is their height, that he is obliged to rise up and look around him, to see the direction in which to move. "Some of the Asiatic steppes are grassy plains; others are covered with succulent evergreen articulated soda plants; and many glisten from a distance with flakes of exuded salt, which cover the clayey soil, not unlike in appearance to fresh fallen snow."

Dividing the very ancient civilisation of Thibet and Hindostan from the rude nations of Northern Asia, these Mongolian and Tartarian steppes have in various ways exercised an important influence on the changeful destinies of man. "Compressing the population towards the South, they have tended, more than the Himalaya, or the snowy mountains of Sirinagur and Ghorka, to impede the intercourse of nations, and to place permanent limits to the extension of milder manners, and of artistic and intellectual cultivation in Northern Asia."

"But in the history of the past," says our author, "it is not alone

as an opposing barrier that we must regard the plains of central Asia. More than once they have proved the source from which devastation has spread over distant lands. The pastoral nations of these steppes—Moguls, Getæ, Alani, and Usuni—have shaken the world. As in the course of past ages, early intellectual culture has come, like the cheering light of the sun, from the East, so at a later period, from the same direction, barbaric rudeness has threatened to overspread and involve Europe in darkness. A brown pastoral race, of Tukiush or Turkish descent—the Hiongnu, dwelling in tents of skins, inhabited the elevated steppes of Gobi. Long terrible to the Chinese power, a part of this tribe was driven back into central Asia. The shock or impulse thus given passed from nation to nation, until it reached the ancient land of the Finns, near the Ural mountains. From thence Huns, Avari, Ghazares, and various admixtures of Asiatic races, broke forth. Armies of Huns appeared successively on the Volga, in Pannonia, on the Marne, and on the Po, desolating those fair and fertile fields, which, since the time of Antenor, civilized man had adorned with successive monuments. Thus went forth from Mongolian deserts a deadly blast, which withered, on Cisalpine ground, the tender, long cherished flower of art!”—Vol. i. p. 6.

The great steppe of South America displays itself to the traveller's eye when he looks southward, on quitting the mountain valleys of Caraccas. It occupies a space of 256,000 English square miles, stretching from the coast chain of the Caraccas to the forests of Guiana, and from the snowy mountains of Merida to the great Delta at the mouth of the Orinoco. To the south-west a branch is prolonged to the unvisited sources of the Guaviare, and the lonely mountains to which the excited fancy of the Spanish soldiery gave the name of Paramo de la Suma Paz—the seat of perfect peace. The Pampas of Buenos Ayres are of such extent “that while their northern margin is bordered by palm trees, their southern extremity is almost continually covered with ice. In these grassy plains, troops of dogs, descended from those introduced by the colonists, have become completely wild. They live socially, inhabiting subterranean hollows, in which they hide their young, and often attacking man with a bloodthirsty rage. When the society becomes too numerous, some families migrate and form new colonies.

The absence of human inhabitants from the South American steppes has given free scope for the development of the most varied forms of animal life; “a development limited only by their mutual pressure, and similar to that of vegetable life in the forests of the Orinoco, where the *Hymenæa* and the gigantic laurel are never exposed to the destructive hand of man, but only to the pressure of the luxuriant climbers which twine around their massive trunks. Agoutis, small spotted antelopes, cuirassed armadilloes, which, like rats, startle the hare in its subterra-

nean holes, herds of lazy chiguire, beautifully striped viverræ, which poison the air with their odour, the large maneless lion, spotted jaguars, (often called tigers,) strong enough to drag away a young bull after killing him;—these and many other forms of animal life wander through the treeless plains."

† "Thus, almost exclusively inhabited by these wild animals, the steppe would offer little attraction or means of subsistence to those nomadic native hordes, who, like the Asiatics of Hindostan, prefer vegetable nutriment, if it were not for the occasional presence of single individuals of the fan palm, the mauritia. The benefits of this life-supporting tree are widely celebrated; it alone, from the mouth of the Orinoco to north of the Sierra de Imataca, feeds the unsubdued natives of the Guaranis. When this people were more numerous, and lived in closer contiguity, not only did they support their huts on the cut trunks of palm trees as pillars, on which rested a scaffolding forming the floor, but they also, it is said, twined from the leaf-stalks of the mauritia cords and mats, which, skilfully interwoven and suspended from stem to stem, enabled them in the rainy season, when the Delta is overflowed, to live in the trees like the apes. The floor of these raised cottages is partly covered with a coating of damp clay, on which the women make fires for household purposes, the flames appearing at night from the river to be suspended high in air. The Guaranis still owe the preservation of their physical, and perhaps also their moral independence, to the half submerged marshy soil, over which they move with a light and rapid step, and to their elevated dwellings in the trees—a habitation never likely to be chosen from motives of religious enthusiasm by an American Stylites. But the mauritia affords to the Guaranis not merely a secure dwelling-place, but also various kinds of food. Before the flower of the rich palm tree breaks through its tender sheath, and only at that period of vegetable metamorphosis, the pith of the stem of the tree contains a meal resembling sago, which, like the farina of the jatropa root, is dried in thin breadlike slices. The fermented juice of the tree forms the sweet intoxicating palm wine of the Guaranis. The scaly fruits, which resemble in their appearance reddish fir cones, afford, like the plantain and almost all tropical fruits, a different kind of nutriment according as they are eaten, after their saccharine substance is fully developed, or in their earlier or more farinaceous state. Thus, in the lowest stage of man's intellectual development, we find the existence of an entire people bound up with that of a single tree, like the insect which lives exclusively on a single part of a particular flower."—Vol. i. pp. 15-17.

Since the discovery of America the Llanos have become habitable, and towns have been built here and there on the banks of the streams which water them. Huts formed of reeds bound by thongs, and covered with skins, have been placed at the distance of a day's journey from each other; and innumerable herds of oxen, horses, and mules, estimated at a million and a half thirty-

five years ago, roam over the plains, exposed to numberless dangers. Under a vertical and never clouded sun, the carbonized turf cracks and pulverizes, and when the dust and sand are raised by opposing winds in the electrically charged centre of the revolving current, they have the form of inverted cones like the waterspouts of the ocean.

"The lowering sky sheds a dim, almost straw-coloured light on the desolate plain. The horizon draws suddenly nearer; the Steppe seems to contract, and with it the heart of the wanderer. The hot, dusty particles which fill the air, increase its suffocating heat; and the east wind blowing over the long heated soil, brings with it no refreshment, but rather a still more burning glow. The pools, which the yellow fading branches of the fan palm had protected from evaporation, now gradually disappear. As in the icy north the animals become torpid with cold, so here, under the influence of the parching droughts, the crocodile and the boa become motionless, and fall asleep deeply buried in the dry mud. Everywhere the death-threatening drought prevails, and yet by the play of the refracted rays of light producing the phenomenon of the mirage, the thirsty traveller is everywhere pursued by the illusive image of a cool, rippling watery mirror. . . . Half-concealed by the dark clouds of dust, restless with the pain of thirst and hunger, the horses and cattle roam around, the cattle lowing dismally, and the horses stretching out their long necks and snuffing the wind, if haply a moister current may betray the neighbourhood of a not wholly dried up pool. More sagacious and cunning, the mule seeks a different mode of alleviating his thirst. The ribbed and spherical melon-cactus conceals under its prickly envelope a watery pith. The mule first strikes the prickles aside with his forefeet, and then ventures warily to approach his lips to the plant, and drink the cool juice. But resort to this vegetable fountain is not always without danger, and one sees many animals that have been lamed by the prickles of the cactus. When the heat of the burning day is followed by the coolness of the night, even then the horses and cattle cannot enjoy repose. Enormous bats suck their blood like vampires during their sleep, or attach themselves to their backs, causing festering wounds, in which mosquitoes, hippoboscies, and a host of stinging insects niche themselves. —Vol. i. pp. 17, 18.

When the rainy season arrives, the aspect of the Llano is entirely changed. Sweet odours are exhaled from its previously barren surface. Grasses in great variety spring up around; the mimosas unfold their drooping leaves, and the water plants open their blossoms to the sun. Mud volcanoes burst out from the moistened clay, and a gigantic water-snake or crocodile often issues from the spot. In describing the phenomena of the rainy season, our author has introduced some very brief notices of the attacks made upon brood mares and their foals in the swollen streams, and of the battles which take place between the electri-

cal eels and the wild horses; but as we have already given a full account of these and other interesting phenomena in a review of his *Kosmos*, we must refer our readers to that article. Cruel though they be, we read with pleasure the details of battles, when Nature has supplied the combatants with the weapons of destruction, and with the ferocious instinct to use them; but we turn with pain from those scenes of blood, in which man is the hero and the victim.

“As in the Steppes tigers and crocodiles fight with horses and cattle, so in the forests on its borders, in the wildernesses of Guiana, man is ever armed against man. Some tribes drink with unnatural thirst the blood of their enemies; others apparently weaponless, and yet prepared for murder, kill with a poisoned thumb-nail. The weaker hordes, when they have to pass along the sandy margins of the rivers, carefully efface with their hands the traces of their timid footsteps. Thus man in the lowest stage of almost animal rudeness, as well as amidst the apparent brilliancy of our higher cultivation, prepares for himself and his fellow-men increased toil and danger. The traveller wandering over the wide globe by sea and land, as well as the historic inquirer searching the records of past ages, finds everywhere the uniform and saddening spectacle of man at variance with man. He therefore, who amid the unreconciled discord of nations seeks for intellectual calm, gladly turns to contemplate the silent life of vegetation, and the hidden activity of forces and powers operating in the sanctuaries of Nature, or obedient to the inborn impulse which for thousands of years has glowed in the human breast, gazes upwards in meditative contemplation on those celestial orbs which are ever pursuing in undisturbed harmony their ancient and unchanging course.”—Pp. 25, 26.

In his section on the Cataracts of Orinoco, Baron Humboldt proposes to describe “in particular two scenes of nature in the wilderness of Guiana,—the celebrated cataracts of the Orinoco, the Atures and Maypures,” which few Europeans had seen previous to his visit. At the mouth of the Orinoco, where its milk-white waters bedim the bright blue of the Atlantic, its width is less than that of the River Plate or the Amazons. Its length is only 1120 geographical miles; but at the distance of 560 miles from its mouth, its breadth, when full, is 17,265 English feet, or nearly 3½ miles; and the height to which it here rises above its lowest level is from 30 to 36 feet. After pursuing a westerly and then a northerly course, it runs again to the east, so that its mouth is nearly in the same meridian as its source! Near the mouths of the Sodomoni and the Guapo stands the grand and picturesque mountain of Duida, and among the cocoa groves to the east of it are found trees of the *Bertholletia excelsa*, the most vigorous and gigantic of the productions of the tropical

world. From this region the Indians obtain the materials for the long blow-pipes out of which they discharge their arrows. The plant, from which they obtain tubes above 18 feet long, from knot to knot, is a grass, a species of the *arundinaria*, which grows to the height of 30 or 40 feet, though its thickness is scarcely half an inch in diameter.

Between the third and fourth degrees of latitude Humboldt observed in the Atabapo, the Temi, the Tuamini, and the Guainia, the "enigmatical phenomenon of the so-called *black-water*." The colour of these rivers is a coffee-brown, which, in the shade of the palm groves, passes into *ink-black*, though in transparent vessels the water has a golden yellow colour. This black colour of the water is ascribed by our author to its holding in solution carburetted hydrogen, "to the luxuriance of the tropical vegetation, and to the quantity of plants and herbs upon the ground over which the rivers flow." The *ink-blackness* mentioned by Humboldt, arises, as he states, from the groves of palm when reflected from the aqueous surface, a phenomenon which we have frequently seen even under a more remarkable aspect in the lakes which exist in the Grampian range near the banks of the Spey. When these lakes seen from above, reflect from their unruffled surface only the purple flanks of the hills covered with heath or with pine, the light which reaches the eye is exceedingly faint, and almost inappreciable, not only from the darkness of its tint, but from the smallness of its angle of incidence upon the reflecting surface. Under these circumstances, the lake literally is as black as *ink*; but if the slightest breeze forms a ripple on a portion of its surface, the inclined faces of the tiny waves reflect the light of the sky or of the clouds, and the portion of the lake thus disturbed has the appearance of *milk*, so that the sheet of water seems to be formed of ink and of milk in immiscible proximity. The slight coffee-brown colour of some of our own streams is obviously occasioned by the peaty soil over which they flow.

The phenomenon exhibited on the banks of this remarkable river (the Orinoco) cannot fail to command the admiration of the traveller. Near the mouth of the Guaviare and Atabapo grows the noblest of the palms, "the Piriguao," whose smooth and polished trunk, about 65 feet high, is adorned with the most delicate flag-like foliage, and bears large and beautiful fruit like peaches, which when prepared in a variety of ways, affords a nutritious and farinaceous food to the natives. At the junction of the Meta, there rises from the middle of a mighty whirlpool an isolated cliff, called the *Rock of Patience*, as voyagers sometimes require two days to pass it; and opposite the Indian mission of Carichano, the eye of the traveller is rivetted on an abrupt rock, El Mogote de Cocuyza, a cube with vertically precipitous sides, above 200

feet high, and carrying on its surface forests of trees of rich and varied foliage. Like a Cyclopean monument in its simple grandeur, this central mass rises high above the tops of the surrounding palms, marking the deep azure of the sky, with its sharp and rugged outlines, and uplifting "its summit high in air, a forest above the forest." In the lower parts of the river near the sea, great natural rafts, consisting of trees torn from the banks by the swelling of the river, are encountered by the boatmen, whose canoes are often wrecked by striking against them in the dark. These rafts, which are covered like meadows with flowering water plants, remind the traveller of the floating gardens of the Mexican lakes.

As the Orinoco imparts a black colour to the reddish white granite which it has washed for a thousand years, the existence of similar black hollows at heights of nearly 200 feet above the present bed of the river, indicates the fact, "that the streams whose magnitude now excites our astonishment, are only the feeble remains of the immense masses of water that belonged to an earlier age of the world." The very natives of Guiana called the attention of our author to the traces of the former height of the waters. On a grassy plain, near Uruana, stands an isolated granite rock, upon which are engraven, at a height of more than 80 feet, figures of the Sun and Moon, and of many animals, particularly crocodiles and boas, arranged almost in rows or lines. The natives believe that these figures were carved when their fathers' boats were only a little lower than the drawings.

The cataracts, or Raudal of Maypures, are not, like the falls of Niagara, formed by the descent of a mass of water through a great height, nor are they narrow gorges through which the river rushes with accelerated velocity. They consist of a countless number of little cascades, succeeding each other like steps, sometimes extending across the entire bed of the river, and sometimes, in a river 8500 feet wide, leaving only an open channel of twenty feet. When the steps are but two or three feet high, the natives can descend the falls remaining in the canoe. When the steps are high, and stretch across the stream, the boat is landed and dragged along the bank by branches of trees placed under it as rollers.

In descending from the village of Maypures to the Rock of Manimi in the bed of the river, a wonderful prospect opens to the traveller's view,—

"A foaming surface, four miles in length, presents itself at once to the eye. Iron-black masses of rocks, resembling ruins and battle-mented towers, rise frowning from the waters. Rocks and islands are adorned with the luxuriant vegetation of the tropical forest; a perpetual mist hovers over the waters, and the summits of the lofty

palms pierce through the cloud of spray and vapour. When the rays of the glowing evening sun are refracted in these humid exhalations, a magic optical effect begins. Coloured bows shine, vanish, and reappear; and the ethereal image is swayed to and fro by the breath of the sportive breeze. During the long rainy season the streaming waters bring down islands of vegetable mould, and thus the naked rocks are studded with bright flower-beds, adorned with melastomas and droseras, and with small silver-leaved mimosas and ferns. These spots recall to the recollection of the European those blocks of granite decked with flowers which rise solitary amid the glaciers of Savoy, and are called by the dwellers in the Alps "jardins" or "courtils." In the blue distance the eye rests on the mountain chain of Cunavami, a long extended ridge, which terminates abruptly in a truncated cone. We saw the latter glowing at sunset as if in roseate flames. This appearance returns daily. No one has ever been near the mountain to detect the precise cause of this brightness, which may perhaps proceed from a reflecting surface produced by the decomposition of talc or mica slate."—Vol. i. pp. 224, 225.

The Raudal of Atures is, like that of Maypures, a cluster of islands, between which the river forces its way for ten or twelve thousand yards, a forest of palms rising from the middle of its foaming waters. Near the southern entrance of this cataract, and on the right bank of the river, stands the celebrated *Cave of Ataruipe*. It consists of a cavity or vaulted roof, formed by "a far overhanging cliff," and is the vault or cemetery of an extinct nation:—

"We counted," says our author, "about 600 well preserved skeletons, placed in as many baskets, woven from the stalks of palm leaves. These baskets, which the Indians call *mapires*, are shaped like square sacks, differing in size according to the age of the deceased. Even new-born children had each its own *mapire*. The skeletons are so perfect, that not a bone or a joint is wanting. The bones had been prepared in three different ways; some bleached, some coloured red with onoto, the pigment of the *bixa orellana*, and some like mummies, closely enveloped in sweet-smelling resin and plantain leaves. The Indians assured us that the custom had been to bury the fresh corpses for some months in damp earth, which gradually consumed the flesh; they were then dug up, and any remaining flesh scraped away with sharp stones. This the Indians said was still the practice of several tribes in Guiana. Besides the *mapires* or baskets we found urns of half-burnt clay, which appeared to contain the bones of entire families. The larger of these urns were about three feet high, and nearly six feet long, of a pleasing oval form, and greenish colour, having handles shaped like snakes and crocodiles, and meandering or labyrinthine ornaments round the upper margin. These ornaments are quite similar to those which cover the walls of the Mexican palace at Mitla. They are found in all countries and climates, and in the most different stages of human cultivation—among the Greeks and Romans,

as well as on the shields of some of the natives at Tahiti and other islands of the South Sea—wherever the eye is gratified by the rhythmical recurrence of regular forms. . . . Our interpreters could give us no certain information as to the age of these vessels; that of the skeletons appeared for the most part not to exceed a century. It is reported among the Guareca Indians, that the brave Atures being pressed upon by the cannibal Caribs, withdrew to the rocks of the cataracts—a melancholy refuge and dwelling-place, in which the distressed tribe finally perished, and with them their language. In the most inaccessible parts of the Raudal there are cavities and recesses which have served, like the Cave of Atarupe, as burying-places. It is even probable that the last family of the Atures may not have been long deceased; for (a singular fact) there is still in Maypures an old parrot, of whom the natives affirm that he is not understood because he speaks the Ature language.”—Vol. i. pp. 229, 230.

Leaving this interesting cave at nightfall, and carrying along with him several skulls, and an entire skeleton, our author could not avoid tracing a melancholy contrast between the extinct race, whose mouldering relics he bore, with the ever new life which springs from the bosom of the earth :—

“ Countless insects poured their red phosphoric light on the herb-covered ground, which glowed with living fire, as if the starry canopy of heaven had sunk down upon the turf. Climbing bignonias, fragrant vanillas, and yellow flowering banisterias adorned the entrance of the cave, and the summits of the palms rustled above the graves. Thus perish the generations of men! Thus do the name and the traces of nations fade and disappear! Yet when one blossom of man’s intellect withers—when in the storms of time the memorials of his art moulder and decay—an ever new life springs forth from the bosom of the earth; maternal nature unfolds unceasingly her germs, her flowers, and her fruits; regardless though man, with his passions and his crimes, treads under foot her ripening harvests.”—Vol. i. p. 231.

The third aspect of nature to which Baron Humboldt directs our attention is the *Nocturnal Life of Animals in the Primæval Forest*. The wooded region which lies between 8° of north and 19° of south latitude is one connected forest, having an area twelve times greater than that of Germany. This vast surface is watered by systems of rivers, whose tributaries sometimes exceed in the abundance of their waters the Rhine or the Danube; and it is to the combination of great moisture with a tropical heat that these forests owe the luxuriant growth of their trees. So rank indeed is their vegetation, that particular parts of the forest are impenetrable; and the large American tigers, or panther-like jaguars, often lose themselves in their dense and impenetrable recesses. Being thus unable to hunt on the ground,

they actually live on the trees, and become the terror of the families of monkeys, and of the prehensile-tailed viverræ.

On the sandy bank of the Rio Apure, closely bordering upon the impenetrable forest, our author and his party bivouacked, as usual, under the open sky, surrounded by fires to keep off the prowling jaguars. Their hammocks were suspended on the oars of their boat, driven vertically into the ground, and the deep stillness which prevailed was broken only from time to time by the blowing of the fresh-water dolphins. Soon after eleven o'clock, however, such a disturbance began to be heard in the adjoining forest that sleep became impossible during the rest of the night.

"The wild cries of animals appeared to rage throughout the forest. Among the many voices which resounded together, the Indians could only recognise those which, after short pauses in the general uproar, were first heard singly. There was the monotonous howling of the alouates, (the howling monkeys,) the plaintive, soft, and almost flute-like tones of the small sapajous, the snarling grumbings of the striped nocturnal monkey, (the *nictipithicus trivirgatus*, which I was the first to describe,) the interrupted cries of the great tiger, the cuguar, or maneless American lion, the peccary, the sloth, and a host of parrots, parraquas, and other pheasant-like birds. When the tigers came near the edge of the forest, our dog, which had before barked incessantly, came howling to seek refuge under our hammocks. Sometimes the cry of the tiger was heard to proceed from amidst the high branches of a tree, and was then always accompanied by the plaintive piping of the monkeys who were seeking to escape from the unwonted pursuit. If we ask the Indians why this incessant noise and disturbance takes place on particular nights, they answer with a smile, that 'the animals are rejoicing in the bright moonlight, and keeping the feast of the full moon.' To me it appeared that the scene had originated in some accidental combat, that the disturbance had spread to other animals, and that the noise was thus more and more increased. The jaguar pursues the peccaries and tapirs, and these pressing against each other in their flight break through the interwoven tree-like shrubs which impede their escape; the apes on the tops of the trees, frightened by the crash, join their cries to those of the larger animals; the tribes of birds who build their nests in communities are aroused, and thus the whole animal world is thrown into a state of commotion. Longer experience taught us that it is not always the celebration of the brightness of the moon which breaks the repose of the woods. We witnessed the same occurrence repeatedly, and found that the voices were loudest during violent falls of rain, or when the flashing lightning, accompanied with loud peals of thunder, illuminated the deep recesses of the forest."—Vol. i. pp. 270, 271.

Scenes like these form a striking contrast with the death-like stillness which prevails within the tropics "during the noontide hours of a day of more than usual heat." At the remarkable

"Narrows" of Baraguan, where the Orinoco forces itself through a pass 5690 feet wide, our author had occasion to spend a day, when the thermometer in the shade was so high as 122° of Fahrenheit. There was not a breath of air to stir the fine dust-like sand, and under the influence of the mirage the outlines of every distant object had wave-like undulations.

"The sun was in the Zenith, and the flood of light which he poured down upon the river, and which flashed sparkling back, owing to a slight rippling movement of the waters, rendered still more sensible the red haze which veiled the distance. All the naked rocks and boulders around were covered with a countless number of large thick scaled iguanas, gecko-lizards, and variously spotted salamanders. Motionless, with uplifted heads and open mouths, they appeared to inhale the burning air with ecstasy. At such times the larger animals seek shelter in the recesses of the forest, and the birds hide themselves under the thick foliage of the trees, or in the clefts of the rocks; but if under this apparent entire stillness of nature we listen for the faintest tones which an attentive ear can seize, we shall perceive an all-pervading rustling sound, a humming and fluttering of insects close to the ground and in the lower strata of the atmosphere. Everything announces a world of organic activity and life. In every bush—in the cracked bark of the trees—in the earth, undermined by hymenopterous insects, life stirs audibly. It is, as it were, one of the many voices of nature, heard only by the sensitive and reverent ear of her true votaries."—Vol. i. p. 272.

The second volume of the "Aspects of Nature" commences with an instructive section "On the Physiognomy of Plants," which our author prefaces with some highly interesting observations on the universal profusion with which life is everywhere distributed. The information which is here conveyed to us has a high value at all times, but a very peculiar one at present, when a great degree of probability attaches to the opinion that organic atoms floating in our atmosphere are the cause of that dreadful pestilence which is now ravaging our land. In the dense and lower strata of our atmosphere we are accustomed to observe the general prevalence of life, and travellers inform us that even on the Polar ice the air is resonant with the cries and songs of birds and with the hum of insect life. In the upper and more ethereal regions, 18,000 feet above the sea, Humboldt and Bonpland found butterflies and other winged insects, which were involuntarily carried upwards by ascending currents of air; and the same creatures are carried by storms from the land to great distances at sea. M. Boussingault, when ascending the Silla of Caraccas, saw whitish shining bodies rise from the valley to the summit of the Silla, 5755 feet high, and then sink down to the neighbouring sea-coast. This phenomenon continued for an hour, and

the white bodies, though considered at first to have been small birds, turned out to be agglomerations of straws or blades of grass, belonging to the genus *vilfa tenacissima*, which abounds in the Caraccas and Cumana. Creatures still more wonderful are detected in the atmosphere by the aid of the microscope—minute animalculæ, (the *rotiferæ* and *Brachionæ*,) motionless and apparently dead, lifted up by the winds in multitudes from the surface of evaporating waters, and carried about by atmospheric currents till the descending dews restore them to the earth, “dissolving the film or envelope which incloses their transparent rotating bodies, and probably by means of the oxygen which all water contains, breathing new irritability into their dormant organs.”*

The celebrated Prussian naturalist, M. Ehrenberg, has discovered, by microscopic observations, that the dust or yellow sand which falls like rain on the Atlantic, near the Cape de Verde Islands, and is sometimes transported to Italy, and even the middle of Europe, consists of a multitude of silicious shelled microscopic animals. “*Perhaps*,” says Humboldt, “*many of them float for years in the upper strata of the atmosphere, until they are brought down by vertical currents, or in accompaniment with the superior current of the trade-winds, still susceptible of revivification, and multiplying their species by spontaneous division, in conformity with the particular laws of their organization.*”

“But besides creatures fully formed,” continues Humboldt, “the atmosphere contains innumerable germs of future life, such as the eggs of insects and the seeds of plants; the latter provided with light hairy and feathery appendages, by means of which they are wafted through the air during long autumnal wanderings. Even the fertilizing dust or pollen from the anthers of the male flowers, in spaces in which the sexes are separated, is carried over land and sea by winds and by the agency of winged insects to the solitary female plant on other shores. Thus, wherever the glance of the inquirer into nature penetrates, he sees the continual dissemination of life either fully formed or in the germ. . . . We do not yet know where life is most abundant,—whether on continents or in the unfathomed depths of the ocean. Through the excellent work of Ehrenberg, we have seen the sphere of organic life

* By means of a drop of water Fontana revived a rotifera which had been two years dried and motionless. Baker resuscitated paste eels which Needham had given him in 1744. Doyere has recently shown by experiment that rotiferæ come to life, or pass from a motionless state to a state of motion, after having been exposed to temperatures of from 11° to 113° of Fahr. Payen has shown that the sporules of a minute fungus, (*oidium aurantiacum*,) which deposits a ruddy feathery coating on a crumb of bread, are not deprived of their power of germination by an exposure of half an hour to a temperature of from 183° to 207° of Fahr., before being strewed on fresh and perfectly unspoiled dough.

extend, and its horizon widen before our eyes, both in the tropical parts of the ocean, and in the fixed or floating masses of ice of the Antarctic seas. Silicious shelled polygastrica, and even coccinodiscæ with their green ovaries, have been found alive enveloped in masses of ice only 12 degrees from the Pole; the small black glacier flea and Podurellæ inhabit the narrow tubular holes examined by Agassiz, in the Swiss glaciers. Ehrenberg has shewn that on several microscopic infusoria others live as parasites; and that in the Gallionellæ, such is their prodigious power of development, or capability of division, *that in the space of four days an animalcule invisible to the naked eye, can form two cubic feet of the Bilin polishing slate!* In the sea, gelatinous worms, living or dead, shine like stars, and by their phosphoric light change the surface of the wide ocean into a sea of fire. Ineffaceable is the impression made on my mind by the calm nights of the torrid zone on the waters of the Pacific. I still see the dark azure of the firmament, the constellation of the ship near the zenith, and that of the cross declining towards the horizon, shedding through the perfumed air their soft and planetary lustre; while bright furrows of flashing light marked the track of the dolphins through the midst of the foaming waves. Not only the ocean but also the waters of our marshes hide from us an innumerable multitude of strange forms. The naked eye can with difficulty distinguish the Cyclidias, the Euglenes, and the host of Naiads, divisible by branches like the Lemna or Duckweed, of which they seek the shade. Other creatures inhabit receptacles where the light cannot penetrate, and an atmosphere variously composed, but differing from that which we breathe: such are the spotted ascaris which lives beneath the skin of the earthworm, the Leucoptera, of a bright silvery colour, in the interior of the shore Naiad, and a Pentastoma which inhabits the large pulmonary cells of the rattlesnake of the tropics. There are animalculæ in the blood of frogs and of salmon; and even, according to Nordmann, in the fluids of the eyes of fishes, and in the gills of the bleak.”—Vol. ii. pp. 5-7.

It is impossible to peruse this interesting extract without noticing its connexion with the remarkable discovery recently made by Dr. Brittan, that in the discharges from cholera patients there are found minute cellular bodies, having the aspect and character of fungi; that the same bodies exist in the air and water of infected districts; and that they are never found in persons or places where the pestilence does not prevail. These bodies vary from the five hundredth to the ten thousandth of an inch in diameter; the smallest occurring in the air, the larger in the vomit, and the largest in the dejections of the patient. Admitting what yet requires a more extensive induction to prove it, that these bodies are always found in cholera localities and never elsewhere, it still remains to be proved that they are the cause of cholera. Various facts, however, have been long known, which render such an opinion highly probable. The

Ergot, the *Spermoedia Clavus*,* for example, a fungus which is found abundantly in rye, is a poison which exercises a peculiar action in contracting the uterus. When it composes a considerable portion of rye bread, it produces one of the most terrific diseases to which man is subject. The ergot is produced within the seeds of various grasses, such as *Secale Agrostis*, *Dactylis*, *Festuca*, *Elymus*, &c. ; and is rather supposed to be a diseased condition of the grasses than a distinct fungus. But however this may be, its effects upon the human frame are terrible. Nausea and vomiting are followed by numbness in the extremities, which, after being wasted with excruciating pains, eventually fall off at the joints, withering and becoming black and hard as if they were charred. This disease, called the Dry Gangrene, has been at different periods epidemic in Sologne, a tract of wet clayey land lying between the Loire and Cher. The fingers, or toes, or feet, or legs, or even the thighs, drop off at the joints. According to Duhamel, it destroyed nineteen out of twenty of the persons infected ; and, strange to say, the sufferer in one case survived, though his thighs fell off at the hips ! But it is not merely in rye that this poison is generated. When wheat, rice, or any other grain is prematurely cut down, or has become mouldy or musty from age, or from the place where it has been stored ;—or when it has been mixed with the seeds of poisonous plants, such as the *Raphanus Raphanistrum*, and the *Lolium temulentum*, the most excruciating diseases have been occasioned by its use.

But the most remarkable case on record of the frightful effects of damaged grain, poisoned no doubt by some deleterious fungus, is recorded in the Philosophical Transactions, for 1762,† by Dr. Charlton Wollaston, and by the Reverend Mr. Bones, minister of the parish. John Downing, a poor labouring man, who lived at Wattisham, near Stowmarket, in Suffolk, had fed his family, a wife and six children, on what is called clog wheat, or *laid* wheat, which had been gathered and thrashed separately. The pickle was *discoloured*, and smaller than that of the sound wheat. On Sunday morning, the 10th of January, the eldest girl complained of a violent pain in the calf of her left leg. In the evening, another girl felt the same pain. On Monday, the mother and another child ; and on Tuesday, all the rest, except the father, were similarly affected. The sufferers shrieked with pain. In a few days the legs turned black and mortified. The mortified parts separated from the sound part, in most of them, two inches below the knee ; in some lower, and in one child, at

* The *Sphacelia segetum* of Klotzsch, and the *Farinaria Poæ* of Sowerby. It is called Ergot, from its resemblance to a cock's spur.

† Vol. lii. Part ii. pp. 523, 524.

the ankle. Three lost both legs; and one child both feet. The following was the state of their legs on the 13th April:—

“ Mary, the mother, aged 40, the right foot off at the ankle; the left leg mortified; a mere bone, but not off.

“ Mary, aged 15, one leg off below the knee; the other perfectly sphacelated, but not yet off.

“ Elizabeth, aged 13, both legs off below the knees.

“ Sarah, aged 10, one foot off at the ankle.

“ Robert, aged 8, both legs off below the knees.

“ Edward, aged 4, both feet off at the ankle.

“ An infant, four months old, dead.

“ The father was attacked about a fortnight after the rest of the family, and in a slighter degree, the pain being confined to the two fingers of his right hand, which turned blackish, and were withered for some time, but are now better; and he has in some degree recovered the use of them.”

During this calamity, the family were in other respects in good health. They ate heartily, and slept well, and were free from fever. “ One poor boy in particular looked as healthy and florid as possible; and was sitting on the bed quite jolly, drumming with his stumps !”

“ I have always been used,” says Dr. Wollaston, in concluding his extraordinary narrative, “ to read Lucan’s description of the effects of the bite of the little serpent *Seps* as fabulous, or at least greatly exaggerated. But I have now been an eye-witness to almost the whole scene of horror so finely painted in the following lines :—

‘ *Plagæ proxima circum*

Fugit rapta cutis, pallentiaque ossa retexit :

Membra notant sanie : Suræ fluxere : sine ullo

Tegmine poples erat : femorum quoque musculus omnis

Liquitur, et nigra distillant inguina tabe.’

Phars., Lib. ix. v. 767.”

An effect equally strange has been observed in America, on men and animals when fed on maize that has been overrun with parasitic fungi. Deer, dogs, apes, and parrots were intoxicated by it. Fowls laid eggs without shells. Swine cast their bristles, while in man it occasioned only baldness and loosening of the teeth.

In the passage which we have quoted from Humboldt, we see the process by which deleterious elements of a microscopic kind, and even those of a large size, are raised in the atmosphere and distributed over the globe by currents in the lower and upper regions of the air;—but these and other elements equally deleterious may be lifted up or even torn from the surface of the earth, by processes not generally referred to. When electricity passes from one body to another, it carries off the matter of the first

body in an extreme state of subdivision, and deposits it upon the other ;—and when, in the ascending stroke, lightning passes from the earth into the atmosphere, it carries up into the air the imponderable elements of the metalliferous rocks and ground from which it issued. Iron, sulphur, and carbon, have been actually transported by lightning, and deposited on the surfaces which were struck by it ; and when we consider the prevalence of electricity at every season and in every clime, and its constant transmission from the crust of the earth into the superincumbent atmosphere, we can see no difficulty in understanding how the elements of all metallic bodies may be diffused through the air, and distributed, according to laws of which we know nothing, by the magnetic or other currents which surround the earth. Inorganic matter, too, in a minute state of subdivision, is thrown off from the hardest bodies by friction, by change of temperature, and by ordinary combustion, as well as in volcanic action, so that there are powerful causes constantly at work, the tendency of which is to pollute the air we breathe, and the water we drink, with ingredients that when accumulated and combined by particular causes, may prove injurious to health, and be destructive of animal and vegetable life.

Although the characteristic physiognomy of different parts of the earth's surface depends on a great variety of external phenomena, yet our author is justly of opinion that the principal impression made upon the traveller is by the magnitude and constant presence of vegetable forms. Animals from their smaller size, and their repeated absence from the eye, form but a small part of a landscape, while trees from their greater size, and their occurrence in extended groups, fill the eye with a living mass of vegetation. Their great age, too, combined with their magnitude, influences the imagination, and gives them a monumental character, equally interesting to the antiquarian and the naturalist. The colossal Dragon tree at Oratava, in Teneriffe, is 79 feet round at its root, and 48 as measured by Humboldt farther up. Mass is reported to have been said at a small altar erected in its hollow trunk, in the 15th century. Trees, 32 feet in diameter, have been observed at the mouth of the Senegal river ; and Golberry found in the valley of the two Gaguacks, trunks which were 32 English feet in diameter near the roots, with a height of only 64 feet. Adanson and Perottet assign an age from 5150 to 6000 years to the *Adansonia* which they measured, but calculations made from the number of annual rings, give shorter periods. According to Decandolle, the yew (*Taxus baccata*) of Braborne, in Kent, is 3000 years old ; the Scotch yew of Fortingal, from 2500 to 2600 years ; those of Crowhurst, in Surrey, 1450 years old, and those of Ripon, in Yorkshire, 1200. Endlicken observes, that a yew tree in the churchyard

of Grasford, in North Wales, which is 52 feet in circuit below the branches, is 1400 years old, and that another in Derbyshire, has the age of 2096 years. In Lithuania lime trees have been cut down with 815 annual rings, and 87 feet in circuit, and Humboldt states that in the southern temperate zone, some species of *Eucalyptus* attain the enormous height of 245 feet. The largest oak tree in Europe is near Saintes, in Lower Charente. It is 64 feet high, $29\frac{1}{2}$ in circuit near the ground, and 23 feet five feet higher up. "In the dead part of the trunk, a little chamber has been arranged, from 10 feet 8 inches to 12 feet 9 inches wide, and 9 feet 8 inches high, with a semicircular bench cut out of the fresh wood. A window gives light to the interior, so that the sides of the chamber, which is closed with a door, are clothed with ferns and lichens, giving it a pleasing appearance. Judging by the size of a small piece of wood which has been cut out above the door, and in which the marks of 200 annular rings have been counted, the oak of Saintes would be between 1800 and 2000 years old."

It has been found from ancient and trustworthy documents of the 11th century, that the root of the wild rose tree at the crypt of the Cathedral of Hildesheim, is 1000 years old, and its stem 800. After the cathedral had been burnt down, Bishop Hezilo inclosed the roots of this rose tree in a vault which still exists, and he trained the branches of it upon the walls of the crypt built above the vault, and reconsecrated in 1061. The stem, which is now living, is $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and 2 inches thick. The most remarkable example of vegetable development is exhibited in the *Fucus gigantea*, a submarine plant, which attains a length of from 400 to 430 feet, surpassing the loftiest coniferæ, such as the *Sequoia gigantea*, and the *Taxodium sempervirens*.

The aspect or physiognomy of Nature is, according to Humboldt, determined by about sixteen or nineteen different forms of vegetation, of which he proceeds to give very interesting descriptions from observations made during his travels both in the New and Old continents, in regions between the 60th degree of north, and the 10th degree of south latitude. These forms, which decrease and increase from the Equator to the Poles, according to fixed laws, he thus enumerates:—

Palms.	Orchideæ.	Gramineæ.
Plantains or Bananas.	Casuarinæ.	Ferns.
Malvaceæ and Bombaceæ.	Needle Trees.	Liliaceæ.
Mimosæ.	Pothos and Aroidiæ.	Willow Form.
Ericæ or Heath form.	Lianes or Twining Rope	Myrtaceæ.
Cactus form.	Plants.	Melastomaceæ.
	Aloe form.	Laurel Form.

The *Palms* have been universally regarded as the loftiest, no-

blest, and most beautiful of all vegetable forms. Their gigantic, slender, ringed, and occasionally prickly stems, sometimes 192 feet high, terminate in an aspiring and shining foliage, either fan-like or pinnated, with leaves frequently curled like some of the grasses. In receding from the Equator they diminish in height and beauty. The true climate of palms is under a mean annual temperature of from 78° to $81\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. The date variety lives, but does not thrive, in a mean temperature of from 59° to $62\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. In some species of the flower, sheath opens suddenly with an audible sound.

The *Palms* are everywhere accompanied by *Plantains* or *Bananas*, groves of which form the ornaments of moist localities in the regions of the Equator. Their stems are low, succulent, and almost herbaceous, and are surmounted by long and bright green silky leaves, of a texture thin and loose. Noble and beautiful in shape, they adorn the habitation of man, while they form the principal article of his subsistence under the torrid zone.

The *Malvaceæ* and *Bombaceæ* have trunks enormously thick; —leaves large, soft, and woolly, and superb flowers often of a purple or crimson colour. The Buobab, or monkey bread tree, belongs to this group. It is 32 feet in diameter, but moderately high, and it is probably the largest and most ancient organic monument on our planet. The Mexican hand tree (*cheiroteinus platanoides*) with its long curved anthers projecting beyond the fine purple blossom, causing it to resemble a hand or claw, belongs to this group. Throughout the Mexican States, this one highly ancient tree is the only existing individual of this extraordinary race, and is supposed to be a stranger planted about five centuries ago by the kings of Toluca.

The *Mimosæ*, including the acacia, *desmanthus*, *gleditschia*, *porleria*, *tamarindus*, &c., are never found in the temperate zone of the Old World, though they occur in the United States. They frequently exhibit that umbrella-like arrangement of the branches which is seen in the Italian stone-pine. The deep blue of the tropic sky seen through their finely divided foliage, has an extremely picturesque effect. The irritability of the African sensitive plant, is mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny. The most excitable is the *Mimosa pudica*, and next to it the *Doriniens*, the *somniens* and the *somniculosa*.

The *Ericaceæ* or *Heaths* appear to be limited to only one side of our planet, covering large tracts from the plains of Germany, France, and Britain, to the extremity of Norway. They adorn Italy, and are luxuriant on the declivity of the Peak of Teneriffe; but the most varied assemblage of species occurs in the south of Africa. They are entirely wanting in Australia, and of the 300 known species, only one has been discovered across the whole of America, from Pennsylvania and Labrador to Nootka and Alashka.

The *Cactus* form is almost wholly American, and Humboldt observes, that "there is hardly any thing in vegetable physiognomy which makes so singular and ineffaceable an impression on a newly arrived person as the sight of an arid plain thickly covered like those of Cremona, New Barcelona, with columnar and candelabra-like elevated cactus stems." The forms of the cactus are sometimes spherical, sometimes pointed, and sometimes they are shaped like tall polygonal columns, resembling the pipes of an organ. In the arid plains of South America, the melon cactus supplies a refreshing juice to the animal tribes, though the plant is half-buried in the sand, and encased with prickles. The columnar cactus carries its stems to the height of 30 or 32 feet, dividing into candelabra-like branches like the African Euphorbias. The cactus wood is incorruptible, and well fitted for oars.

The *Orchideæ* are remarkable for their bright green succulent leaves, and for the colours and shape of their flowers, sometimes resembling insects, and sometimes birds. The taste for this superbly flowering group of plants became so general, that the brothers Loddiges had in 1848 cultivated 2360 species, and at the end of 1848, Klotzsch reckoned the number of species to be 3545.

The *Casuarineæ* form, leafless and gloomy, with their string-like branches, embrace trees with branches, like the stalks of an equisetaceous plant. It occurs only in India and in the Pacific.

The *Needle Trees*, or *Coniferæ*, including pines, thuias, and cypresses, are rare in the tropics, and inhabit chiefly the regions of the north. There are 312 species of coniferæ now living, and 178 fossil species found in the coal measures, the bunter sandstone, the Keupfer, and the Jurassic formations. Of the 114 species of the genus *Pinus* which are at present known, not one belongs to the southern hemisphere. The following are the heights of some of the plants of this tree :—

<i>Pinus Grandis</i> , in New California,	.	224 feet.
<i>Pinus Fremontiana</i> , do. do.,	.	224 "
<i>Dacrydium cupressinum</i> , New Zealand,	.	213 "
<i>Araucaria excelsa</i> , Norfolk Island,	.	224 "
———— <i>imbricata</i> , Chili,	.	234-260 "
<i>Pinus Lambertiana</i> ,	.	224-239 "
<i>Pinus Douglassii</i> ,*	.	245 "
<i>Pinus Trigona</i> ,	.	300 "
<i>Pinus Strobus</i> , New Hampshire,	.	250-266 "
<i>Sequoia Gigantea</i> , New California,	.	300 "

* At three feet above the ground a stem of this tree was 57½ feet in girth.

As a contrast to these lofty trees, Humboldt mentions the small willow tree (*Salix arctica*), as being only two inches high. The *Tristicha hypnoides* is only $\frac{1}{16}$, or less than $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch, and yet provided with sexual organs, like our oaks and most gigantic trees. The needles of some of the pine trees vary from five inches to a foot in length. The roots of the *Taxodium distichum*, which is sometimes 128 feet in height and 39 in girth, presents the curious phenomenon of woody excrescences, conical and rounded, and sometimes tabular, which project from 3 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground, and when they are very numerous they have been likened by travellers to the grave-tablets in a Jewish burying-ground. The stumps of white pines exhibit a very singular degree of vitality in their roots. After they have been cut down, they continue for several years to produce fresh layers of wood, and to increase in thickness, without putting forth new shoots, leaves, or branches.

The *Pothos* forms, or *Aroidiæ*, belong to the tropics. These plants clothe parasitically the trunks of aged and decaying forest trees. Their stalks are succulent and herbaceous, and support large leaves. The flowers of the aroidiæ are cased in hooded sheaths, and some of them during the development of the flower exhibit a very considerable increase of vital heat, about 40° above that of the atmosphere, the increase being, in some, greater in the male than in the female plant. The vital heat which Dutrochet observed to a small extent in other plants, and even among fungi, disappeared at night. Leaves of great size, suspended on long fleshy leaf-stalks, are found in the *Nymphæacæ* and *Nelumbonæ*. The round leaves of the magnificent water plant, the *Victoria Regina*, discovered in 1837, by Sir Robert Schomburg, in the river Berbice, are six feet in diameter, and are surrounded by turned-up margins from three to five inches high, their inside being light green, and their outside a bright crimson. The flowers, which have an agreeable perfume, are white and rose-coloured, and fifteen inches in diameter, with many hundred petals. About 20 or 30 blossoms may be seen at the same time, within a very small space. According to Poppig, the *Euryale Amazonica*, which he found near Tefe, had leaves six feet in diameter. The largest known flowers, however, belong to a parasitical plant, the *Rafflesia Arnoldi*, discovered in 1818, by Dr. Arnold, in Sumatra. It has a stemless flower, three English feet in diameter, surrounded by large leaf-like scales. "The flower weighs above 14 pounds, and, what is very remarkable, has the smell of beef, like some of the fungi." The largest flowers in the world, says our author, apart from compositæ, (in the Mexican *Helianthus Annuus*), belong to *Rafflesia Arnoldi*, *Aristolochia*, *Datura*, *Barringtonia*, *Gustavia*, *Caro-*

linea, Lecythis, Nymphæa, Nelumbium, Victoria Regina, Magnolia, Cactus, and the Orchideous and Liliaceous plants.

The *Lianes*, or tropical twining rope plant, correspond with the twining hops and grape-vines in the temperate latitudes. In the tropical region of the south these climbers render the forests so impenetrable to man, accessible to and habitable by the monkey tribe, and by the cercopithecids and small tiger-cats, who mount them and descend by them with wonderful agility, and pass by their help from tree to tree. In this manner whole herds of gregarious monkeys often cross streams which would otherwise be impassable. On the Orinoco, the leafless branches of the Bauhinias, often 40 or 50 feet long, hang down perpendicularly from the lofty top of the Swietenia, and they sometimes stretch themselves in oblique directions, like the cordage of a ship. Among the twining plants we may mention the Passifloras, with their beautiful and many coloured blossoms, and the aristolochia cordata, which has a crimson-coloured flower seventeen inches in diameter. In South America, on the banks of the river Magdalena, there is found a climbing aristolochia, with flowers four feet in circumference, which the young Indians draw over their heads in sport, and wear as hats or helmets. Many of the twining plants have a very peculiar aspect, occasioned by the square shape of their stems, by flattenings not produced by external pressure, and by ribband-like wavings. Adrian Jussieu has exhibited, in very beautiful drawings, the cruciform and Mosaic figures seen in cross sections of the Bignonias and Banisterias, arising from the mutual pressure and penetration of the circumtwining stems.

Regarding the form of *Gramineæ* as "an expression of cheerfulness and of airy grace, and tremulous lightness, combined with lofty stature," our author considers the *Aloe* form "as characterized by an almost mournful repose and immobility." The groves of bamboo, both in the East and West Indies, form avenues and walks, shaded and overarching. "The smooth polished, and often lightly waving and bending stems of these singular grasses, are frequently taller than our alders and oaks. Their glassy polish is owing to the quantity of silex in their bark, which, by a species of extravasation, as in the gouty secretions of the human frame, form that singular substance called *tabasheer*, which may be heard rattling within the joints of the bamboo, when the plant has been cut down. We have ourselves frequently opened these joints, and taken out this beautiful opalescent and dichroitic mineral, which is blue by reflected, and yellow by transmitted light. We have been informed, on high authority, that in severe storms, forests of bamboo in India have been set on fire, by the mutual friction or collision of their flinty

stems.* The genus *Bambusa* is entirely wanting in the new continent, where it is replaced, as it were, by the *guadua*, about 60 feet high, discovered by Humboldt and Bonpland. The *Bambusa* flowers so abundantly, that in Mysore and Orissa the seeds are mixed with honey, and eaten like rice. Dr. Joseph Hooker mentions it as a rare property of one of the gramineæ—the *trisetum subspicatum*—that it is the only arctic species he knows which is equally an inhabitant of the opposite Polar regions.

The form of *Ferns*, like that of grasses, is “ennobled in the northern parts of the globe.” The number of species amounts to 3250.

“Arborescent ferns, when they reach a height of above forty feet, have something of a palm-like appearance, but their stems are less slender, shorter, and more rough and scaly, than those of palms. Their foliage is more delicate, of a thinner and more translucent texture, and the minutely indented margins of the fronds are finely and sharply cut. Tree ferns belong almost entirely to the tropical zone, but in that zone they seek by preference the more tempered heat of a moderate elevation above the level of the sea, and mountains two or three thousand feet high, may be regarded as their principal seat. In South America the arborescent ferns are usually found associated with the tree which has conferred such benefits on mankind by its fever-healing bark. Both indicate by their presence the happy regions where reigns a soft perpetual spring.”—Vol. ii. p. 28.

The *Liliaceous* plants, which have their principal seat in Africa, are distinguished by their flag-like leaves, and superb blossoms. They are represented by the genera *Amaryllis*, *Ixia*, *Gladiolus*, and *Pancratium*. In Africa they are assembled into masses, and determine the aspect and character of the country; whereas in the new world, the superb *alstromeriæ* and species of *pancratium*, *Hæmanthus* and *crinum* are dispersed, and are less social than the *Irideæ* of Europe.

The plants of the *Willow* form, represented generally by the willow itself, and on the elevated plains of Quito, and in so far only as the shape of the leaves, and the ramifications are concerned, by the *Schinus molle*. There are 150 different species spread over the northern hemisphere, from the Equator to Lapland. There is a greater similarity in the physiognomy of this tribe in different climates than even in the *Coniferæ*. From the catkins of the male flower of some Egyptian species, a medicine called willow water (*aqua salicis*) is distilled, and much used. On the banks

* Our author has forgotten, for he is well acquainted with the subject, to notice these singular facts concerning *Tabasheer*, and the silicious character of the bamboo. Our readers will find ample details respecting the optical and physical properties of *Tabasheer*, in a paper, by the author of this article, in the *Phil. Trans.* for 1819, p. 283.

of the Orange river in Africa, the leaves and young shoots of the *S. hirsuta* and *mucronata* form the food of the hippopotamus.

The *Myrtaceæ*, with their elegant forms, and their stiff, shining, small leaves, studded with transparent spots, give a peculiar character to the Mediterranean islands, the continent of New Holland, and the intertropical region of the Andes, partly low, and partly about 10,000 feet high. Trees belonging to the group of *Myrtaceæ*, "produce partially, either where the leaves are replaced by leaf-stalk leaves, or by the peculiar disposition or direction of the leaves relatively to the unswollen leaf-stalk, a distribution of stripes of light and shade, unknown in our forests of round-leaved trees." This optical effect surprised the earlier botanical travellers, but our distinguished countryman, Mr. Robert Brown, showed that it was owing to the leaf-stalks of the *Acacia longifolia*, and *A. suaveolens*, being expanded in a vertical direction, and from the circumstance that the light, instead of falling on horizontal surfaces, falls on, and passes between vertical ones.

The other forms to which our author attaches importance, in reference to the physiognomic study of plants, are the *Melastomaceæ*, comprising "the genera *melastoma* (Fothergilla and *Tococca* Aubl.) and *Rhexia*, (*Meriana* and *osbeckia*)," which have been superbly illustrated by Bonpland; and the *Laurel* form group, embracing "the genera of *Laurus* and *Persea*, the *ocoteæ*, so numerous in South America, and (on account of physiognomic resemblance) *Calophyllum*, and the superb aspiring *Mamea* from among the *Guttiferæ*."

This interesting chapter of "The Aspects of Nature" is closed with some of those general views which our author never fails to clothe with the richest drapery of language and sentiment. After suggesting as an enterprise, worthy of a great artist, to study the aspect and character of all these vegetable forms, not only in hot-houses,* and in botanical descriptions, but in their

* Would it not be an enterprise worthy of the wealth and liberality of our public-spirited nobility and country gentlemen, to fill their hot-houses and green-houses, not with the rare plants, which all their neighbours have, but with groups of plants from particular zones, or regions of the globe, or belonging to different natural families or classes. Forest trees, and arborescent plants, which have been acclimated in our island, might in like manner be gathered into local groups, and in the private collections of a single county, botanists, landscape painters, artists, gardeners, and amateurs, might study the whole flora of the globe. A subdivision of labour has now become necessary in every department of intellectual culture. Omniscience in philosophy or science is knowledge in a state of extreme dilution, useless to the world, and gratifying only to the vanity of its possessor. The piles upon which rest the temple of science could never have been driven had they been endowed with many heads: he that has driven one to the rock beneath, may rest from his labour, and be sure that his works will follow him. A subdivision of toil in the collection of objects of natural history, of antiquities, and of art, would do much to promote the advancement of these important branches of secular knowledge.

native grandeur in the tropics, and pointing out the value to the landscape painter, of "a work which should present to the eye, first separately, and then in combination and contrast, the leading forms which have been here enumerated," he concludes the subject in the following manner:—

"It is the artist's privilege, having studied these groups, to analyze them, and thus in his hands, the grand and beautiful form of nature which he would pourtray, resolves itself, (if I may venture on the expression), like the other works of men, into a few simple elements.

"It is under the burning rays of a tropical sun that vegetation displays its most majestic forms. In the cold north the bark of trees is covered with lichens and mosses, whilst between the tropics the Cymbidium and fragrant vanilla enliven the trunks of the Anacardias, and of the gigantic fig-trees. The fresh verdure of the Pothos leaves, and of the Dracontias, contrasts with the many coloured flowers of the Orchideæ. Climbing Bauhinias, Passifloras, and yellow flowering Banisterias, twine round the trunks of the forest trees. Delicate blossoms spring from the roots of the Theobroma, and form the thick and rough bark of the Crescentias and the Gustavia.

"In the tropics vegetation is generally of a fresher verdure, more luxuriant and succulent, and adorned with larger and more shining leaves than in our northern climates. The 'social' plants, which often impart so uniform and monotonous a character to European countries, are almost entirely absent in the equatorial regions. Trees almost as lofty as our oaks, are adorned with flowers as large and as beautiful as our lilies.

"The great elevation attained in several tropical countries, not only by single mountains, but even by extensive districts, enables the inhabitants of the torrid zone—surrounded by palms, bananas, and the other beautiful forms proper to these latitudes—to behold also those vegetable forms which, demanding a cooler temperature, would seem to belong to other zones. Elevation above the level of the sea gives this cooler temperature, even in the hottest parts of the earth; and Cypressess, Pines, Oaks, Berberries and Alders, (nearly allied to our own,) cover the mountainous districts, and elevated plains of Southern Mexico, and the chain of the Andes at the Equator. Thus it is given to man in those regions to behold, without quitting his native land, all the forms of vegetation dispersed over the globe, and all the shining worlds which stud the heavenly vault from pole to pole.

"These, and many other of the enjoyments which nature affords, are wanting to the nations of the North. Many constellations, and many vegetable forms—and of the latter those which are most beautiful, (palm-tree ferns, plantains, arborescent grasses, and the finely divided feathery foliage of the mimosas,) remain for ever unknown to them. Individual plants, languishing in our hot-houses, can give but a very faint idea of the majestic vegetation of the tropical zone. But the high cultivation of our languages, the glowing fancy of the poet, and the imitative art of the painter, open to us sources whence flow abun-

dant compensations, and from whence our imagination can derive the living images of that more vigorous nature which other climes display. In the frigid north, in the midst of the barren heath, the solitary student can appreciate mentally, all that has been discovered in the most distant regions, and can create within himself a world, free and imperishable, as the spirit by which it is conceived."—Pp. 29-31.

The chapter which closes with the preceding passage is followed by a dissertation of much interest, "on the structure and mode of action of Volcanoes in different parts of the globe." Although the multiplication of voyages and travels has exercised a greater influence on the study of organic nature, viz., of botany and zoology, than upon the study of the inorganic bodies which compose the crust of the earth, yet each zone of the earth derives a peculiar physiognomy from the living forms, which are either fixed or movable upon its surface: But we find on either hemisphere, from the Equator to the Poles, the same kind of rocks associated in groups, and the traveller "often recognises with joy the argillaceous schists of his birthplace, and the rocks which were familiar to his eye in his native land." Geological science, however, has derived great advantages from its study under different climates. Although in any single and extensive system of mountains we find, more or less distinctly represented, all the inorganic materials which form the solid carpentry of the globe, yet observations in distant regions are necessary in studying the composition, the relative age, and the origin of rocks. Our knowledge of the structure and form of volcanoes was, till the end of the last century, drawn principally from Vesuvius and *Ætna*, though the basin of the Mediterranean afforded better means of studying the nature and action of these fiery cones. Among the Sporades trachytic rocks have been upraised, at three different times, in three centuries. Near Methone, in the Peloponnesus, a "monte nuovo," seen by Strabo and by Dodwell, is higher than the new volcano of Jorullo in Mexico, and Humboldt found it "surrounded with several thousand small basaltic cones, protruded from the earth, and still smoking." Volcanic fires also break out at Ischia, on the Monte Epomeo; and according to ancient relations, lavas have flowed from fissures, suddenly opened, in the Lelantine plain, near Chalcis. On the shores of the Mediterranean, too, on several parts of the mainland of Greece, in Asia Minor, and in Auvergne, and round the plain of Lombardy, there are numerous examples of volcanic action. From these facts our author has drawn the conclusion, "that the basin of the Mediterranean, with its series of islands, might have offered to an attentive observer much that has been recently discovered, under various forms, in South America, Teneriffe, and the Aleutian Islands, near the polar circle," "The objects to be observed," he con-

tinues, "were assembled within a moderate distance; yet distant voyages, and the comparison of extensive regions, in and out of Europe, have been required for the clear perception and recognition of the resemblance between volcanic phenomena and their dependence on each other."

In different parts of the globe we find assemblages of volcanoes in various rounded groups, or in double lines, and we have thus the most conclusive evidence that their cause is deeply seated in the earth. All the American volcanoes are on the western coast opposite to Asia, nearly in a meridional direction, and extending 7200 geographical miles. Humboldt regards the whole plateau of Quito, whose summits are the volcanoes of Pinchincha, Cotapaxi, and Tunguragua, as *a single volcanic furnace*. The internal fire rushes out sometimes by one and sometimes by another vent; and in proof of the fact that there are subterranean communications between "fire emitting openings," at great distances from each other, he mentions the circumstance, that in 1797, the volcano of Pasto emitted a lofty column of smoke for three months continuously, and that it disappeared at the very instant, when, at the distance of 240 miles, "the great earthquake of Riobamba, and the immense eruption of mud called 'Moya' took place, causing the death of between thirty and forty thousand persons." In proof of the same fact, he adduces the sudden emergence from the sea near the Azores of the island of Sabrina, on the 30th January 1811, which was followed by those terrible internal commotions which, from May 1811 to June 1813, shook almost incessantly the West India islands, the plains of the Ohio and Mississippi, and the opposite coast of Venezuela or Caraccas. In the course of a month after this, the principal city of that province was destroyed. On the 30th April 1811, the slumbering volcano of the island of St. Vincent broke forth, and at the very moment the explosion took place, a loud subterranean noise, like that of great pieces of ordnance, which spread terror over an area of 35,000 square miles, was heard at the distance of 628 miles from St. Vincent. The phenomena which accompanied the celebrated earthquake at Lisbon, on the 1st November 1755, lead to the same conclusion. At the very time it took place, the Lakes of Switzerland, and the sea upon the Swedish coast, were violently agitated; and at Martinique, Antigua, and Barbadoes, where the tide never exceeds thirty inches, the sea suddenly rose upwards of *twenty feet*.

In the remaining portion of this interesting chapter, our author directs our attention chiefly to the phenomena which accompanied the last great eruption of Vesuvius, on the night of the 22d October 1822. It had been supposed by several writers that the

crater of Vesuvius had undergone an entire change from preceding eruptions; but our author has shown that this is not the case, and that the error had arisen from the observers having confounded "the outlines of the margin of the crater with those of the cones of eruption, accidentally formed in the middle of the crater, on its floor or bottom, which has been upheaved by vapours." During the period from 1816-1818, such a cone had gradually risen above the south-eastern margin of the crater, and the eruption of February 1822 had raised it about 112 feet above the north-west margin. This singular cone, which from Naples appeared to be the true summit of the mountain, fell in with a dreadful noise on the eruption of the 22d October 1822, "so that the floor of the crater, which had been constantly accessible since 1811, is now almost 800 feet lower than the northern, and 218 lower than the southern edge of the volcano."

"In the last eruption, on the night of the 23d to the 24th October 1822, twenty-four hours after the falling in of the great cone of scorix, which has been mentioned, and when the small but numerous currents of lava had already flowed off, the fiery eruption of ashes and rapilli commenced: it continued without intermission for twelve days, but was greatest in the first four days. During this period the detonations in the interior of the volcano were so violent, that the mere concussion of the air (for no earthquake movement was perceived) rent the ceilings of the rooms in the palace of Portici. In the neighbouring villages of Resina, Torre del Greco, Torre dell'Annunziata, and Bosche tre Case, a remarkable phenomenon was witnessed. Throughout the whole of that part of the country the air was so filled with ashes as to cause in the middle of the day profound darkness, lasting for several hours: lanterns were carried in the streets, as had often been done in Quito during the eruptions of Pinchincha. The flight of the inhabitants had never been more general. Lava currents are regarded by those who dwell near Vesuvius with less dread than an eruption of ashes, a phenomenon which had never been known to such a degree in modern times; and the obscure tradition of the manner in which the destruction of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabix, took place, filled the imaginations of men with appalling images.* The hot aqueous vapours which rose from the crater during the eruption, and spread themselves in the atmosphere, formed, in cooling, a dense cloud, surrounding the column of fire and ashes which rose to a height of between nine and ten thousand feet. Flashes of forked lightning issuing from the columns of ashes darted in every direction, and the rolling thunders were distinctly heard, and distinguished from the sounds which proceeded from the interior

* The thickness of the bed of ashes which fell during the twelve days was little above three feet on the slope of the cones, and only about eighteen inches on the planes. This is the greatest fall of ashes since the eruption of Vesuvius, which occasioned the death of the elder Pliny.

of the volcano. In no other eruption had the play of the electric forces formed so striking a feature.

"On the morning of the 26th October, a surprising rumour prevailed that a torrent of boiling water was gushing from the crater, and pouring down the slope of the cone of ashes. Monticelli soon discovered that this was an optical illusion. It was in reality a flow of dry ashes, which being loose and movable as shifting sand, issued in large quantities from a crevice in the upper margin of the crater."—Pp. 229, 230.

Owing to the thunderstorm noticed in this extract, an abundant and violent fall of rain took place, and as the rain is heaviest above the cone of ashes, torrents of mud descend from it in every direction; and when the summit of the volcano is in the region of perpetual snow, the melting of the snow produces very disastrous inundations. At the foot of volcanoes, too, and on their flanks, there are frequently vast cavities, which, having a communication by many channels with mountain torrents, become subterranean lakes or reservoirs of water. When earthquakes, as happens in the Andes, shake the entire mass of the volcano, these reservoirs are opened, discharging water, fishes, and mud. On the 19th June 1698, when the Carguairazo, to the north of Chimborazo, and upwards of 19,000 feet high, fell in, an area of nearly thirty square miles was covered with mud and fishes!

Vesuvius, and other similar volcanoes, have permanent communications by means of their craters with the interior of the earth. They alternately break forth and slumber, and often "end by becoming solfataras, emitting aqueous vapours, gases, and acids." There is, however, another and a rarer class, which are closely connected with the earliest revolutions of our planet. Trachytic mountains open suddenly, emit lava and ashes, and close again perhaps for ever. The gigantic mountain of Antisana on the Andes, and Monte Epomeo in Ischia, in 1302, are examples of that phenomenon. Eruptions of this kind sometimes take place in the plains, as happened in Quito, in Iceland, at a distance from Hecla, and in Eubœa in the Lelantine fields. Many of the islands upheaved from the sea belong to the same class. The communication of the external opening with the interior of the earth is not permanent, and as soon as the cleft or opening closes, the volcanic action wholly ceases. Humboldt is of opinion that "veins or dykes of basalt, dolerite, and porphyry, which traverse almost all formations, and that masses of syenite, augitic porphyry, and amygdaloid, which characterize the recent transition and oldest sedimentary rocks,—have probably been formed in a similar manner."

That the earth is a melted mass at no very great depth below its surface, is placed beyond a doubt, not only by the preceding

facts, but by a great mass of observations collected by Humboldt and Arago, on the increase of temperature as we descend into the bowels of the earth. "The primitive cause of this subterranean heat is, as in all planets, the process of formation itself, the separation of the spherically condensing mass from a cosmical gaseous fluid, and the cooling of the terrestrial strata at different depths by the loss of heat parted with by radiation.

. . . Elastic vapours press the molten oxydizing substances upwards through deep fissures. Volcanoes might thus be termed intermitting springs or fountains of earthy substances; that is, of the fluid mixture of metals, alkalis, and earths, which solidify into lava currents, and flow softly and tranquilly, when being upheaved they find a passage by which to escape."

Our author concludes this instructive section with a speculation which he himself characterizes as bold; the object of which is to explain, by means of the internal heat of our globe, the existence, in a fossil state, of the tropical forms of animals and plants in the cold regions of the globe. This hitherto unexplained fact has been ascribed to various causes,—to a change in the obliquity of the ecliptic by the approach of a comet, and to a change in the intensity in the sun's light and heat. We have been led to suppose that, as the two poles of maximum cold are nearly coincident with the magnetic poles, they may partake in their revolution, and thus make the warm and the cold meridians which are now proved to exist, occupy in succession every position on the earth's surface; and that variations in the forces or causes by which that cold is produced, may produce a still farther variation of temperature.*

"Everywhere," says our author, "the ancient world shows a distribution of organic forms at variance with our present climate. . .

. . . It may be that, in the ancient world, exhalations of heat issuing forth from the many openings of the deeply-fissured crust of the globe, may have favoured, perhaps, for centuries, the growth of palms and tree-ferns, and the existence of animals requiring a high temperature, over entire countries where now a very different climate prevails. According to this view of things, the temperature of volcanoes would be that of the interior of the Earth; and the same cause, which, operating through volcanic eruptions, now produces devastating effects, might, in primeval ages, have clothed the deeply fissured rocks of the newly oxydized Earth, in every zone, with the most luxuriant vegetation.

"If, in order to explain the distribution of tropical forms whose remains are now buried in northern regions, it should be assumed that the long-haired species of elephant now found enclosed in ice, was originally indigenous in cold climates, and that forms resembling the same

* *Edinburgh Transactions*, vol. ix. pp. 211, 212.

leading type may, as in the case of lions and lynxes, have been able to live in wholly different climates ; still this solution of the difficulty presented by fossil remains cannot be extended so as to apply to vegetable productions. From reasons with which the study of vegetable physiology makes us acquainted, palms, musaceæ, and arborescent monocotyledones, are incapable of supporting the deprivation of their appendicular organs, which would be caused by the present temperature of our northern regions ; and in the geological problem which we have to examine, it appears to me difficult to separate vegetable and animal remains from each other. The same mode of explanation ought to comprehend both."—Vol. ii. pp. 239, 241.

The next chapter of the "Aspects of Nature" is one of seven pages, entitled, "The *Vital Force*, or the *Rhodian Genius*." It was first printed in Schiller's *Horæ* for 1795, and contains "the development of a physiological idea in a semi-mythical garb." In an earlier work, our author had defined the vital force as "the unknown cause which prevents the elements from following their original affinities ;" and he endeavours to illustrate this position by the following story :—A picture, called the Rhodian Genius, was brought to Syracuse from Greece, and was supposed to be the work of the same artist who cast the Colossus of Rhodes. It was placed in the Gallery of Paintings and Sculpture, and excited much difference of opinion, both respecting its author and its object. On the foreground were youths and maidens, handsome and graceful, but unclothed, and expressing in their features and movements, only the desires and sorrows of an earthly habitation. Their arms outstretched to each other, indicated "their desire of union ;" but they turned their troubled looks towards a halo-encircled Genius who stood in the midst of them. On his shoulder was a butterfly, and in his hand a lighted torch. Though childlike in his form and aspect, a celestial fire animated his glance, and he gazed as with the eye of a master upon the gay throng at his feet. The object of the picture became a problem, which philosophers and connoisseurs strove to solve. "Some regarded the Genius as the personification of Spiritual Love forbidding the enjoyment of sensual pleasure ; others said, that it was the assertion of the Empire of Reason over Desire." A collection of pictures having arrived from Rhodes, there was found among them the companion or pendant of the Rhodian Genius. The Genius was still the central figure ; but his head was now drooping. The butterfly was no longer on his shoulder ; and his torch was inverted and extinguished. "The youths and maidens pressing around him had met and embraced. Their glance, no longer sad and subdued, announced, on the contrary, emancipation from restraint, and the fulfilment of long-cherished desires."

The companion picture afforded no clue to the solution of the problem; and in this crisis of baffled ingenuity and disappointed curiosity, Dionysius ordered the picture, along with a faithful copy of the Rhodian Genius, to be carried to the house of Epicharmus, a Pythagorean philosopher, who fixed his eyes upon the picture, and thus addressed his disciples:—

“As living beings are compelled by natural desires to salutary and fruitful union, so the raw materials of inorganic matter are moved by similar impulses. . . . Thus the fire of Heaven follows metal,—iron obeys the attraction of the loadstone,—amber rubbed takes up light substances,—earth mixes with earth,—salt collects together from the water of the sea,—and the acid moisture of the Stypteria, as well as the flocculent salt of Trichitis, love the clay of Melos. In inanimate nature, all things hasten to unite with each other, according to their particular laws. Hence no terrestrial element is to be found anywhere in its pure and primitive state. Each as soon as formed tends to enter into new combinations, and the art of man is needed to disjoin and present in a separated state substances which you would seek in vain in the interior of the Earth, and in the fluid ocean of air and water. In dead inorganic matter, entire inactivity and repose reign, so long as the bands of affinity continue undissolved, so long as no third substance comes to join itself to the others; but even then the action and disturbance produced are soon again succeeded by unfruitful repose.

“It is otherwise, however, when the same substances are brought together in the bodies of plants and animals. In these the vital force or power reigns supreme, and regardless of the mutual amity or enmity of the atoms recognised by Democritus, commands the union of substances which, in inanimate nature, shun each other, and separates those which are ever seeking to enter into combination.

“Now come nearer to me, my friends; look with me on the first of the pictures before us, and recognise in the Rhodian Genius, in the expression of youthful energy, in the butterfly on his shoulder, and in the commanding glance of his eye, the symbol of vital force animating each individual germ of the organic creation. At the feet are the earthy elements desiring to mix and unite conformably to their particular tendencies. The Genius holding aloft his lighted torch with commanding gesture, controls and constrains them, without regard to their ancient rights, to obey his laws.

“Now view with me the new picture which the Tyrant has sent to me for explanation; turn your eyes from the image of life to that of death. The butterfly has left its former place and soars upwards, the extinguished torch is reversed, the head of the youth has sunk, the spirit has fled to other spheres, and the vital force is dead. Now the youths and maidens joyfully join hands, the earthy substances resume their ancient rights; they are free from the chains that bound them, and follow impetuously after long restraint the impulse to union. Thus inert matter animated awhile by vital force passes through an innumerable diversity of forms, and perhaps in the same substance

which once enshrined the spirit of Pythagoras, a poor worm may have enjoyed a momentary existence."—Vol. ii. pp. 255-257.

The closing chapter of Baron Humboldt's work contains an account of the Plateau of Caxamarca, the ancient capital of the Inca Atahualpa, and describes the first view of the Pacific Ocean as seen from the crest of the Andes. After mentioning the Quina (or fever-bark)* producing forests in the valleys of Loxa, and the alpine vegetation and mountain wildernesses of the Paramos, our author describes the gigantic remains of the ancient artificial roads of the Incas of Peru, which formed a line of communication through all the provinces of the empire, extending more than a thousand English miles. The road itself is 21 feet wide, and above a deep understructure was paved with well cut blocks of blackish trap porphyry. Station-houses, of hewn stone, are built at nearly equal distances, forming a kind of caravanseraí. In the pass called the Paramo del Asuay, the road rises to the height of 15,526 feet, almost equal to that of Mont Blanc. Across the wide and arid plains between the Pacific and the Andes, and also over the ridges of the Cordilleras, these two great Peruvian roads, or systems of roads, are covered with flat stones, or "sometimes even with cemented gravel, (Macadamized.)" The roads crossed the rivers and ravines by three kinds of bridges, "viz., those of stone, wood, and rope, and there were also aqueducts for bringing water to the caravanserais and to the fortresses." As wheel-carriages were not then used upon roads, they were occasionally interrupted by long flights of steps, provided with resting-places at suitable intervals. Along with their grand artificial paths, the Peruvians possessed a highly improved postal system. These splendid remains of the Incas, however, have been wantonly destroyed, and Humboldt mentions that in one day's journey they were obliged to wade through the Rio de Guancabamba *twenty-seven* times, while they continually saw near them the remains of the high built roads, with their caravanserais. In the lower part of the same river, which, with its many falls and rapids, runs into the Amazons, our author was amused with the singular contrivance of a "Swimming Post," for the conveyance of correspondence with the coast of the Pacific. A young Indian, who usually discharges this important duty, swims in two days from Pomahuaco to Tomependa, carrying the few letters from Truxillo, which are intended for the province of Jaen de Bra-

* *The Cinchona Condaminiu (officinalis.)* This beautiful tree, though only six inches in diameter, often attains a height of sixty feet. The bark was introduced into Europe in 1632 or 1640.

camora. The letters are carefully placed in a large cotton handkerchief, which he winds round his head in the manner of a turban. He then descends the Rio de Chamaya, (the lower part of the Guancabamba,) and then the Amazons. When he reaches waterfalls, he quits the river and makes a circuit through the woods. In this fatiguing voyage the Indian sometimes throws one arm round a piece of a very light kind of wood, and he has sometimes the advantage of a swimming companion. They carry no provisions, as they are always sure of a hospitable reception in any of the scattered huts surrounded with fruit trees, which abound in the beautiful Huertas de Pucara and Cavico. Letters thus carried are seldom either wetted or lost; and Humboldt mentions, that soon after his return from Mexico to Europe, he received letters from Tomependa, which had been bound on the brow of the swimming post. The "Correo que nada," as he is called, returns by land by the difficult route of the Paramo del Paredon. Several tribes of wild Indians, who reside on the banks of the Upper Amazons, are accustomed to travel "by swimming down the stream sociably in parties." Humboldt had an "opportunity of seeing in this manner in the bed of the river the heads of 30 or 40 persons, (men, women, and children,) of the tribe of the Xibaros, on their arrival at Tomependa."

When the travellers approached the hot climate of the basin of the Amazons, they were delighted with the splendid orange trees, sweet and bitter, of the Huertas de Pucara. "Laden with many thousands of their golden fruit, they attain a height of from 60 to 64 feet, and instead of rounded tops or crowns, they have aspiring branches like a laurel or bay tree."

"Not far from hence," says Humboldt, "near the Ford of Cavico, we were surprised by a very unexpected sight. We saw a grove of small trees, only about 18 or 19 feet high, which, instead of green, had apparently perfectly red or rose-coloured leaves. It was a new species of *Bougainvillæa*, a genus first established by the elder Jussieu from a Brazilian specimen in Commerson's herbarium. The trees were almost entirely without true leaves, as what we took for leaves at a distance proved to be thickly crowded bracteas. The appearance was altogether different in the purity and freshness of the colour from the autumnal tints which, in many of our forest trees, adorn the woods of the temperate zone at the season of the fall of the leaf. . . . We often found here the *Porlieria hygrometrica*, which, by the closing of the leaflets of its finely pinnated foliage, foretels an impending change of weather, and especially the approach of rain, much better than any of the *Mimosaceæ*. It very rarely deceived us."—Vol. ii. pp. 279, 280.

As night was closing upon our travellers, when they were ascending the eastern declivity of the Cordilleras, they arrived at

an elevated plain where the argentiferous mountains of Gualgayoc, the chief locality of the celebrated Silver Mines of Chota, afforded them a remarkable spectacle. The cerro of Gualgayoc, an isolated mass of silicious rock, stands like an enchanted castle, separated by a deep ravine from the limestone mountains of Cormolatsche. It is traversed by innumerable veins of silver, and terminated on the N.W. by a nearly perpendicular precipice. "Besides being perforated to its summit by many hundred galleries driven in every direction, this mountain presents also natural openings in the mass of the silicious rock, through which the intensely dark blue sky of those elevated regions is visible to a spectator standing at the foot of the mountain. These openings are popularly called windows," and "similar ones were pointed out to us in the trachytic walls of the volcano of Pinchincha."

On their way to the ancient city of Caxamarca, Humboldt and his companions had to cross a succession of Paramos at the height of about 10,000 feet above the sea, before they reached the Paramo de Yanaguanga, from which they looked down upon the fertile valley of Caxamarca, containing in its oval area about 112 English square miles. The town stands almost as high as the city of Quito, but being encircled by mountains, it enjoys a far milder climate. The fort and palace of Atahualpa exist only in a few ruins. The warm baths of Pultamarca, at which the Inca spent a part of the year, have a temperature of 156° Fahrenheit, and are seen in the distance. The town is adorned with a few churches, a state prison, and a municipal building, erected upon part of the ruins of the palace. On the porphyritic rock upon which the palace stood, a shaft has been sunk which formerly led into subterranean chambers, and to a gallery said to extend to the other porphyritic dome of Santa Polonia. The room is yet shown where Atahualpa was imprisoned for nine months from November 1532, and the mark on the wall is still pointed out to show the height to which he offered to fill the room with gold in bars, plates, and vessels, if set free. In order to avoid being burnt alive, the Inca consented to be baptized by his fanatical persecutor the Dominican monk, Vincente de Valverde. He was strangled publicly in the open air, and at the mass for the dead the brothers Pizarro were present in mourning habits.* The population of Caxamarca did not, at the time of our author's visit, exceed seven or eight thousand inhabitants.

After leaving the sea, the travellers ascended a height about 10,000 feet high, and were "struck with the sight of two gro-

* It is with some reluctance that, in imitation of Humboldt, we throw into the obscurity of a note, a specimen of court etiquette at the palace of the Incas. "In conformity," says our author, "with a highly ancient court ceremonial, Atahualpa spat, not on the ground, but into the hand of one of the principal ladies present;"—"all," says Garcilaso, "on account of his majesty."—Vol. ii. p. 314. When

tesquely shaped porphyritic summits, Aroma and Cunturcaga, which consisted of five, six, or seven solid columns, some of them jointed, and from thirty-seven to forty-two feet high." Owing to the distribution of the often converging series of columns of the Cerro Aroma placed one above another, "it resembles a two-storied building, which, moreover, is surmounted by a dome or cupola of non-columnar rock."

It had been the earliest wish of our author to obtain a view of the Pacific from the crest of the Andes. He had listened as a boy to the adventurous expedition of Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the first European who beheld the eastern part of the Pacific Ocean, and he was now about to gratify this longing desire of his youth. When they had reached the highest part of the mountain by the Alto de Guangamarca, the heavens suddenly became clear, and the western declivity of the Cordilleras, covered with quartz blocks fourteen feet high, and the plains as far as the seashore near Truxillo, "lay beneath their eyes in astonishing apparent proximity. We saw for the first time the Pacific Ocean itself, and we saw it clearly. . . . The joy it inspired was vividly shared by my companions Bonpland and Carlos Montufar," and the sight "was peculiarly impressive to one who like myself owed a part of the formation of his mind and character, and many of the directions which his wishes had assumed, to intercourse with (George Forster) one of the companions of Cook."

In the preceding analysis of the "Aspects of Nature," we have found it very difficult to do justice either to the author or to ourselves as Reviewers. Owing to the great length of the "annotations and additions," which extend to more than twice the length of the original chapters which form the text, we have been under the necessity of incorporating the information contained in both, partly in our own language and partly in that of the author, and have therefore found it impossible to give such copious and continuous extracts as the reader might have desired. This difficulty, too, has been greatly increased by the admixture of scientific with popular details, and by the use of technical terms which the general reader will sometimes find it difficult to interpret. Regarding the work, however, as one of great value from its science, and great interest from its subject, and as possessing that peculiar charm of language and of sentiment which we look for in vain in similar productions, we cannot withhold the expression of our anxiety that the popular mat-

the possessors of a little brief authority thus degrade their office and their race, we feel that they have withdrawn themselves from the sphere of human sympathies, and we almost forget the cruelties of the Spaniards when we find them perpetrated against bipeds like Atahualpa.

ter in the "annotations and additions" should be incorporated with the original text, and the technical and parenthetical references in the text, either converted into foot-notes, or transferred to the "annotations." We should thus have a work truly popular, without losing any of its scientific accuracy.

The translation by Mrs. Sabine is like her translation of *Kosmos*, admirably executed. We are never offended with the harshness of a foreign idiom, and we never discover that the author and the translator are different persons.

We have thus endeavoured to give our readers some account of a work full of wisdom and knowledge, written by one of the most distinguished writers and philosophers of the present day, and well fitted to draw our attention to a subject with which every person ought to be familiar. To live upon a world so wonderfully made, without desiring to know its form, its structure, and its purpose—to eat the ambrosia of its gardens, and drink the nectar of its vineyards, without inquiring where, or how, or why they grow—to toil for its gold and its silver, and to appropriate its coal and its iron, without studying their nature and their origin—to tremble under its earthquakes, and stand aghast before its volcanoes, in ignorance of their locality, of their powers, and of their origin—to see and handle the gigantic remains of vegetable and animal life, without understanding when and why they perished—to tread the mountain range, unconscious that it is sometimes composed wholly of the indestructible flinty relics of living creatures, which it requires the most powerful microscope to perceive,—to neglect such pursuits as these, would indicate a mind destitute of the intellectual faculty, and unworthy of the life and reason with which we have been endowed. It is only the irreligious man that can blindly gaze upon the loveliness of material nature, without seeking to understand its phenomena and its laws. It is only the ignorant man that can depreciate the value of that true knowledge which is within the grasp of his divine reason; and it is only the presumptuous man who can prefer those speculative studies, before which the strongest intellect quails, and the weakest triumphs. "In wisdom hast Thou made them all," can be the language only of the wise; and it is to the wise only that the heavens can declare the glory of God, and that the firmament can show forth his handiwork. It is the geologist alone who has explored them, that can call upon the "depths of the earth to praise the Lord;" and he "who breaketh the cedars of Lebanon," who "shaketh the wilderness," who "divideth the flames of fire," who "causeth the hinds to calve," and "maketh bare the forest," has imperatively required it from his worshippers, "that in his temple every one should speak of his glory."

- ART. X.—1. *Report made to His Majesty by a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the State of the Universities of Scotland.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7th October 1831. *Additional Report*, 1838, 1839.
2. *On Subscription to Articles of Faith: a Plea for the Liberties of the Scottish Universities, &c.* By JOHN STUART BLACKIE, Professor of Humanity in Marischal College, Aberdeen. 1843.

DURING the currency of the fifteenth century, the three regularly constituted Universities of Scotland were organized and endowed,—viz., St. Andrews, in the year 1411; Glasgow, in 1450; and Aberdeen, in 1494. These Institutions were Ecclesiastical in their character, and ruled by the Bishops of the districts. Circumstances, indeed, are not wanting to justify the conclusion, that the chief object contemplated in their formation, was to provide qualified priests, not only for the offices of the CHURCH, but also for those of the STATE. So far, the Church of Rome displayed great wisdom and forethought; and had not the art of printing been a discovery of the same century, Papal domination might thus have been largely extended and consolidated.

The downfall of the Church of Rome in Scotland, and the consequent establishment of the Reformed Religion, exercised a powerful influence over the character of the Universities. The Professors now became servants of the State, instead of being subjected exclusively to local influences, and, while the importance of their functions was distinctly recognised, their direct subordination to the Church was placed beyond all manner of doubt by the Act of the First Parliament of James VI. (1567), having the title, “The Teacheris of Zouth suld be tryed be the Visitoris of the Kirk.” This Statute, as the commencement of Parliamentary interference with the Universities, seems to deserve our particular notice.

“Fofasmeikle, as be all laws and constitutionis, it is provided, that the zouth be brocht up and instructed in the fear of God, and gude maneris; and gif it be utherwise, it is tinsel baith of their bodies and saules, gif God’s word be not ruted in them. Qhuairfoire, our Sovereigne Lord, with advice of my Lord Regent and the Three Estates of the present Parliament, hes statute and ordained, that all Schulis to Burg and land, and all Universities and Colleges, be reformed: And that nane be permitted nor admitted, to have charge and care thereof in time cumming, nor to instruct the zouth privatlie or openlie, bot sik as sall be tryed by the Superintendente or visitouris of the Kirk.”

It is impossible to contemplate this Statute, in reference to the period of its enactment, by which Colleges and Schools were placed under the superintendence of the Kirk, without perceiving, that by "gude maneris," sound notions of civil and religious liberty were specially in view, and that teachers of inadequate notions respecting the common weal should be removed from situations in which they might exercise a pernicious influence. The Kirk was fully alive to the importance and usefulness of the power thus bestowed, and was not slack in the exercise of the privilege. Two years after the enactment of the Statute now quoted, a Commission appointed by the General Assembly examined the condition of the University of Aberdeen, and issued the following deliverance in somewhat peremptory terms:—"I, John Areskine, Superintendent of Angus and Mearns, having Commission of the Kirk to visit the Sherifffdom of Aberdeen and Banff, by advice of council, and consent of the ministers, elders, and commissioners of the Kirk, present, decern, conclude, and for final sentence pronounce, that Mr. Alexander Anderson, sometime Principall, Mr. Alexander Galloway, sometime Sub-Principall, Mr. Andrew Anderson, Thomas Ousten, and Duncan Norrie, sometime Regents in the College of Old Aberdeen, are not to be reputed as members of the Kirk, and therefore seclude them, and every one of them, to teach publicly or privately, in time coming, in that College, or any other part within this realme, and ordain them to remove furth of the said College with all diligence, that other godly and well qualified persons may be placed therein, for bringing up the youth in the fear of God, and good letters. This our sentence pronounced, we ordain to be published, and intimated to the said persons, and to the congregation of New and Old Aberdeen, publicly the next Sunday, the 3d July 1569."

These three originally Popish Colleges, even after being thus placed under the government of the Reformed Kirk, were not deemed sufficient to accomplish all the purposes contemplated. Other interests, especially in the capital of Scotland, required an extension of Academic Institutions, and, at the same time, more in accordance with the spirit of the age than the original, somewhat monastic Universities to which we have referred. Accordingly, King James VI., in the year 1582, instituted the College of Edinburgh, with ample powers of expansion, and not trammelled as to the honours or Degrees it may think proper to bestow. The Royal Commissioners of Visitation, in 1831, thus briefly, but authoritatively indicate its peculiar character: "In as far as respects the course of study, there is a great similarity to what was prescribed to the Universities in Scotland, previously existing; the same branches being assigned to them all, although,

as has been remarked, there was, in the case of Edinburgh at least, a clearer anticipation that new branches might afterwards be required. The most striking circumstance as to the College of Edinburgh is, that it is not erected into an independent seminary, but it is plainly, as to all essential points, subjected to the Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the city. To them is committed the superintendence of it, the appointment of the Professors, and the privilege of removing them, when so strong a step seemed expedient. The whole body is enjoined to obey the regulations emanating from the Council; and even the powers of the Principal are limited by the same authority. In fact, to the College, as a College, nothing seems to be given but immunities and privileges common to the other Universities, and which do not seem to have any reference to its internal administration. No *Senatus Academicus* or College Meeting, with special authority to regulate the course of education, is recognised. Every thing specified is granted to the Magistrates and Council; and in the only clause which may seem to imply that the College received a separate and independent jurisdiction, the mode in which it is introduced evinces that this could not have been the case. Accordingly, the Council have always claimed the privilege which the charter confers; they have, as we shall find, added new Professorships; and they have interfered in prescribing the course of study to be followed in obtaining Degrees."

The Marischal College of Aberdeen was founded by the Earl Marischal, under Royal authority, in the year 1593, for the purpose of advancing the interest of Literary and Christian Education. The duties imposed on the head of the institution, who was designated *GYMNASIARCHA*, exhibit, in a very amusing light to a modern academician, the notions then entertained of professorial accomplishments. The Royal Commissioners of Visitation state, from the charter, that "The Principal was to be a person of piety and integrity, he was to superintend the whole establishment, and under his jurisdiction the other members were to be placed. He was also vested with the power of correcting and censuring the regents, and with the concurrence of the Rector and Dean of Faculty, after three admonitions, of expelling them from the Academy. He was required to be well instructed in sacred literature, that he might unfold the mysteries of the Word of God, and be skilled in the learned languages, particularly in Hebrew and Syriac, which the Founder was anxious to establish. He was also required occasionally to teach theology, to give a short explanation of Anatomy, to illustrate the more difficult parts of Physiology, and to teach the principles of Geography, Chronology, and Astronomy; a conjunction of duties not very compatible, and requiring a degree

scientific acquirement which it might be thought that the founder would find no small difficulty in obtaining. To all this, however, he was required to add the elements of Hebrew grammar and construction."

It is understood that this Gymnasium, as it was designated by the founder, was originally intended to be an appendage to the University of Old Aberdeen, the Principal of which is one of the examiners and admitters to its offices, while the grammarian of the same University is an examiner for its Degree. This institution, unlike that of Edinburgh, was limited by its charter to the granting of Degrees in Arts merely, although recently it has assumed the name of a University, and has proceeded, without the sanction of the Crown, to confer Degrees in law, medicine, and divinity.

The universities and colleges thus instituted, the three oldest in Popish and the two latter in Protestant times, continued under the superintendence of the Kirk until the establishment of Episcopacy by Charles II. Then, as formerly, the importance of securing the direct and indirect services of the teachers of youth, in support of the government of the day, was fully recognised and acted upon. Accordingly in the Act 1662, it was declared that "no Masters, Principals, Regents, nor other Professors, in Universities or Colleges within this kingdom, be admitted, nor allowed to continue in the exercise of any function within the same, but such as are of a pious, loyal, and peaceable conversation, submitting to and owning the government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, now settled by law, and who having given satisfaction therein to the bishops of the respective dioceses and patrons, and having in their presence taken the oath of allegiance, shall procure their attestation of the same." By an arrangement of this sort, it was hoped that the rising youth would be imbued with notions, more manageable, in reference to liberty of conscience and the claims of royal supremacy, than if removed from episcopal superintendence. But correct notions of spiritual independence and of civil liberty had taken too deep root in the public mind, to be so easily overcome by the insidious arts thus employed for their destruction.

The days of "black prelacy" at length came to an end at the Revolution. The "Claim of Right" set forth "that prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters, is, and hath been a great and insupportable grievance to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people." Accordingly, by an Act of the first Parliament of William and Mary, 1689, prelacy was formally abolished, and we have now to witness a very remarkable change which took place in the character of university superintendence. While

Parliament abolished prelacy with its right of testing professors, it did not revive the Act 1567, and place the colleges once more under the "superintendents and visitours of the Kirk."

In the Act for visitation of Universities, &c., 1689, chap. xvii., it was ordained, "That no Professors, Principals, Regents, Masters, or others, bearing office in any University, College, or School, within this Kingdom, either be admitted or allowed to continue in the exercise of their said functions, but such as do acknowledge and profess, and shall subscribe to the Confession of Faith, ratified and approved by this present Parliament; and also, swear and subscribe the oath of allegiance to their Majesties, and withal, shall be found to be of a pious, loyal, and peaceable conversation, and of good and sufficient literature and abilities for their respective employments, and submitting to the government of the Church now settled by law." Then follows a claim preferred by the Crown, and admitted by Parliament, and recorded in the said Act—"And albeit it be their Majesties' undoubted right and prerogative, to name visitors and cause visit the foresaid Universities, Colleges, and Schools; yet at this time their Majesties are pleased to nominate and appoint, with advice and consent aforesaid, (the Estates of Parliament,) the persons undernamed," &c., to be visitors; and power was given them "to take trial of the present Professors, Principals, Regents, Masters, and others, bearing office therein, according to the qualifications and rules above mentioned, and such as shall be found to be erroneous, scandalous, negligent, insufficient, or disaffected to their Majesties' government, or who dare not subscribe the Confession of Faith, swear and subscribe the oath of allegiance, and submit to the government of the Church now settled by law, to purge out and remove; as also to consider the Foundations of the said Universities, Colleges, and Schools, with the rents and revenues thereof, and how the same have been administered and managed, and to set down such rules and methods for the good management thereof for hereafter: as likewise for ordering the said Universities, Colleges, and Schools, and the Professions, and manner of teaching therein; and all things else relating thereto as they shall think most meet and convenient, according to the Foundations thereof, and consistent with the present established government of Church and State."

The power thus openly claimed by the Crown, and not unequivocally recognised by Parliament, of visiting or superintending the Universities, constitutes a very important element in the due consideration of University tests, and must be kept steadily in view in reference to its practical bearings.

From the passing of the Act just referred to in 1689, to the period of the UNION of the two kingdoms, no change took place

deserving of notice, except perhaps the recognition of the minister of the parish and the Presbytery of the bounds, in reference to the "*settling of schools*," in the Act of Parliament 1696, the forerunner of the Act Geo. III., 1803, investing the Presbyteries of the Church with full power of trial and superintendence of parish schools, and thus placing them in an ecclesiastical position totally distinct from that assigned to the Universities. This remarkable difference in the position of these two institutions—the parish schools and the colleges—has been too generally overlooked, and very erroneous notions respecting the powers of the Church over the latter have been entertained in certain quarters.

In preparing for the union of the two kingdoms, the "Act for securing the Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian Church Government," commonly called the "Act of Security," was passed in 1707, pursuant to the "Claim of Right," declaring that the "Presbyterian government shall be the only government of the Church within the kingdom of Scotland," and "That in all time coming, no Professors, Principals, Regents, Masters, or others, bearing office in any University, College, or School within this kingdom, be capable, or be admitted, or allowed to continue in the exercise of their said functions, but such as shall own and acknowledge the civil government in manner prescribed, or to be prescribed, by the Acts of Parliament: as also, that before, or at their admissions, they do, and shall acknowledge and profess, and shall subscribe to the fore-said Confession of Faith, as the confession of their faith; and that they will practise and conform themselves to the worship presently in use in this Church, and submit themselves to the government and discipline thereof; and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion of the same; and that before the respective Presbyteries of their bounds, by whatsoever gift, presentation or provision, they may be thereto provided." This clause was embodied in the Act of Union, and may be considered as the TEST presently in use, which, in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, is reduced for subscription to the following formula—"We, subscribers hereunto, doe be these presents, acknowledge and professe the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, ratified and approven by law in the year 1690, as also by the Act concluding the Union of the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England, as the confession of our faith, and promise that we will practise and conforme ourselves to the government and discipline thereof, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion of the same. And this we do, in presence of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, the days prefixed to our subscription."

This test, as *legally* constituted by Act of Parliament, embraces an extensive yet well-defined series of obligations, to which we may now more particularly advert. We pass by the political obligation of Professors, "to own and acknowledge the civil Government in manner prescribed, or to be prescribed by Acts of Parliament," and call the attention to the doctrinal declaration of "*the Confession of Faith, as the confession of their faith,*" as a demand of a very solemn kind, and apparently well calculated to prevent the entrance into our Universities of any but enlightened and stanch Presbyterians. The object aimed at, in this doctrinal declaration, was apparently still farther secured by the pledge, to "*practise and conform themselves to the worship presently in use in this Church*"—thereby referring to the then imagined binding national compact which established and confirmed "the said true Protestant Religion, and the worship, discipline, and government of this Church, *to continue without any alteration to the people of this land in all succeeding generations.*" Their consenting to submit themselves to the government and discipline thereof; and the promise that they would "*never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion of the same,*" seemed to complete the bond of security. Yet in spite of all these minute, distinct, and stringent enactments, apart altogether from the iniquitous breach of this Union Treaty, it is not to be disguised, that from time to time, Professors have existed in the Scottish Universities, and hold a place at the present moment in their Chairs, who have given ample proof that the Confession of Faith is *not the confession of their faith*; who do not conform to the worship of the Presbyterian Church, but either keep aloof from religious ordinances, or countenance Prelacy, that "*great and unsupportable grievance to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people.*" It may seem, at first sight, a matter of difficulty to account for this anomalous condition of things, or how this definite test has been rendered inoperative. An examination of the relative position of the parties concerned in the filling up of University offices, may perhaps aid us in tracing the evil to its source.

The individual who is presented to an University office must necessarily feel a deep interest in the preliminary questions, what are the duties I have to perform in the Chair? and, before entering upon the task, what are the obligations I come under? It is obvious that the Patron or the Electors must be chiefly occupied in determining the fitness of the presentee, while on the presentee himself devolves the task of making up his TITLE, or preparing for complying with the legal forms of entry. Passing by the Patron and Presentee, we have the Admitter or *Admitters*, whose duty it is to examine the claims of the Presentee, to see

to it that he has legally completed his title, and then to perform the act of *Installation*. Above all this, we have the Crown as VISITER, whose duty it is to watch over the interests of the Colleges, maintain their legal rights and privileges, and equally control the intrant, the admitter, and the occupant. If then the Patron and Presentee wish to evade the legal safeguards of University offices, they may be effectually checked by the Admitter or Admitters acting *legally*, and when the Crown has become cognizant of any transgression of the law, it becomes a duty of its advisers to recommend an exercise of the function of Visiter, and thus effectually check the progress of anarchy. It has happened, that the Admitters to University offices have, in many cases, dispensed altogether with the legal qualification implied by the subscription to the Test, and in reference to prelatists in particular, have given installation with the full knowledge of a violation of the law. The Crown as Visiter, has never attempted to check the abuse, but on the contrary has encouraged it, in so far as Prelacy is concerned, by presenting Episcopalians to chairs, and by Officers of the Crown, being avowed prelatists, acting as office-bearers in the different Universities, as Chancellors, or Rectors. Some of the prelatists who have occupied chairs in our Universities have signed the Test, and consequently completed their title, *legally*, to office. How they could do so, as honest men, seems, in every way, of difficult comprehension. The TEST cannot, by the peculiar and definite phraseology employed, be regarded as a *bond of peace*, so that if after entering the chair, the occupant still adheres to prelacy, he exposes himself to the charge of perjury.

The author of the pamphlet noticed at the head of this Article, seems to treat, with a ridicule, which in many respects may be extenuated, the whole subject of University Tests, when he says, "no attempt that I know of has been made to extract a strict Calvinistic orthodoxy from the Scottish Professors; but they have been allowed by Presbyteries, by the Lord Advocate, and by Royal Commissions, to subscribe the creed in the most general and vague manner possible—adopting Dr. Paley's view, perhaps, that Articles of Faith are merely articles of peace, or not having any very precise view of the subject at all; or considering the whole belike, as a piece of humbug, a mere ceremonial act at best, a general expression of respect, a taking off of the hat and bowing of the head in passing, (as I have heard it said,) to the respectable corporation of Presbyters in Scotland; a pious homage, a poetical subscriber might say, to the Manes of the worthy old covenanters."

We are well aware that some may here be disposed to ask, what is the authority of the Church in these circumstances?

Has she no power of testing the previous character of the presentee, or the subsequent conduct of the professor? The answer must be—*she is powerless!* Her function is purely *ministerial*, and confined to the very humble duty of receiving the subscription, granting a certificate of the deed, and keeping the record. The presentee may be honest or dishonest in his subscription, for the Presbytery has no right to subject him to an examination. The Test indeed, in its present form, is insulting to the Established Church. But the whole case assumes an aspect of absurdity, when it is considered, that if the *Intrant* complies with the statute and *subscribes*, he may, on becoming an occupant, act as he pleases—the Crown, as Visiter, is not likely to interfere, and his position need not be regarded as an unsafe one. Once installed he has full right to exercise all the functions of his office. This was very strikingly displayed in a case of voting at an election of a Professor at the University and King's College of Aberdeen (1711,) when an objection was taken against one of the electors, because, on his admission to office, he had not subscribed the Confession of Faith, or taken the oath of allegiance, and subscribed the same with the assurance. But the courts of law “repelled the objection against Dr. Bower, that he is not qualified to the Government in terms of law, *he being in possession of the office at the time of the election.*” Now, it is not the intrant that can injure the religious interests of the Universities—it is the *Occupant*, whose walk and conversation the public can estimate, and with whom the *student*, for good or for evil, must necessarily come in contact. If the wolf once get admittance, the lambs of the flock are at his mercy, for this subscription, or test, is, in such circumstances, useless, although apparently intended to yield the requisite protection.

Viewing all the circumstances of the case, it becomes a question of grave import, ought there to be a *Test*? That the present test is not productive of the slightest benefit to the morality or religion of the country, seems to be admitted on all hands, and one is naturally led to inquire if any one better adapted to secure for our chairs Christian men, can be suggested. We fear there are, in the present state of society, insuperable difficulties to the formation of any test of an analogous character. If the patronage be exercised under an adequate sense of duty and responsibility, and if there be an efficient superintendence of the occupants of our chairs, the interests of our students might be protected. There may be some difficulty in purifying the platform of our patronage, but by honest Statesmen the claims and the duties connected with such an arrangement may be satisfactorily adjusted. The principal difficulty would arise from an unavoidable encroachment on the Royal prerogative, for the right

of *visitation* of the Universities *must* be wrested from the Crown, and placed in a quarter more conscientious, accessible, and responsible. Before this abstraction can be realized, the public may be told of the great anxiety of the Crown to add to the usefulness of our colleges, as evinced by the appointment of Regius Professorships, and its claim to be continued Visiter thereby declared as strengthened. The boon is valuable, but it has only been bestowed at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and New Aberdeen, places of *political* importance, and withheld from St. Andrews and Old Aberdeen, where such chairs were equally needed for the interests of *education*.

The very great differences which prevail in the practice of *admitters* is particularly favourable for a change. In some cases, if the presentee had formerly subscribed the Confession of Faith, as a minister of the Church, for example, he was held as qualified; if he promised to subscribe when required, the admitter was satisfied; or admission in many cases was not withheld, even when no subscription had taken place. Again, in reference to the test to be subscribed, the practice of Presbyteries has been various. One individual has been offered a wrong test, and in unsuspecting confidence, signed one which, more minutely than the legal test, excluded all but sound Presbyterians; yet it was subscribed by a Prelatical presentee, who thereby was nearly excluded from a Cambridge appointment which he held, the Presbytery by whom it was tendered having previously acquired an unenviable notoriety as the most zealous persecutors of the adherents of the Free Kirk.

Such being the utter worthlessness of the Test, the very great range of difference in the mode of administering it, and the total absence of proof of long established usage, to render it, from age, venerable, it seems destined, with but little effort, to fall from the Statute-book. We are aware that in some minds a picture of evil consequences, to result from the abolition of the Test, is created, of a very alarming character, and which, although the offspring of imagination, has exerted no inconsiderable influence. In the absence of the Test it is assumed that infidel professors would more abound, and that the students would be exposed to an increased amount of corrupting influence. In this belief *it is assumed*, that patrons would no longer be guided by patriotic views, or yield to the influence of public opinion. If they be men of this description at present, then assuredly the admission Test affords no check whatsoever. But in making this statement we have at last come to the very essence of the question—the intrinsic value of a Test, in the form of a declaration or subscription. Would parents about to engage a tutor or governess for their children ever dream of demanding a *subscription*? Assur-

edly not. They are fully aware of the importance of these offices to the future wellbeing of their family, and as patrons and admitters, they exercise a prudent discretion in the choice, trusting to an efficient supervision. Now a mere subscription, like the present University Test, can never operate, from its very nature, in securing the object in view, and has been well characterized as "*worse than useless, irrational, ill adapted to the existing state of things, demoralizing in its tendency, and injurious in its results.*"

The judicious reader who has attended to the bearings of these remarks, may naturally be led to ask, how can the continuance of such a Test be justified? When Mr. Rutherford, now Her Majesty's Lord Advocate, in 1845, introduced his bill into the House of Commons for the abolition of this TEST, the Government did not oppose the first reading of the bill, but at the second reading it was thrown out by a vote of 116 to 108. The Government was justly charged with inconsistency in establishing Colleges in Ireland without Tests, and yet pertinaciously retaining them in the Scottish Colleges. But Sir James Graham, by drawing largely on the credulity and the ignorance even of the Scottish members, was able to make the House believe, that the exclusion of the Tests from the Irish Colleges, depended on the fact, that there rested in the Government not only the power of nominating but of dismissing the Professors—in other words, that there would be found a judicious patronage and an efficient supervision. While in Scotland, as the Principals had control over all the lectures delivered, it might happen that those Principals might become unsound and overlook heresy of the Professors, a condition not contemplated in a Minister of the Crown, and therefore the Test was useful. But Sir James Graham has here made an assertion respecting the right of the University Præpositi, which he would fail, from existing law or usage, to substantiate. Sir Robert Peel went farther, and defended the existing Test by declaring, "that the Universities of Scotland were, by compact and statute, connected with its Established Church, and the abolition of the required Tests, would not only be a violation of the Act of Union, but equivalent to declaring that in Scotland there shall be no Establishment whatsoever, adding, that national compacts were not lightly to be broken, when there was no feeling manifested by the people in the presentation of petitions."

In reference to these champions of the Test, it may be right to remind them that it applies to all *bearing office* in our Universities, from the Chancellor to the beadle. Yet they, when bearing the office of Rectors in the University of Glasgow, did not comply with the terms of the statute to which they inconsistently attach so much importance. The latter statesman, in-

deed, seems to have forgotten the important declarations issued by the Commission of Visitation *which he appointed*, for it has been declared in their report, presented to Parliament in 1831, that "the Universities in Scotland are not Ecclesiastical Institutions, not being more connected with the Church than with any other profession,—that they are intended for the general education of the country, and, in truth, possess scarcely any ecclesiastical feature, except that they have a certain number of professors for the purpose of teaching theology, in the same manner as the other sciences are taught,"—and that "*neither their constitutions, endowments, nor provisions for public instruction, are founded on the principle that the Universities are appendages of the Church.*"

The reference of Sir Robert Peel to the Act of Union would have afforded to any moderately well informed Scotchman a favourable opportunity of pointing out the origin of the very circumstances which now render a change absolutely necessary. In one of the petitions to Parliament, praying for the abolition of the Test, from an old University, there is a resolution to this effect:—"That while the authority of the Act for securing the permanency of the 'Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian Church Government,' is fully acknowledged; and while in the Treaty of Union a solemn pledge was given that this Act should 'remain and continue unalterable,' and that the discipline and government of the Church, as then professed, should 'continue without any alteration to the people of this land in all succeeding generations'—it must not be overlooked, that, in little more than five years after this public national compact, the Act of Queen Anne, restoring patronage, was passed; that the General Assembly, regarding this deed as a violation of national faith, strongly remonstrated against its continuance on the Statute-book; that the people of the land considered themselves insulted by the change; and that dissent and separation from the Established Church have followed at different times, and under different circumstances, so that a great portion of the population of Scotland, now alienated from the Church as by law established, may be excluded from University offices, unless the Act of Security and the Act of Union be again changed, (as has repeatedly been effected when other interests were concerned,) in order to remove the evils which the first alteration in these National Deeds has produced."

The subject is involved in considerable difficulty, if we bear in mind not merely *animus imponentis*, but the very Church then established. The object of the Test was to exclude infidels, papists, and prelatists, and so far it is not difficult to determine who can honourably adopt the Test as a doctrinal one. But conformity, in the sense of the statute, may not appear so easy

a task, for the Church, as then organized, had the election of the minister vested in "the heritors of the parish, being Protestants, and the elders," with a right in the congregation to approve or disapprove, the Presbytery of the bounds being judges in the event of disagreement. The Act of Queen Anne, restoring patronage, changed the character of the Church in one of its essential characters. Again, when the Test was imposed, the examination and admission of ministers was vested in the Kirk. Now the admission and ordination are regulated by Act of Parliament.

Is the present modified Established Church, in reference to its constitution, the Church contemplated by the Act establishing the Test? A negative reply must here be made. Is the Free Church, as at present constituted, a close approximation in character to the Church of the Act of Security? Those who entertain the affirmative answer to the question, may, under the rule of subscription—*quis imposuit? quo animo?*—avow their right to take the Test honourably; and perhaps it would be difficult to furnish conclusive grounds for a contrary opinion. But the recent transactions regarding the Hebrew Chair in Edinburgh furnish, perhaps, the best illustration of the true character of this Test in not a few of its important bearings.

On the 12th October 1847, the Town Council, as undoubted patrons, met and deliberated respecting a proper person to be chosen to fill the Chair of Hebrew or Oriental Languages. Of the two candidates brought forward, one belonged to the Established Church, and the other belonged to the Free Church. By a large majority, Mr. Macdowall, a member of the Free Church, was considered the best qualified for the office, and elected by a majority of twenty to ten, one of the Magistrates protesting against his election, as being, by anticipation, disqualified. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, considering themselves as a part of the Kirk, having still the superintendence of the Universities, applied to the Court of Session for an interdict against the Magistrates, the *Senatus Academicus*, and Mr. Macdowall, for the purpose of preventing the latter from being admitted, or allowed to continue in office. The Lord Ordinary, before whom the application came to be discussed, had no difficulty in considering the duty of the Presbytery as purely ministerial, and that they were not entitled to try the qualifications of the presentee, but merely to see him comply with a statutory form. Instead, however, of dismissing the case, and finding, simpliciter, that the party before him had no right to pursue, he exhibited a strange combination of the function of the Bench and the Bar, deemed it his duty to enter somewhat minutely into the *merits* of the case, and especially illustrated the duties of presentee and admitter. The minority of the

Council now saw, that by the application of the TEST, which they believed Mr. Macdowall would not sign, and the countenance of the Bench, they would prevent the best qualified individual from filling the Chair, and speedily secure the appointment of their own favourite. The Lord Ordinary had indeed declared, "if he does not make the statutory acknowledgment and profession, he shall not be admitted. This ought to be done in all cases, because the Act of Parliament prescribes it; *and it ought more especially to be done in the case of a presentee who belongs to a Church which expressly repudiates the government and discipline of the Church of Scotland.*" And this was said "before the period for demanding the acknowledgment had arrived." Verily, we think this arrow shot at the Free Kirk might, with vastly greater *legal* propriety, have been directed to the prelatial occupants of our Chairs, who are countenancing a form of worship, which, to use Parliamentary language, "is, and hath been a great and unsupportable grievance and trouble to this nation." The issue may be easily anticipated. The minority of Council followed the advice given them, the presentee did not feel himself at liberty to subscribe the *Test*; the Judge administered the law,—*the fittest individual was ejected*, and the favourite of the minority and of the Bench was in due time installed.

There is another character of this singular case which we cannot pass over without animadversion, viz., the claim of the Chair of Hebrew to be regarded as belonging to the THEOLOGICAL FACULTY. There were among the prosecuting minority of the Town Council, and among certain of the Professors who countenanced their measures, certain individuals who declared that they would not have enforced subscription, if the presentee had not been about to enter the Theological Faculty. But it might have been known to these individuals, that, in Edinburgh, the division of the *Senatus Academicus* into Faculties, had been declared, by competent authority, to be matter merely of internal arrangement; that this Theological Faculty had never been acknowledged by the Town Council, whose right to make Statutes for the government of the College, in respect of the studies to be pursued, as well as in other matters, and that independent of and over the *Senatus Academicus*, had been expressly acknowledged by the Court of Session, 15th January 1829. Besides, the Hebrew Chair in Edinburgh was not, from its institution, necessarily filled by theologians. The first professor, Julius Conradus Otto (1642,) was a foreigner and a Jew, while James Crawford (1712) was a Doctor of Physic. In the University and King's College of Aberdeen, it was recently stated, on competent authority, in reference to the Hebrew Chair, "Did ever a clergyman occupy the Chair? The late Mr. Bentley was a

layman. His predecessor was a doctor of medicine, and acted as surgeon of the Reay Fencibles, stationed at Belfast, while he held his cure,—there being no students of Hebrew in those days. The predecessor of this medical occupant was a layman, and *his* predecessor, again, was an agriculturist, and resigned the Chair on being appointed land-steward to the Earl of Fife. By the terms of the erection, a Churchman was not required, and, in fact, the occupants have been *laymen*."

But the present claims of the Church to a peculiar interest in the Professors of Oriental languages, as belonging to the Theological Faculty, and as advocated by certain parties, apparently as an apology for persecution, are so thoroughly preposterous, that a simple statement of a few seemingly neglected facts, cannot fail to dissipate the illusion. The Universities offered a boon to the Church, by rendering the study of Oriental literature accessible to the students in her halls, but she understood not the value of the gift! The Presbyteries it is true, required that those who applied for license should know a little of Hebrew, but attendance on a Hebrew class was not imperative; nay, the ticket of a Hebrew professor was not demanded until the Royal Commissioners of "Inquiry into the State of the Universities of Scotland," appointed in 1826 and 1830, and noticed at the head of this Article, fairly shamed the Church into a consideration of the subject. Dr. Kidd, the late Professor of Oriental Languages in Marischal College, (20th September 1827,) in his evidence before the Commissioners, discloses the following mortifying truths:—"Do you mean to say that Hebrew is very much neglected?—I think it is very much neglected. Do you think that attendance upon your class should be made imperative by the Church?—I think so, because we cannot get them to attend. Do you think there are any of the regular students of divinity who altogether neglect the study of Hebrew?—I rather think there are a few; a number of them, for many years back, have been regular attendants; but some of them still neglect it, and strive to gather from others a little, *just to pass the Presbytery!*" The Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of St. Andrews gives, in his evidence, 3d August 1827, similar testimony:—"Is there any law of the Church which requires a student of divinity to attend your class for one year, or for any portion of time whatever?—Yes, indirectly, inasmuch as the rules of the Church require that students of divinity should apply themselves to the study of Hebrew; and they are examined as to their knowledge of the language by the Presbytery, *but there is no express law!*"

These startling testimonies, which we could easily have aug-

mented, forced on the Church the necessity of making some use of the chairs of Oriental Languages, to which she had hitherto been indifferent. The Report of the Royal Commissioners (signed 28th October 1830) declares,—“ In respect also to the study of the Hebrew language, the views and the practice of the Church have been no less remarkable. The Acts of Assembly recommended that Hebrew should be studied, and enjoin that every person entering upon trials shall be examined as to his knowledge of that language; *but they do not require that the Hebrew class should be attended; and, in point of fact, a large proportion of those who became ministers never have attended it!*” At the previous meeting of Assembly, an overture had been introduced to render attendance on a Hebrew class imperative; but it was not until May 27, 1833, after three years’ grave deliberation on the subject, that an Act of Assembly was passed, by which this object was accomplished. Thus were the chairs of Oriental Languages utterly disregarded by the Church; while the chairs of Greek, Natural Philosophy, and Moral Philosophy, were recognised as belonging to the preliminary part of the *theological curriculum*. It is only recently that the Hebrew Professor has thus been placed on a footing with the teachers of Greek and Philosophy, proof of attendance being now required; and six years only have elapsed since the Professors of Latin in our Universities were admitted by an Act of Assembly (27th May 1843) to enjoy, in like manner, and for the first time, the countenance of the Church. But what is the nature and amount of the connexion of this Hebrew class with the Divinity Hall? Simply because, in reference to Hebrew, and, to use the language of the Royal Commissioners of Inquiry, “ in the Universities of Scotland, it is almost exclusively studied by persons intending to become ministers of the Established Church.”

The Act of Assembly, 25th May 1838, seems, in an especial manner, to place the Professors of Oriental Languages under the control of the Church, and this Act was referred to by the minority of the Town Council of Edinburgh, in the case above referred to, as influencing their conduct in the matter. “ If at any time hereafter, a preacher of the Gospel shall be nominated a Professor of Divinity, or Ecclesiastical History, or Biblical Criticism, or Hebrew, in any of the Universities of Scotland, who has not been previously ordained as a minister of a charge in communion with the Church of Scotland, the Presbytery within the bounds of which the University lies, shall be bound to take him on trials, for the purpose of ascertaining *the proportion of his gifts to the station which he is to occupy*, in the same manner as if he had been appointed to the charge of a congrega-

tion within their bounds, in order that, after being found *duly qualified for the particular office*, he may be ordained as a minister of the Gospel, previously to his induction to his office in the University." Here is a palpable usurpation of the function of *admitters to University Offices*, without the consent of the PATRONS of those offices, or the Crown as VISITER. The Church, however, soon found, in the case of the chair of Church History in Glasgow, that this invasion of the legal rights of patrons could not be made available; and an individual was appointed, not belonging to the Church of Scotland, but to the Synod of Ulster. But we pass by this not over-legitimate use of *ordination*, enjoined to be conferred by Presbyteries on those who may be found *fit to teach Hebrew*, to notice the alternative in the Act. "If at any time hereafter a *preacher* of the Gospel shall be nominated," &c. If the presentation and nomination be issued in favour of one *not a preacher*, this act gives no directions to Presbyteries, and puts forth no claim as admitter. But there was an important fact stated in the preamble of the overture—"Whereas by the law and practice of this National Church, Professors of Theology are declared to be ordinary officers in the Church, and have hitherto been constituent members of the ecclesiastical judicatories of the bounds within which the Universities of which they are members are severally included; and whereas it is manifestly expedient, as well as conformable to the principles of this Church, as expressed in the form of Church government approved by the General Assembly in 1645, that every one who has the charge of giving instructions in any of the branches of theological learning to students of Divinity, should himself have passed through a complete course of theological study, and have been not only licensed to preach, but actually ordained as a minister of the Word."

Admitting that, *by law and practice, Professors of Theology are declared to be ordinary officers in the Church, and have hitherto been constituent members of the ecclesiastical judicatories of the bounds*, it will remain to be ascertained, whether the Professors of Hebrew or Oriental Languages ever were recognised by the Church as Theological Professors, or ever became *ex officio* members of Presbytery. The Records of the four Presbyteries of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, at the University seats, do furnish conclusive proof of the absence of all recognition of the Professors of Hebrew in the colleges being members of ecclesiastical judicatories, or acquiring by their occupancy of office any ecclesiastical *status* whatsoever. In point of fact, they never have been *recognised* as Theological Professors.

Scotland has already witnessed two remarkable changes in the structural character of her Universities. The students do

not, as formerly, lead a monastic life, immured within the precincts of college buildings. A Professor is now appointed for each separate department of knowledge in the curriculum, instead of the students being conducted through the whole four years of their course by a single teacher; and we may give a proof that the change was a recent one, by stating that the last of this race of Professors, of universal knowledge, is still living in the North, in the enjoyment of a green old age. Let us hope that the third change is at hand, by which a sectarian Test will disappear, and fit intrants, as well as fit occupants, be secured for the godly upbringing of the "youthhead" of our land. In an especial manner we call upon the advisers of Her Majesty to co-operate in the abolition of this TEST, which has failed in the purpose of excluding those unfriendly to a Church ordained by national compact, "*to remain and continue unalterable,*" but which has been altered by Government in its essential characters. Let them consult the dignity of the Crown, by abolishing a Test which ROYAL VISITERS were bound, by oath, to maintain and enforce, but who have not only winked at its evasion generally, but have, by their *presentations*, countenanced its transgression, and retained in their councils those who avowedly despised it. Especially, we call upon Dissenters in Scotland, and Episcopalians in England, to see justice done to the followers of their respective creeds, and neither directly nor indirectly aid in upholding a Test, by the recognition of which they virtually declare, that all of their communion are unfit for holding *any office* in the Universities and Colleges of Scotland, or worthy to be entrusted with the education of youth.

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ART. I.—*A Letter to the Lord Provost on the Best Ways of Spoiling the Beauty of Edinburgh.* By LORD COCKBURN.

IN common with every "right Edinburgh man," we read the pamphlet thus whimsically entitled, not only with that pleasure which, from its singularly original and characteristic style, it must have occasioned even to a stranger, but with feelings of civic satisfaction and pride. We deem it nothing more than proper and seemly, on the part of a community so highly favoured, that a sense of the "hourly luxuries" to which Lord Cockburn refers, should thus from time to time be publicly avowed; and we regard it as a subject of no improper gratulation that one so gifted and so beloved, should have found time, in the midst of the engrossing duties of a high and responsible station, to offer, even in these few printed pages, a passing tribute to the beauty of our town.

Strange as it may seem to those of our readers whose imaginations have been in the habit of wandering to other lands in search of beautiful cities, we are willing to incur the charge of local vanity which may attach to the expression of our opinion, that in point of position, at all events, Edinburgh is not only unsurpassed, but is unrivalled by any city in Europe, with the possible exceptions of Corinth and Constantinople. To Rome, notwithstanding the seven hills, it is unquestionably superior both in picturesqueness and variety, and we prefer it to "Firenze la Bella," to Genoa, and even to Naples. Venice is more singular, but we suspect our good citizens, accustomed to the free exercise of their limbs, would soon feel the monotony of a dwelling in the sea. Vienna, the gay and cheerful Vienna that

was, (and we hope that is again,) cannot vie with it; much less the sandy and arid Berlin. The vaunted capital of our Gallic neighbours has no upland range whereon her children might woo the genius of liberty, as they sing the Marseillaise to the mountain wind,—no castled crag to remind them of that ultimate appeal from anarchy, of which they are often forgetful,—and its river, beautiful though it be, is but a sorry substitute for that noble arm of the ever living sea, which stretches around us its protection, whilst it brings us its treasures. With the tame surface of London, its besmoked and besooted parks, its never-ending squalid suburbs, its mean brick-built streets, and the singular infelicity of its architectural monuments, to say nothing of the vulgar bustle of its countless money-making and money-spending millions, we deign not for a moment to compare our bold, grand, poor little town; and Dublin is only a more comely because less plethoric reproduction of her English mother.

Nor is it by comparison alone that we contrive to glorify ourselves. Sometimes we take an absolute instead of a relative view of the matter, and we say, not only has nature been thus bountiful to us beyond others, but she has positively adorned our city and its vicinity with nearly every charm which belongs to this region of the globe. When the man of Edinburgh issues from his door, be he poor or rich, if he be but the uncontrolled master of one short hour, he has only to consult his caprice as to whether it shall be spent in wandering luxuriously between corn fields, rich as those of Lombardy, and even more fruitful, under trees that would do no discredit to the shady Albano; in scampering like a chamois hunter along breezy cliffs, where the moss and the rock-rose find a scanty nurture; or in inhaling the invigorating breath of the “gladsome ocean,” and in cheering his spirits by the contemplation of

“Ships, and waves, and ceaseless motion,
And men rejoicing on the shore.”

All this is “hourly” offered to him—the dweller in a city,—the hand-worker or the head-worker, as the case may be; and thus living and enjoying, if he sighs for the smoky chimney, with its unblest wealth, we will not grieve for his departure for a scene more worthy of his genius.

But though we go along with Lord Cockburn, and if we possessed his eloquence, would be disposed almost to go beyond him, in what he has said of the matchless beauty of our city, we are far from joining with him in thinking that we must quietly sit down and reconcile ourselves to the fact, that to this, and to this alone, we not only do, but ever must, owe our social importance.

That if we refrain from "spoiling" our natural advantages, or at most if we avail ourselves of them by such moderate architectural and artistical embellishments as may be within the reach of a community never likely to be greatly distinguished for its wealth, we shall have done all that is in our power to render our little metropolis attractive to strangers, and agreeable to ourselves.

That we have little trade, and "mercifully almost no manufactures," are facts to which we have as little difficulty in reconciling ourselves as the learned Lord. The presence of such things would imply the destruction of almost all that we value in Edinburgh now; but is there no avenue to prosperity and importance, except through the crowded market-place,—no portal to dignity and grandeur which does not lead through the smoke of manufacturing chimneys? "There must be cities of refuge," says his Lordship, happily.—Refuge for whom? we would ask; and our past history and our present position, serve to answer the question with little hesitation. Lord Cockburn tells us that "we have supplied a greater number of eminent men to literature, to science, and the arts, than any other town in the empire, with the single exception of London;" that "we have a College of still maintained celebrity;" and, lastly, that we have an "art, of which the brilliant rise within these last thirty years is the most striking circumstance in the modern progress of Scotland." Our refugees then, it would seem, in his Lordship's opinion, must be men "of literature, of science, and the arts;" and we only regret that he did not find it convenient to dwell at greater length on an idea which, by one felicitous expression, he has thus, perhaps, almost accidentally stirred.

It must be pretty plain to those who have paid any serious attention to the position which Edinburgh holds among the cities of this country, that her real importance depends on her becoming the abode of those who pave the way for action, rather than of those who act—of those who sketch out the campaign of the future from a study of the past, rather than of those who work in the trenches of the present. For the man of action we neither have, nor can create, a field; in this sense our city is not, and never again can become a metropolis. A few lawyers may find a sphere of reasonable activity in doing the public business of the country, and in their case the rewards of a successful performance of their duties may satisfy a moderate ambition. They may become *respectable* in the highest degree, but their profession, or the practice of it at all events, can bring them little glory beyond the limits of their native town—it leads to none of the higher state preferments, and the very possibility of attaining to a peerage (that ultimate goal of an English lawyer's ambition)

by its means, is very unfairly, as it seems to us, cut off. For the politician there is no field whatever, beyond what every town of equal size in the empire presents. Even for the mere animal activity of the sporting man, our city offers no fitting arena. We are not rash enough to ride with him, nor rich enough to bet with him, and the very narration of his exploits we are frequently uncivil enough to treat as a bore. With the man of trade and commerce we have already, almost eagerly, consented to part company. But if thus we must take leave of the *πρακτικὸς* in all his departments, and must even, reluctantly it may be, bid adieu to the *πολιτικὸς*, with a friendly shake of the hand and a *bon voyage*, it is only in order that we may clasp the *θεωρητικὸς* more warmly in our embrace. Do we murmur against fate? We believe, on the contrary, that what she seems thus to dictate, is nothing more than what every Edinburgh man of the better sort has already a thousand times done in his heart. We wish nothing but success and prosperity to those whose pursuits are different from our own; nay, the immediate consequence of a recognition of our special department, as a thinking rather than an acting community, will be a heightening of our good-will, since it necessarily removes those feelings of rivalry which must have existed, had our objects of ambition been identical with those of our fellow-subjects of Glasgow or Birmingham. Nor is even sympathy cut off by the distinction for which we contend, for though dissimilar, our pursuits are by no means antagonistic. The political philosopher, the moralist, and the man of science, are indebted, one and all of them, in this country, chiefly to the trading and manufacturing communities, for the data from which they proceed and the tests to which they appeal. Were it not for this constant reference to experience and experiment, their labours must speedily terminate in a vague, as they would have arisen in an objectless, theorizing. If the whole world had resembled the society in which its author moved, the "Wealth of Nations" could not have been written. But even those pursuits which react most immediately on each other, are often by no means most successfully pursued, either by the same individual, or in the same circumstances. The quietest nook of a Cambridge cloister is a fitting retreat for an abstract mathematician, whilst the practical engineer, who is to test the value of his labours, finds a more congenial abode amid the cyclopean forges of Birmingham and Sheffield. Whilst we acknowledge our dependence upon, and profess our sympathy with, the operative portion of the community, we must, at the same time, recognise the distinction which exists between their function and our own. We must not be for ever affecting a desire ourselves to enter upon a career of enterprise at variance at once

with our history, our opportunities, and our tastes. It is not less important for communities than for individuals that the tentative period of life should have an end. "*Male vivunt qui semper vivere incipiunt.*" We must read the past and interpret the present, and manfully and resolutely abide by the results.

But our readers may here meet us with the objection, that the only practical result of our reasoning is that matters should be left pretty much as they are. What guarantee, they may ask, do you give us, that we shall succeed in making Edinburgh a literary and scientific more than a mercantile and a manufacturing metropolis? To some extent, it may be admitted, that she partakes at present of the one character rather than of the other, but where is our assurance that we shall succeed in advancing her in the former course rather than in the latter? We reply, 1st, That, generally, no guarantee for the future can be stronger than that which is derived from the history of the past, and that, in the case of our own city, every effort in the one direction has been successful, whereas all that has been attempted in the other has failed. We are not now writing an historical article, and to Edinburgh men, to whom we chiefly address these pages, it would be tedious that we should furnish them with a demonstration which their own recollections can so thoroughly supply.

We pass then, at once, from the consideration of our historical to that of our present position, and we assert,

2d, That every tendency of Edinburgh life is in the one direction, not in the other.

When we speak of Edinburgh as having ceased to hold out, to the man of action, the inducements of a capital, we must not be understood as saying that it has forfeited all claim to that character. Nothing can be more erroneous than to liken it to such places as Bath, or Cheltenham, or any of the mere pleasure-towns of England, where such portions of the boundless leisure of the inhabitants as the daily newspapers and the latest novels are not sufficient to consume, are usually divided between yawning and whist, except where, by a still more felicitous arrangement, these latter amusements are combined. Edinburgh, after her quiet fashion, is a busy place enough, and, London excepted, unquestionably fulfils the idea of a capital more than any other city in this country. She has nothing of that air of a proconsular residence, which, while it confers on Dublin a certain external splendour, unfortunately renders her more like to Calcutta, or Montreal, than to the capital of any European country, however small. There is no foreign ruling class in Edinburgh; what she has is Scotch, and what Scotland has is hers. From her, as from the heart of the land, the life-blood of Scotland issues forth, and to her it returns freely again. Every

Scotchman finds in her a common centre for his sympathies. The inhabitants of Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth, have no bond of union, other than as the inhabitants of a common country; but every man of them feels that he has a tie to Edinburgh. It is to her that he looks for his news, his praise, his influence, his justice, and his learning; and with reference to this latter circumstance, it is very important for the present branch of our subject, that we should keep in view one very marked distinction between this country and England.

In England, the learned class is the clergy; with us, partly in consequence of our Church holding out no direct inducements to recondite learning, either in the shape of affluent leisure, or of high preferments, attainable by its means, but most of all we believe, for the much better reason of the clergy devoting almost their whole energies to the discharge of the strictly ministerial duties of their sacred calling, such is not the case, and the function thus abandoned by the Church has, in a great measure, been discharged by the Bar. We offer no opinion as to whether this is or is not as it ought to be, we simply state it as a fact, not unimportant in considering the present aspect and tendencies of society in Edinburgh. In Scotland, for centuries, the Bar has been a *caste* rather than a profession—a species of secular priesthood, if we may use the expression, to which, from the peculiar development of society among us, men of letters, and even of science, as well as practical lawyers, have found it convenient to belong. It may be regarded as the great intellectual club of our country; and latterly, since its political importance as a profession has diminished, and the clergy have withdrawn themselves more entirely from secular avocations, it has partaken of this character even more than formerly. As an illustration of the extent to which this is now the case, we may mention, that in the University of Edinburgh, at the present moment, the whole of the Chairs in the Faculty of Arts, excepting those of Greek, Latin, and Mathematics, are filled by members of the Bar, they being thus in the proportion to all other professions, of six to three,—whilst there is not a single Scotch clergyman, and only one churchman of any kind, the professor of mathematics, who, we understand, is in English orders. In the neighbouring University of St. Andrews the case is similar; and even the far distant Aberdeen has not escaped their influence. But not only has the higher teaching of the country fallen thus to the share of a class of men resident in our city, but nearly all the higher periodical literature of Scotland is also in their hands, and we suspect no inconsiderable portion of that of England to boot. The Edinburgh Review, long the most powerful critical organ in Europe, is well known to have emanated from their

body, and is still almost entirely conducted by them. Blackwood was, and is, so far as we know, *in pari casu*; and the Quarterly is understood to be under the superintendence of a Scotch advocate. One great cause of the remarkable and varied activity of this class of our citizens, is to be found, we believe, in the singular diversity of their training. From the passion for travel which has at all times characterized the Scotch, and the custom, still existing among them, of finishing their education in foreign countries, we find amongst those belonging to the profession of the law in Edinburgh, men partaking of the intellectual peculiarities of almost every European nation; and leading as they do an eminently public life, and mingling continually together, scarcely any one is thus permitted to slumber quietly on in his own opinion, or sluggishly to take refuge behind a bulwark of authority.

But whether the extra-professional activity of the Bar is to be ascribed to the heterogeneous elements of which it is composed, or to other circumstances coming, either accidentally from without, or springing necessarily from within, the fact is certain, that here in our own city, we have, within the pale of one single profession, not only as great a number of men who exercise an intellectual influence as is to be found in any other society of equal size, but what is more to our present purpose, nearly the whole intellectual activity of Scotland. We can scarcely doubt that a movement in the direction we have suggested would be in harmony with the wishes, as it certainly would be with the interests, of these men; and the question then comes to be, ought we, the citizens, rashly to throw to the winds the aid that they may possibly afford us in advancing our prosperity and increasing our importance? If we follow an opposite course,—if we strive after a trading and commercial development, we must lay our account with dispensing not only with their assistance, but also with the residence of many of them among us. If legal customs and *habits* have become indispensable to them, it is as easy to belong to the English as the Scotch Bar; most of the enterprising publishers are unhappily even now resident in London, and the formation of a Scotch Literary Colony in that city is by no means an impossible, and if we provoke it perhaps not even an improbable event.

But though we have spoken of the Bar as a prominent example of the present tendencies and capabilities of Edinburgh society, it is not to it only that we are to trust, or from it alone that we would draw our augury. We believe that among all the professional classes, there is a remarkable unanimity on this subject. The other branches of the legal profession, though seldom actively engaged in literary occupations, usually manifest no inconsiderable sympathy with those who are; and as regards the

medical profession, the high position which our school has always held, and the celebrity of many of our practitioners of the present time, are sufficient guarantees for the liberal views and tastes of its members. Nor are the interests of the medical profession, as might at first sight appear, at war with their feelings in this matter. An increased population, of whatever kind, would no doubt widen the range of medical practice; but our medical men are usually of such a class as to appreciate the advantage which, to those whose pride and whose pleasure it is to cultivate their profession as a science, arises from their being resident in a city which is the seat of a great medical school. For all the purposes of a school, Edinburgh is already sufficiently large, and if it were swollen to the proportions of Glasgow, or even London, though the number of practitioners who should gain a subsistence might be greater, it is by no means likely that their character, either for science or skill, would be raised.

But apart from the professional classes altogether, we are persuaded that the feelings of the great body of the people are in harmony with the views which we have indicated. We believe that the pride with which an intelligent Edinburgh tradesman regards his native city, has quite as much to do with its former and present literary celebrity, as with any other circumstance connected with it. When he looks on the monuments which our gratitude has raised to the benefactors of our city in former times, he finds that, with scarcely a single exception, they commemorate the labours of men of letters; and he remembers that these men have not only earned for themselves, but have conferred upon us, a celebrity lasting beyond what the most successful career of mercantile speculation could have secured. He reflects that in the case of an individual, real grandeur consists less in what is possessed or enjoyed, than in what is left behind; that the case of a community is similar; and that with us the man of letters alone has a sphere which enables him to lay hold of the future, either on his own behalf or on ours. Of him alone then can we safely pride ourselves in the present, for to him alone can belong, and through him alone can come to us, the longevity of fame. If the place of their birth is to be an inheritance to our children, it must be as the birthplace also of those whose laurels the gratitude of men will not suffer to wither. But we can twine no wreath for a conqueror, we have no field for a ruler, and the thinker is their only peer.

But when we have spoken of the professional and trading classes, we have by no means exhausted even the influential portions of our community. There is a large body of sojourners within our walls, who compose a fluctuating, but as regards both wealth and position, by no means an unimportant part of the

population of Edinburgh. These persons, we believe, are attracted to our city for the most part by one or other of these causes.

First, and chiefly it may be, as Lord Cockburn asserts, by the beauty of the place.

Second, By the excellence and cheapness of the education which they can here procure for their families; and,

Third, By the prospect which Edinburgh society holds out of their being here able to gratify those refined and cultivated tastes which they may have elsewhere formed.

That their residence among us is desirable for all classes of the indigenous population, but particularly for our tradesmen, to whom their presence annually brings a large accession of business, cannot be doubted; and in order to secure their continuance, or to increase their numbers, whichever of the above mentioned causes may have formed their original inducement, we can see no line of conduct more effectual than that which we here recommend. Nor is it unreasonable to hope that so long as our endeavour is thus to gather within our city, to a still greater extent, those attractions which have already marked it out in their eyes as a suitable place of residence, their sympathies will not be confined to such an expression of good-will as their continued residence would afford.

3d, We have already in some measure anticipated our third reason for the view which we have here taken of the possible future of our city—that, viz., which arises from the peculiar character of the place itself. We have said that it is a capital to the extent of containing the springs both of action and thought, so far as Scotland is concerned, and that there is life enough circulating in it still to preclude the appearance of those fungous excrescences in the body social, which the stagnation of provincial towns is so apt to generate. But to the man of letters its negative are perhaps more important than even its positive advantages. Amongst the chief of these we must reckon the circumstance, that from living in a community where few are idle, he is in a great measure freed from the inroads of gossip. Although eccentricity is unquestionably very often affected by those who, in their occupations and modes of thinking, differ in nothing from the vulgar, it is equally certain that in proportion to the grasp which men have of the deeper realities of life will their value for what is contingent and conventional diminish, and the consequences will be, particularly among the students of abstract truth, whose avocations rarely bring them in contact with the world, a style of living and acting inconsistent with the habits of those who are doing the ordinary business of life. The occupations of such men will almost necessarily give rise to habits which

will seem strange to many, though in themselves they may be blameless, and, with reference to the objects for which the individuals live, positively praiseworthy. Those of this description will not only act without reference to effect, but, liberty being the first boon which they ask from society, they will feel seriously constrained and annoyed by any sensation which their irregularities may produce. They will have none of the consolations which, in all cases of annoyance, fall to the share of the pretended eccentric, who, conscious that to glory in the results of any course of conduct can never be his, finds, in the wonder which his mode of life excites, a recompense for the effort which his vanity has imposed upon him. Their eyes being fixed on the end, they ask only for an occasion to employ the means without constraint; but as few men, even of this class, are superior to the influence of opinion, they will feel thoroughly unconstrained only where they can escape observation. We are far from holding out so vain a hope as that Edinburgh can furnish a complete immunity from vulgar annoyance, but we believe it will be felt quite as little here as in any of the numerous circles into which the society of such places as London and Paris is broken up, and infinitely less than in any of the provincial towns of England.

But in addition to being delivered from the obtrusive curiosity of neighbours, the man of cultivated tastes will probably find that in Edinburgh he enjoys a comparative relief from other sources of annoyance which elsewhere meet him at every turn. There is here, perhaps, as little of that foolish idolatry of mere wealth as is consistent with the rudeness of the measure by which the common herd of mankind must ever mete their reverence; and even pedigree, for the most part, is valued only in so far as it is a guarantee for good manners. But what to the fastidious man above all things is valuable, there are few vulgar sights or sounds which he will be here called upon to encounter. From the singular felicity of the situation, he can scarcely select a residence from which his eye will not be gratified by the sight of natural beauty; and even the architectural features of the city, though far from faultless, are unquestionably superior to those of any other British town. There is less of a squalid population than in most places of similar extent; and the lower orders, when not weighed down by poverty, are a good, and, as it strikes us, a handsome Saxon race. Even in the humbler matters which contribute to the everyday enjoyment of life, there are few things which either the senses or the imagination can desire, which are not within the reach of the moderately wealthy in Edinburgh. The southron will not find it a land of flowers, for of their culture we are perhaps more neglectful than even the climate warrants; but if the coarser gratifications of the sense of taste will content

him, he will have no difficulty in satisfying a rational Epicureanism.*

But though it will probably be admitted without much hesitation, that, for the residence of persons of this class, Edinburgh, both in point of natural and accidental advantages, is singularly suited; and though many will also agree with us in thinking that it is to the increase of their numbers that we must look for our advancement both in prosperity and reputation, few perhaps of our fellow-citizens will be willing, at first sight, to recognise the extent to which it seems to us we have hitherto been neglectful of our duty towards them. It will be strange to those who have been accustomed complacently to regard their native city as what Lord Cockburn calls a "city of refuge" for the muses, to be told that there is scarcely a town of equal size in Europe that holds out so few direct encouragements to men of letters, and that if the gifted, the wise, or the learned are to be found within our walls, it is to a kind interposition on our behalf that we are indebted for the circumstance, rather than to any exertion of our own or of our fathers. As a test of the accuracy of this observation, let us contemplate for a moment the condition of our University, and contrast it with the manner in which the idea belonging to such institutions has elsewhere been realized. A University, when discharging its proper functions, forms the heart and centre of the literary institutions of the country. The source from which solid learning is expected to flow, and by means of which the disconnected and random efforts of the community of letters are to be gathered up and weighed against the existing memorials of the past, either to be dismissed as worthless, or to receive a deeper and more consistent meaning,—it must be at once a magazine and a laboratory of thought. The notion, which has too much prevailed in Scotland, of its being a mere teaching institution, a sort of Higher-School, by no means either corresponds with, or exhausts its true idea. In order to satisfy

* It has always appeared to us that there is something particularly pleasing to the imagination in the manner in which the article of *fish* is brought upon our tables in Edinburgh. From the moment when it quits the sea to that in which it touches our palates, there is not a single stage of its progress which we cannot contemplate with pleasure. In "the pride of the morning," to use a fisherman's phrase—of a bright morning, we shall suppose, in this present month of February, when the sun has scarcely gilded the east beyond the green Inchkeith, and the "trailing garments of the night" still cover the western hills, your cod is hauled up, glittering in the dawn, by the hands of brave and honest men. Thence, through the sparkling sea, it is borne to the stone-pier at Newhaven, where, instead of suffering the indignity of the huckster's cart—the fate of fish in all other marts—it is transferred to the shoulders of a strapping and tidy, perhaps pretty woman, who, clothed in a quaint, antique, but very becoming garb, singing and jesting with her "kimmers," as she strides along, bears it to your door. There, after a world of chattering, it is purchased, for a sum not greatly exceeding its value, by your own ancilla, who with friendly hands prepares it for your board.

as it ought the intellectual wants of a community which has passed the first stages of development, it must be an institution where learning is fostered and advanced as well as communicated,—and for the performance of these two different functions it will require to be furnished with labourers of very different characters. The lively, energetic, and accurate public lecturer will by no means always be found in the person of him whose insight into his subject is deep, and who can advance its boundaries into the region of the unknown. Yet, but for men of the latter class, where would be the function of the former? Nor is it enough when we perceive that the investigator is an equally, or as a rarer even a more valuable character than the instructor: if we would be just to him, we must go farther, and admit that he is the one who must *necessarily* stand most in need of our protection. The successful teacher, without aid of ours, will have no difficulty in securing a competent portion of the goods of fortune, for he is able to bring to sale a commodity for which there is a ready market in these times. But it is different with the investigator, the original worker or thinker, as the case may be. Years of unintermitting and unknown toil must by him be spent in producing a book, a pamphlet, or it may be a series of notes, which, though invaluable to the learned in his department, and to mankind through them, will never yield to their author the return which a popular writer will obtain for a trifling tale, or an eminent lawyer for conducting the most trumpery case. Now, in all other Universities except those of Scotland, provision is made, either directly or indirectly, for labourers of this class. The munificent endowments of Oxford and Cambridge, whatever we may think of the manner in which they are administered, or of the results which they at present produce, are well known to be more than sufficient to satisfy this requirement, to the small extent to which it exists in England at present. In every one of the foreign Universities of which we know anything—in those of France, of Germany, and even of Italy—there is a little army of professors in every possible department, *publice, privatim, et privatissime docentes*, of whom, though the immunity may not, as in the case of Oxford, be openly recognised, many, and these the most eminent, are never expected to take part in actual teaching.*

* As we have reason to think that many of our readers, though acquainted with this fact in a general way, are ignorant of the *extent* to which the custom of encouraging learning by means of nominal professorships prevails, in Germany at all events, we shall subjoin a list of the numbers in the different departments in the University of Berlin, which we extract from the *Verzeichniss* of lectures for the winter session 1842-3, the latest which we happen to possess; and, by way of con-

But before proceeding to any further arguments which may occur to us in favour of the encouragement of men of learning, derived from the advantages which their residence among us may be expected to confer, we think it not amiss that we should here consider for a moment whether this question, bound up as it is with that of the encouragement of learning itself, and the whole mental progress of that portion of our race over which our influence extends, ought not to be viewed by us in the far higher light of a positive duty. We continually hear of the duty of educating the people; it is enthusiastically acknowledged by the popular voice, and latterly it has been recognised by the Legislature in a series of enactments, which, however inconsistent and unsystematic we may think them, sufficiently prove the sincerity with which it is felt. But all this has reference to the dissemination of knowledge alone, and that too only in its lower departments. Is then our whole duty, as men, or as a community, fulfilled, when we have spread among the middle and lower classes such an amount of knowledge as is consistent with their circumstances and position in life; and is every effort of intelligence beyond this to be left

trast, we shall add the corresponding numbers in our own University for the present year.

	Berlin.	Edinburgh.
Theology,	12	2
Law,	15	3
Medicine,	38	8
Philosophy,	12	2
Mathematics,	9	1
Natural Science,	20	4
Art and the History of Art,	6	2
Politics, Diplomacy, and Manufactures,	9	0
History and Geography,	8	1
Philology,	21	3
	150	26

We exclude from our computation the teachers of modern languages, along with the fencing masters, riding masters, gymnasts, &c., whom the *exhaustive* principle, which lies at the root of so much both of the folly and the wisdom of our neighbours, has there induced them to add to the staff of the University; and we ought farther to explain, that of the one hundred and fifty Professors whom we have enumerated, *all* are not actually in the pay of the State, though enjoying the privileges of the University; that is, of publicly teaching by its authority, within its walls, and of receiving fees from their pupils. Besides the academicians, however, who are the great European men of Germany, and with whose position, hovering as they do between the University and the Court, we are not accurately acquainted, we can count about 54 of the above list who are *ordinary Professors*, receiving an income of about 1000 thalers (£150) per annum, besides what they derive from fees, and altogether in the enjoyment of what may be equivalent to about £500 or £600 a year in Edinburgh. The average number of students at Berlin is under 2000; and as they do not attend a greater number of lectures than students in Edinburgh do, it is obvious that so large a staff of Professors cannot be required for purposes of mere teaching. In the smaller Universities, Leipzig, Bonn, Halle, &c., there is a similar provision for men of learning, by means of nominal Professorships.

to the guidance of accident, aided by such means as centuries ago our ancestors had provided for the purpose? Have our wants, which in the lower departments of mental culture have so marvellously increased, remained stationary in the highest alone? Has God made man responsible for his gifts only up to a certain point, or will the indefinite multiplication of ministers in the vestibule of the temple of knowledge, exculpate us for neglecting the support of those whose function it is to watch over the sacred fire within? The learning of a community is the fountain from which civilisation flows forth to it like a bountiful river; and if so much of our duty consists, as we seem to acknowledge, in devising the means of duly disseminating these vivifying waters over the social field, shall we be blameless if we neglect to see to it, that the source is pure, and the supply abundant?

But even if we suppose our duty to terminate with the dissemination of such knowledge as we now as a community possess, we ought to bear in mind that our only security in the possession consists in our constant employment of the means of advancement. In knowledge, as in virtue, and most things human, there is no possibility of standing still; if there is no progress, there will speedily be retrogression, nay, even the very fact of our ceasing to advance, is itself equivalent to a step backwards. The man who arrives at the end of one single day without being wiser than he was at its beginning, will infallibly be deteriorated to the extent to which the habit of mind, which brought him thus far, will have suffered relaxation. Now, this same habit of mind, this *εξϋς*, or whatever we may call it, is in truth the most valuable characteristic of mental culture; and thus, though no actual fact has been forgotten during the season of torpor, a very sensible loss may still have occurred. The "*perdidi diem*" of the Roman, if true, expressed only half the truth, for, in losing the day, he lost a portion also of his own being, and of the power which he would otherwise have possessed of availing himself both of the days which preceded, and of those which should follow.

But if a portion of existence cannot be cut off in the case of an individual with impunity to the rest of it, neither can it in that of a community; and if we cease as a nation to struggle on in the upward, we shall very soon be forced into the downward path. If by neglecting the means we lose the habit of acquiring knowledge, our stock in hand will diminish as we ourselves are deteriorated, till our disseminating friends will find in the end nothing left to disseminate; and the Philosophical Institution, as the last relic of Edinburgh civilisation, will be closed by the orders of a barbarian Provost. We may depend upon it that there

is a most intimate sympathy which exists between the members of the body intellectual, and that every effort that is neglected in behalf of learning, in its highest departments, is a blow struck at our whole civilisation. If amongst the professors in our Universities there are none who are boldly pushing on in the paths of inquiry, we shall not stand still simply, but the torpor which waits upon inactivity will be diffused as a new element of mischief, to the meanest and most distant of our provincial schools. For an example of the manner in which this action takes place, we need look no farther than to the history of classical studies in our own city. In these, for half a century at least, we have not even made an effort to advance; and the result has been that, not only as compared with the rest of the world, but absolutely we have gone backward. It may be, that even at the period to which we refer, in the days of our Humes, our Stewarts, and our Robertsons, we were not very distinguished for scholarship; but there is every reason to think that most well educated Scotchmen then (educated in Scotland) possessed a very fair and creditable acquaintance with the writers of antiquity. As learning then existed in these branches at all events, they were probably on a par with other Europeans. Now, however, we grieve to say, our inferiority is almost beyond dispute; and to such a pass have matters come with us of late, that instead of being able to complete the education of our youth in this department, we cannot even *prepare* them to avail themselves of an English or Foreign University. The standard of scholarship in the highest philological classes in our University, is absolutely inferior to that in the fifth form of any respectable English or German school! Let it not be supposed that, in bringing this disgraceful fact thus openly before the public, we mean to cast any imputation on the efficacy of individual labours. The fault, in our opinion, lies now in the system, not in the men; (whether some men may not, by sins of omission at all events, be responsible for the continuance of the system, is another matter;) but as it now exists, until some radical changes are introduced, some bracing measures applied to the whole teaching of the country, by the adoption either of an entrance examination at the University as in England, or of a departing examination at school as in Germany, no real amelioration can be expected from the individual efforts even of the most energetic professors. With such mere boys as compose at present the majority of their pupils, and these boys also in stages of advancement the most various, it is absolutely impossible for the professor to do more than teach them the merest elements of learning.

But it is not merely as illustrating the tendency of the wheel of learning to run backward, so soon as we cease to urge it in

an onward course, that we have been induced to refer to the condition of classical learning amongst us. In a community which finds its chief enjoyment in those tastes and pursuits which we are happy to think distinguish our city, the neglect into which classical studies have fallen, seems to us more especially to be regretted, since in the case of most persons it is only by a continual exercise of that sterner criticism which is necessary for appreciating the severer beauties of the writers of antiquity, that those habits of superficial dilettantism, and indolent receptivity, which are so apt to take possession of those who pursue literature as a mere pastime, can be warded off. It is given to few to be originally productive, and nature herself has wisely arranged that there should be hearers as well as expounders of the word. But whilst we acquiesce in this arrangement, we must bear in mind that even a worthy hearing is by no means so light a matter as is sometimes supposed. If the sole advantage which any one derives from coming in contact with superior minds, be a species of intellectual titillation from which he derives a pleasure of which he can give no rational account, and which he describes, if at all, in phrases only of vague delight and stupid wonder, then for all good and serious purposes assuredly, the contact had better not have taken place. Ennui may be relieved, or vanity gratified by its means, but its only after effect will be a derangement of the mental, similar to that which the use of stimulants produces on the bodily system. In such a case there is neither digestion nor assimilation, the palate has been tickled, but the principle of life has received no augmentation. Still the memory, in all probability, has retained the facts with a marvellous tenacity, for as food lies unaltered in a weak stomach, so a mind in which there is no generalizing power has the faculty of preserving dead knowledge. Now, if a cure is to be hoped for in such a case as this, it must be by the adoption of a system, the tendency of which will be to brace and invigorate the intellect, and to develop, if possible, the thinking principle. But we can act upon this principle only by exercise, and the question then comes to be, in what department shall we exercise it? The close and perfectly abstract reasoning of Mathematics, is a drudgery to which a person of the class we have supposed will scarcely submit, and the subjects about which it is conversant are, besides, totally without interest to one of an enthusiastic and imaginative temperament. Philosophy, on the other hand, in its abstract form, to many men is an impossible study. In its very first steps, it calls for the exercise of those powers of reflection which are the last to develop themselves in all minds, and which in many minds of great activity and no small acuteness, are almost wholly wanting even to the last. For such men the

principles of philosophy have no subjective life, for an appeal to consciousness with them is impossible; and even if they should be capable of following the reasoning, the data upon which it proceeds will seem as arbitrary as those which lie at the root of heraldry or chess. If they learn it at all as a science, to them it will be simply a science of facts, in which light it is probably, of all sciences, the most profitless. But with philosophy in some shape or other, consciously or unconsciously, we must all have to do; and though impossible to many in its abstract, it is by no means necessarily so in its concrete form. To how many persons, for instance, could the character of Othello or of Juliet be critically explained, to whom a psychological development of the passions of love or jealousy would be utterly incomprehensible. It is when allied with criticism alone that philosophy can be popularized without being degraded. But for the purposes of philosophical criticism, and particularly with a view to mental training, there are many reasons why the study of the ancients has been preferred to that of the moderns. The simplicity of form which belongs to their works, and the rigour with which it is adhered to, renders a half understanding of them almost impossible. If we comprehend them so as to derive any æsthetic pleasure from their perusal at all, we will perceive in them a completeness which, even in the greatest moderns, we have difficulty in discovering. A passion is exhibited rather than a character; and the complexity of life being exchanged for the simplicity of art, the consequence is that the study of them insensibly develops our powers of abstraction. It is as near an approach to metaphysics as is possible for many minds; for whilst form is still present to such an extent as to preserve them from that bewilderment into which they immediately fall when they attempt abstract reasoning, it is so transparent as to exhibit the idea almost as an abstraction.

But to some it may seem that the class of minds to which our argument applies, is of so low an order as not to warrant us in adapting the instruction of the community to its requirements; that so little serious benefit can be conferred on persons of a character so superficial, however great may be their activity or their zeal, that the best course we can follow is to leave them out of account, and form our arrangements exclusively with reference to those in whose case nature seems willing to join hands with the schoolmaster. Now, we do not admit that there is any portion of mankind, and more particularly of the zealous and striving part of it, which the rest is thus entitled to cast overboard, and therefore we demur to the justice of the view itself; but even supposing it to be one on which we were entitled to act, we deny that it has any force against our argument. Though the

course we have recommended may be the only possible one with such minds as these, it does not follow that it may not be the best and safest with others of a much higher order, and that even with the highest it may not be as good as any other. To minds of the second of these classes the search after abstract truth demands an effort too severe to be long continued. An occasional flight into the higher and thinner air of pure philosophy they will find bracing and healthful, but it is in the lower regions of the concrete that the path of their usefulness lies. Literature, in short, not philosophy, is their calling, and criticism, not speculation, must be their daily food. Nor does it seem necessary, even in minds of the very highest order, that the course of training, in so far as it is conducted by others, should be different. By them learning will be turned to higher uses than those of criticism; but it is by its means alone, in their own department, that they can stand on the vantage-ground of the past, and calmly and steadily look forth into the future. The peculiar depth which has characterized all the recent philosophical systems of Germany, as compared with those which have sprung up either in France or among ourselves, is, we believe, in no small degree owing to the extensive acquaintance which their authors possessed with the philosophy of Greece.

Nor can it be said that these studies are alien to the natural genius of our people, for, leaving out of account their connection with metaphysics, to which a greater number of minds have always turned in this country than in England, we know that at one most momentous period of our history they were not only cultivated with success, but that they bore to us fruits which even now we are daily reaping. It is the glory of classical learning that its revival was among the leading causes of those two events which decided the whole intellectual life and progress of Europe, the rise of art in Italy, and the German Reformation; and it was no accidental coincidence, that in Scotland, where the principles of Protestantism were so heartily embraced, classical studies were then cultivated with a degree of assiduity and success very remarkable, when we consider the poverty of the country, and the incessant troubles of the times. Nor did the devotion of our fathers to learning stop short whenever they had received this benefit at her hands. Even in after times, when a variety of unfavourable circumstances had prevented a farther development of what had so brilliantly commenced in Buchanan and Melville, the prevalence of a certain acquaintance with these subjects, the extent to which the beginnings of a learned education had been imparted to all ranks of Scotchmen, was a subject of astonishment in every country into which their well-known wandering propensities led them, and

contributed not a little to the success which usually attended their undertakings.

But it is not in classical philology alone that we have thus fallen behind the world. The advances which have been made in other departments of the science itself, have been, if possible, greater than in this. Comparative philology has been called into existence within the last half century, and has thrown light upon regions of history which our fathers had handed over to impenetrable night. Ethnology, seizing on its results, has disclosed ties of forgotten kindred between race and race, and bound mankind together like the children of one house. In no science, with the single exception of chemistry, it may be, has such progress been made within the memory of man. The success with which learning has been applied to this subject in all its departments, is the glory of an age not very distinguished for creative literary effort. Yet who is there to guide our youth into this newly discovered land of knowledge? What labourer have we sent into this fruitful field? or what traveller have we tempted to relate to us the wonders he has seen? Even of those northern tongues from which are derived about five out of every six words that we utter, there is no authorized or competent expounder in our city; and if any knowledge of them prevails in the community at all, it is owing to individual industry, or accidental foreign instruction. As regards our own language, at all events, it will surely seem not a little preposterous to any intelligent man, that the systematic study of it should terminate, as it does with most of us, at the age of nine or ten; and yet what opportunities do the institutions of our city afford for carrying it farther? In this, as in classical learning, we have allowed even our English neighbours to outstrip us, for both at Oxford and in London there are chairs devoted to the history of our mother tongue, which though of recent origin have already been filled by a succession of men of very considerable eminence.*

We shall not dwell longer at present on the crying evils of our University system, as at no distant period we shall probably be forced to treat of them in a more detailed and systematic manner. But there is one other subject allied, and more closely we believe than is generally admitted, to sound and radical critical learning, to which even in the cursory and imperfect sketch which we are here attempting, of the most prominent defects in the learned and educational institutions of our town, a few words before parting must positively be devoted. The subject

* On subjects connected with modern philology, we find no less than eleven Professors advertising to read in the Berlin Verzeichniss, to which we before referred, among whom occur the well-known names of the two Grimms and Von der Hagen.

to which we refer is that of art, properly so called; and whilst we approach it more hopefully than any of the others, in consequence of the interest which it already excites, we do so at the same time with greater hesitation, from the amount of ready-made opinion which we must necessarily encounter. When we speak of art as nearly allied to criticism, and more especially to the critical study of the ancients, we do so with reference to that very circumstance which constitutes the test of whether a particular work is or is not entitled to rank as a legitimate work of art,—we mean its absolute and ideal character. The great and distinguishing excellence both of the art and the literature of Greece, and in a great measure of that supplement which the Romans added to them, consists in the ideal spirit in which all their productions are conceived. The region of the absolute, to which, in other times, one or two favoured minds, in their happiest moments, have succeeded in attaining, is to them

“ Their own calm home, their crystal shrine,
Their habitation from eternity.”

That same union of the utmost possible simplicity of manner, with grandeur of sentiment and conception, which characterizes the early masters of the Florentine school, in comparison with their great successors, marks the position which the art of classical antiquity bears even to the most eminent of succeeding ages. It was the consciousness of the truth and heroic greatness of the antique which led the kindred nature of a Michael Angelo to withdraw himself proudly from the art of his own age, wonderful as it was, in order to dwell in solitary communion with the naked and austere form in which the Grecian sculptor had “objectivized” the law of the grand and the beautiful. But in saying this we would not be understood as at all wishing to exalt the works which genius brought forth in one age, over those which it produced in another; and we believe there are few of the adherents either of the classical or romantic school, who will not confess along with us, that those who like Raphael, Thorwaldsen, and Goethe, have succeeded in combining the objective perfection of the one, with the subjective depth of the other, produce a *tertium quid* often more exquisite than belongs exclusively to either. The relative position and characteristic tendencies of each have been most aptly described by Goethe, when he says that the idea of ancient art is law, that of modern art—freedom; and hence, while the one exhibits unity and perfection, the other is characterized by greater individuality and intensity of subjective feeling. The one took its rise in the worship of nature, in true pantheism, the idea of the *κόσμος*, or harmony of the whole; the other in the new subjective world, brought to light by Chris-

tianity—the unspeakably deep and awful relations between individual man and a personal God.

What we have here stated we by no means bring forward as containing either new or unadmitted principles in art. Theoretically we believe few will deny that something more than a mere heightening of individual characteristics is required, in order to confer the artistic character; that there must be a difference in kind as well as in degree, and that this difference must consist, in the case of a statue or painting, in its being a representation rather of the law according to which the individual came into existence, than a copy of the individual existence itself. Nor will even the universality of the principle be called in question. It will be granted by most that it applies to a Madonna of Raphael, as well as to a Minerva of Phidias, or a Venus of Praxiteles. Practically, however, that is in their works, we rarely find it recognised by our artists, and for this simple reason, we believe, that it forms no part of their habitual thinking. They admit it, but their admission is a mere bending to authority; they do not *feel* its truth; and whenever they come to an artistic expression of their ideas, they naturally and involuntarily express not what they admit, but what they feel. To them ideal and absolute are mere empty sounds, because their faculties of abstraction and generalization being undeveloped, they are incapable of performing those mental processes by means of which alone they can become part of their subjective thinking; and what has no subjective existence in the artist's mind, we may rest assured he will never produce in an objective form. The contingent characteristics of individual existence, on the contrary, are palpable to the senses, no mental process is required for their detection, and in order to reproduce them, all that is requisite is that technical dexterity in which many of our artists are not deficient. But if this be a correct representation of the state of matters amongst us, it follows that it is with the minds of our artists that we have to do, and that studies analogous to those which have long been admitted to be necessary for success in the various departments of purely mental effort, are not less indispensable for him who would succeed in plastic art. We know that such studies were considered by the great masters of Italy to be a necessary part of their artistic training, and that they prosecuted them with such success that, as regarded the early masters of the Florentine school at all events, few of their contemporaries were superior in any department of mental culture. True it may be that their eminence as painters was chiefly owing to other causes, and to causes which it may be we cannot reproduce; but though thus it may be doubtful whether our artists would attain to anything like their eminence, even with the

advantages of liberal studies, it does not therefore become likely that they will do so without them. By neglecting such means we throw to the winds the only chance which we have of ever possessing anything worthy of the name of a school of art. Whether our object, then, be to form a painter or a sculptor, our course will be to supply him with an opportunity of well and carefully studying the art of the Greeks, where the idea of the human form is at once more perfectly and more simply presented than by any of the moderns, even the greatest; and for a commentary on the art of Greece, the best source to which we can direct him will be her literature. When thus he has grappled with the abstract in its simplest form, he will be in a condition to add to it the subjective element, the sentiment of the Christian art of Italy, without risk of falling into that weak and morbid sentimentality which so frequently disgraces the works of modern artists whenever they attempt religious subjects.

The vagaries into which the want of this radical instruction has betrayed many of our modern artists, would form one of the most curious subjects of psychological inquiry which the present state of society presents. Of these, one of the strangest is that which lies at the root of what we may designate as the *genteel* school of art. The method by which the followers of this school seek to convert a real into an ideal man, consist solely in the removal of those peculiarities which they take to characterize the lower orders, and their practice consists in continually diminishing every prominent feature. Of large hands, and feet, and limbs of every sort, they have the utmost horror, and consequently they hate both Rubens and Titian with a bitter hatred.

It never occurs to them that the faults of the individual form for the most part are either deficiencies or deformities, not superfluities; and if they commence, for example, with a strapping dragoon, instead of raising him to the proportions of a Hercules, which would be to fulfil the idea of nature with regard to him, they reduce him to those of an enervated and emaciated Parisian dandy. If such principles of idealizing as these were carried out, (and we grieve to say they are prevalent,) where would our artists land before the end of the next half century—*ὅταν τὸ ὕδωρ πνίγῃ, τί δὲ ἐπιπίνῃ*, if water chokes them now, what would they drink then? But the reply of some of our readers to all that we have said, or could say, on this subject, will be, that though it may be true that our artists are badly instructed, and though the fact in itself may be an unfortunate one, still this is a matter with which we, as a community, have nothing to do. They will tell us, that if we offer to artists, as we do to other producers, a market for their commodity when it is presented to us, we do all that a community can be expected to do for its individual

members. In this answer, however, the error is committed of supposing the artist to be in circumstances equally favourable with the mechanic for gaining his livelihood; whereas not only does his calling require a course of training infinitely more protracted, but the value of his productions depending on their quality and not on their quantity, it is scarcely possible for him ever to secure a constant and sufficient subsistence, without injury, so to speak, to his artistic health. The course which is followed by the promoters of art in our city at present, being consistent with the reply which we are here controverting, is, in our opinion, not only ineffectual for the attainment of its professed end, but positively prejudicial to the cause itself. By creating an artificial market, (a course which our political economist friends will reprobate as only protection under another form,) and purchasing the pictures of half-instructed artists, even at low prices, we hold out a temptation to productiveness at a stage of their artistic life where study ought to be their sole object. Our artist, we shall say of twenty years of age, who has acquired the mechanical part of his art, knows that if he produces three pictures for the Exhibition annually, two of them, in all probability, whatever may be their quality, will be purchased by the Association, and thus, besides gratifying his vanity in the first instance, he is supplied with a provision for life, which, calling as it does for a continual exercise of his mechanical productive powers, acts as a positive premium on mediocrity. If the same sum which we pay him for his pictures, which are worth nothing, and which, if they have any effect on the taste of those to whom the lottery assigns them, must have a prejudicial one, were devoted to his instruction, he might possibly, in time, bestow on us a picture which would be a boon to his country and his kind. True, no doubt, he still might fail; with all the opportunities we could possibly afford him, he might be unable to mount to the artistic region; but if one artist in fifty should succeed, and if that artist should produce but one picture, we hesitate not to say, that it would fifty times outweigh in value the five hundred and fifty-five which the Association might in the mean time have called into existence by the continued labours of the fifty. It will be said, that if the system were changed, the sum which, one way or other, is now expended on art, could not possibly be raised; that those who regard pictures as mere pieces of ornamental furniture, would not subscribe if the temptation of the lottery were removed, and that their guineas are as good as those of better men. But though the number of subscribers of this class might diminish, others who now hold off from a feeling of the worthlessness of the institution would come forward, and some of them, probably, to a much greater extent than one single guinea per annum.

Even if the present system were retained, many of its evil consequences might be obviated by simply diminishing the number of pictures purchased and greatly increasing the sums paid. Suppose, for example, *two* pictures only were to be purchased annually, for a sum of £1000 or £1500 each, the immediate tendency of such a change would be to hold out an inducement for the acquisition of greater artistic attainments, by rendering them indispensable to all who were even to hope for the prizes.

The main stay and support of the present system of indiscriminate purchase at low prices consists, we verily believe, in an absurd confusion between the objects of an association for the encouragement of art and a charitable institution for the relief of indigent artists. We continually hear it said that so and so is needy, *therefore* we hope the Association will buy his pictures. With just as much reason we might hope that he would one day be appointed to that naval command for which it is said our present premier conceives himself qualified. The fact of his poverty may constitute an excellent claim on our charity, but it can never entitle him to the rewards of successful endeavour. To confound the two is not only to insult the true artist, but its effect is to create that very evil which we thus charitably seek to remedy, by tempting a multitude of unqualified persons to enter upon a career which can never bring them any thing but disappointment and humiliation.

But there is another argument which we frequently hear against the instruction or the support of artists by the State or the community, viz., that the great masters of Italy enjoyed no such advantages. Now, this argument can be honest only in the mouths of those who are altogether forgetful of the state of society in which these men lived. In those days in which the State was nothing, the prince, and above all the Church, everything, a provision of the only kind now possible, was not, and could not be made. But it does not follow from hence that artists were left unaided, or supported from the first by the sale of their works. With scarcely a single exception they were under the patronage either of their native princes or of the reigning Pope, and their style of living, of which we have ample records, gives indubitable signs not only of ease, but of positive splendour. As one single instance, it may be remembered, that the beauty of Leonardo da Vinci's horses was the admiration of Florence; whereas if one of our artists were to indulge himself with a street cab to drag him to his studio of a morning, it would be looked upon as a piece of extravagant luxuriousness.

It is not our intention, in the conclusion, as it has not been our object in the course of this Article, to point out the specific means by which the imperfections of the social institutions of our

city are to be rectified. The first step towards amelioration is the feeling of its necessity; and if we shall in any degree have awakened this feeling, the duty which weighed upon us, as citizens, will have been performed.

Questions concerning the ways and means are neither suited for our pages nor consistent with our habits. *Non omnes omnia.* These must be left to hustings and town-council orations, to the periodical press, and the pamphleteer; and if, in the after discussion, any occasion should offer itself to us of spreading the flame which we have attempted to kindle, we trust we shall not be found sleeping at our post. One word, however, before parting, we must even here adventure with the worldly wise, for his first objection we can readily anticipate. The money? the money? All your schemes demand it, and whence is it to come? Our Town-Council is poor, our community not rich; we have taxes to pay, and charities to support; and to look for the interposition of Government in our behalf, is pretty much as if we were to hope that Arthur Seat would become a Californian mine, or the Water of Leith roll down the sands of Pactolus. But does it never occur to our practical friend, that somewhere or other, there must be a hitch in his argument, when he finds that of money there is not the slightest lack when the object in view is the construction of a railway, the lengthening of a pier, the establishment of an insurance office, or the building of a bank; and that it is only when the question concerns the highest and most sacred duties of man with reference to this world, the development of his own being, that this abject prostration of our resources is exhibited. Is he (the *πρακτικὸς*) positively certain that the absence of that zeal, which in all material matters renders us omnipotent, may not lie at the root of our impotence in all that is spiritual? Even if our material interests alone were worthy of consideration, and if man did live by bread alone, would his course be a wise one? for where, we would ask, would have been that civilisation of which the external manifestations seem to him so important, but for those deeper causes, which to him are so little apparent? If there had been no thinker in the closet, there would have been no desire for travel to support his railways; no prudence to call for his insurance offices; no enterprise to crowd his piers; no money to put into his banks. There would have been, in short, no demand for the external arrangements of civilisation, and consequently none of those arrangements themselves; for in this case, at all events, the supply is the consequence of the demand; and if you neglect the cause, your hold on the results will speedily become insecure. That where there is no tillage, there can be no harvest, is as true in this case as in any other; for material improvements, if not al-

ways exactly in proportion to, are still certainly the results of, culture and refinement. The negro has constructed no railway over the wide plains of Africa, and the gold on his coasts he has never coined, for he has never felt the want of the one or the other. If you could have made him a mental, he would have become a material speculator also; and if a grain of culture could have been instilled into his mind, grains of gold innumerable would speedily have been paid in dividends to all the nations of the earth. With reference then to our most immediate and material interests, we can assure our friend that our scheme *will pay*, though we fain would think that there are few among us whose conduct is influenced by such motives alone. So soon as a social want is felt, and a social duty clearly recognised, we are persuaded, that from every class of our community, and not of our little civic community alone, but of Scotland at large, will come forth ready, zealous, and effective workmen, who will speedily remove from us the reproach, that in this our boasted nineteenth century, we cannot even adapt to the exigencies of the times those institutions, which in an age of comparative ignorance, under the pressure of poverty, and amid the turmoil of war, our forefathers were wise, and rich, and energetic enough to establish in our land.

- ART, II.—1. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. By JOHN RUSKIN. 8vo. London, 1849.
 2. *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*: von FRANZ KUGLER. *Zweite Auflage*. 8vo. 1849.
 3. *History of Architecture*. By JOHN FREEMAN. 8vo. London, 1849.
 4. *Two Letters from Athens*. By C. F. PENROSE, Esq. Published for the Society of Dilettanti. 4to. London.

LITTLE is, at present, known concerning the causes of architectural effects. The secrets of the other arts have been investigated, from time to time, and with more or less of success. But, if we except two or three remarkable attempts made during the last quarter of a century, nothing has been done, from the days of Vitruvius to our own, to cast light upon the essential elements of character in the earliest and most necessary of the Fine Arts. It was the custom of the later Greek architects to give elaborate written accounts of their edifices. None of these descriptions remain; but the loss is probably not so great to the science of *Æsthetics* as might be supposed; for the true artist is rarely sufficiently conscious of the laws by which he acts, to be able to give any very satisfactory definitions of them. Vitruvius himself does not alleviate our darkness. His work is still, as it ought to be, a text-book for the practical architect. It would be well if our modern builders attended more strictly than they do to the rules he supplies. One of the noblest Greek buildings of modern times, the new British Museum, would have been much nobler, had it fully exhibited the curve of the podium and entablature, and the irregularities of angular intercolumniations which Vitruvius demands, and which very recent measurements have shewn to exist in the best ancient works. But beyond the constructive rules to be deduced from authorities within his reach, Vitruvius gives us no information. Greek architecture, when the Roman critic wrote, was dead, and so were those that understood it. The useful arch had broken up the beautiful entablature, and the Greek decoration, which the degraded architecture of the time retained, had lost, by change of position, about as much of its beauty as the human eye loses, when it is transferred from the human face to the naphthar of the dissector. Neither architecture nor architectural criticism gained anything at the famous Renaissance. The true style which had sprung up in the interval, was thrust out of the way by a false one; for, notwithstanding all the Proportions, Symmetries, Harmonies, and other somewhat abstract and high-

sounding virtues of Palladio, Scamozzi, and Vignola, and the real excellence, and even perfection which may have been attained, by the Italian architects, in the revived Roman style, it is not to be denied that the style itself was a false one,—one in which the principle of the arch enters into an absurd alliance with the incompatible principle of the entablature. Of course, nothing could be expected from criticism so long as the artistical ideal involved an absurdity. The best criticism that could arise at such a period, is of the kind which a contemporary journal* reproves with the remark, “To say that simplicity, congruity, harmony of proportions, unity of effect and character, expression, &c., are valuable, is merely saying—the beautiful is the beautiful, and the excellent the excellent.”

To come to more modern writers upon ancient architecture, the French have wanted knowledge of Greek examples; the English have wanted the feeling to appreciate them; and the Germans, until within the last year or two, have unaccountably wanted the interest and industry required for their analysis. The best French critic on architectural æsthetics with whose writings we have made acquaintance, is Quatremère de Quincy; but his deductions are often from insufficient or hastily considered data. Hope, until very lately the best English writer on the subject, shews a decided want of perception for the highest attributes of the art: the barbarous Roman pleased him almost as much as the purest Greek. All praise is due to Stuart and Revett, and their commentators Kinnaird, Cockerell, &c., to Mr. Wilkins, the Dilettante Society, and others, for increasing our stock of knowledge of details; but this is all that they seem to have attempted. Mr. Ruskin, eloquent, and generally right, as we consider him to be in his views of Italian Gothic architecture, has evidently studied the art in its Greek development only to a limited extent.

In Germany, the ground of architectural æsthetics has been broken to some purpose by Franz Kugler in his “*Kunstgeschichte*.” This remarkable work displays exactly the kind of power required for a complete analysis of the art in question; but the surface travelled over by its author is too extensive to admit of anything like a sufficient account of the elements of architectural character. A vivid glimpse or two of its essence is all that has been got, or given, by the highest German authority on architectural æsthetics.

Thanks, however, to the labours chiefly of recent writers, we are now possessed of something like complete information concerning the body, or material part, of the only architectures that

* The Athenæum.

concern us practically; namely, the pure architectures of Ancient Greece, and of mediæval Northern Europe; with their various Roman, late Italian, Tudor, and other modifications and degradations.

We are starting no new position when we affirm, that the spirit inhabiting the body, whether of Gothic or Greek temple architecture, is as yet involved in deep obscurity. The fact of this obscurity is widely recognised.

It is proposed in this paper, first, to consider the state of ignorance of the architecture of Greece chiefly, as being that development of the art which suffers from the heaviest darkness; secondly, to describe Greek architecture after the brief, intelligible, and vivid manner of recent German critics, who are almost unknown in England, but who alone have so depicted the art, as to leave upon the student's mind the impression that Greek architecture really is a "Fine Art," and not merely a fashion of ornamental stone-masonry; and, thirdly, to answer in some substantial, though perhaps very limited way, to the as yet unanswered demand for a system of architectural æsthetics.

England is rich in accounts of the details of Greek temples. Stuart and Revett's famous "*Antiquities of Athens*," the first faithful account published in any country, of some of the crowning beauties of ancient architecture, was followed by the publications of the Dilettante Society, Wilkins' "*Magna Græcia*," Dodwell's "*Tour in Greece*," and other works of the same high character, most of them, however, at such high prices as to preclude them from any but wealthy or public libraries, and the book-shelves of the professional architect. Generally accessible accounts are, for the most part, as inaccurate as they are incomplete; the only approximation to a sound and popular manual upon the subject being the recently published abridgment of Stuart and Revett, which contains descriptions of about *one-sixth* of the few examples that remain to us of the specimens of the pure Greek art. There are works having considerable popularity, boasting even of a wide professional patronage, and pretending to include a full description of Greek architecture, which we will not mention at all, for we cannot do so without contempt. Some of the fashionable Manuals of Gothic Architecture give a few pages to the description of the Greek art, but apparently with a view only to make it a foil to set off the beauties of its more favoured successor. The best of these accounts are unjust, insufficient, and erroneous. The well-known "*Glossary*," for example, gives a grossly misleading delineation of the base of the columns of the Choric monument of Lysicrates; and the late Mr. Rickman, in his well-known manual,

the fifth edition of which has just appeared, with elaborate additions and corrections, does the architecture of Greece the injustice to say, that "in dividing the Grecian and Roman architecture, the word *order* is used, and much more properly than style; the English styles regard not a few parts, but the composition of a whole building; but a Grecian building is denominated Doric or Ionic, merely from its ornaments." This is so far from being the truth, that the Greek orders are even more essentially distinct, as styles, than are the several phases of the Gothic art, as will manifestly appear in the course of the following pages. Such mistakes in writers of the present day are not to be excused, for, as we have said, there are abundant materials for the formation of complete and systematic accounts, and a sound judgment of Greek architecture. Until recently, however, this has not been the case. For something like two thousand years the architecture of Greece was almost as effectually buried as that of Nineveh. Vitruvius himself knew little of Greek architecture, properly so called. He seems to have travelled little, and to have artistically comprehended what he saw still less. His practical rules are invaluable, but they apply, for the most part, to merely the Roman degradations of the lovely art of Greece. The great Italian architects of the Renaissance, were studiously ignorant of all ancient art, but that which was transmitted to them by the Roman oracle. Palladio's Collection of Antiquities contains no example of a Doric building: and the *Roman* Temple of Manly Fortune is his only instance of ancient Ionic! Subsequently Desgodetz gave one example of *Roman* Doric, namely, the Temple of Marcellus, (which is no more like Greek Doric than Guildhall is like Westminster Abbey), and one or two others of *Roman* Ionic. And this is nearly all that was known of *Greek* architecture up to the latter end of the last century. If we can boast that all this lamentable ignorance of the details of an art, perhaps the most brilliant and complete that the world has ever witnessed, is now done away with, we have yet to lament that we are little in advance of our ancestors in our comprehension of the spirit which animated ancient architecture. The following "general rules" from Milizia's "*Memorie degli Architetti Antichi e Moderni*," are a very favourable specimen of the kind of criticism which was alone to be had upon the subject, until within the last few years, and which is even now a very prevalent way of replying to those who ask questions concerning the magic life of Greek architecture.

"Architecture, like every other fine art, is subject to the following general rules:—1. In all its productions there should be an agreeable relation between the parts and the whole; which is comprehended under the name of symmetry. 2. Variety,

which prevents an object from becoming tiresome to the spectator; and unity, which prevents discords and confusion, and is called eurythmy. 3. Convenience is necessary, then ornament, which makes a just use of symmetry and eurythmy, and of the relation which there should be between an edifice and its destiny, and between the ornaments and quality of the building, adopting those most conformable to its magnificence, elegance, or simplicity. 4. If architecture be the daughter of necessity, even its beauties should appear to result from such. In no part of the decoration should there be any artifice discoverable; hence, everything extraneous is a proof of bad taste. 5. The principal features of architecture are its orders, or more properly they are the essentials of building, and are therefore considered as ornaments only when usefully placed; and all other architectural ornaments are subject to the same laws. 6. Nothing must be introduced which has not its proper office, and is not an integral part of the fabric itself, so that whatsoever is represented must appear of service. 7. No arrangement must be made for which a good reason cannot be assigned. 8. These reasons must be deduced from the origin and analysis of that primitive architecture of the cottage, which was the origin of civil architecture. This is the directing rule of artists in their works, and of the learned in the examining of them. Everything must be founded on truth, or its similitude. Whatsoever cannot really and truly exist, cannot be approved of in representation. 9. Examples and authority, however great they may be, should have no effect on the reason."

Now, from these and a thousand similar and infinitely tautological "general rules," with which architectural criticism is burdened, we defy any one to get any clear notions whatever. And yet the idea of Greek art, as we hope presently to shew, is there, but blindly and impotently blundering about, like the fly in the wriggling chrysalis.

Mixed up with much of this sort of thing in recent criticisms, we have an occasional glimpse of clearer truth; which, however, only tantalizes us by the refusal or incapability of the critic to carry it out. In the "History of Architecture," by Mr. Freeman, for example, we were struck with surprise and filled with expectancy on meeting with this strictly accurate general definition of Greek architecture:—"Though Grecian is by no means the only style constructed on the mechanical principle of the entablature, it is the only one which thoroughly carries out the æsthetical notion suggested by that principle." On reading these words, after we had nearly completed the collection of materials for this paper, we concluded that Mr. Freeman had already done the work for us, and we proceeded in our perusal

of the History of Architecture, confident that we should be edified by some analysis which should be proof of and comment on, this excellent definition. We looked for some rationale of the effect of the Doric ornaments,—triglyphs, guttæ, capital-mouldings, flutings, and others,—all universally present, surprisingly effective, and mostly unexplained; for some account of the Ionic capital, of the Attic base, of the essential difference of the Doric and Ionic styles, and of a hundred other things, which since they are possessed of physical existence, *must* be capable of explanation. In all this we were disappointed. Nothing more than a dim glimmering, derived probably from Kugler's "*Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*," and directed upon one or two trifling details, repaid our perusal of Mr. Freeman's remarks on Greek Architecture.

Mr. Freeman's book came out last April, and about the same time a work appeared from the pen of a critic, of a very different calibre; we speak, of course, of Mr. Ruskin's "*Seven Lamps of Architecture*,"—a title which led us to suppose that we were to be initiated into the several mysteries of that number of different styles of the art. The boldness and subtilty of Mr. Ruskin's mind were sufficient for the task: but he has not performed it, nor has he attempted to perform it. His "*Seven Lamps*" illuminate all styles of architecture pretty equally; the style from which the greater number of his illustrations are derived being the Italian Gothic. Evidently Mr. Ruskin has not even thoroughly studied Greek architecture, for when he alludes to it, it is chiefly to the Corinthian style, which is a debased Ionic, and can scarcely be said to have existed as a distinct style in temple architecture, until long after the ages of the pure Greek art.

So much for English criticism of Greek architecture.

The French have some clever generalizations upon the subject; but we repeat that the habit prevalent among our neighbours of generalizing upon insufficient or inaccurate data has rendered their æsthetic attempts in this kind of little value. Batissier's *Archæology*, a work of authority in France, and of much merit, in some respects, displays a very confused notion of the existence of any essential difference between the architecture of Greece, and its Roman and late Italian degradations.

Germany, as we have already hinted, is in a different case. If German critics have produced no consistent and thoroughly philosophical analysis of Greek architecture, they have, at least, done much towards it, by writing descriptions which exhibit complete knowledge and admirable appreciation of the art. Franz Kugler has even gone farther. Inspired with the liveliest feeling of the spirit of Greek architecture, as the complete

æsthetical development of the principle of the entablature, (in opposition to that of the arch,) he has caught vivid glimpses of the mode of operation of two or three principal details; and it is no weak corroboration of the views which we have to propound in this paper, and which were, for the most part, elaborated before the publication of Kugler's "*Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*," that their coincidence, in regard to these two or three details, with the views of the great German critic, is almost complete. With the more technical German works on architecture* we are unacquainted, but in the work, unfortunately as yet untranslated, of Kugler, we may be sure that we have the high-water mark of German architectural æsthetics. C. O. Müller and Hübsch vie with him in the excellence of their general remarks, but nowhere out of Kugler do we find any important approximation to a clear, æsthetical account of details.

We now proceed to describe the general character of Greek temple architecture, in such manner that clearer notions of it may be given than are to be derived from the English accounts with which we are acquainted, and in order that the remarks which are to follow may be relieved from any obscurity that might result from want of distinct information on the part of the reader.

Greek architecture, like all other architectures, properly so named, and, indeed, like all other of the fine arts, had a purely religious origin, and in its best ages was applied only to the service of religion. The Greek temple, in its main design, is of the simplest nature; it is merely the house of the god, and consists, in its essential parts, only of the *cella* or *naos*, always of a quadrangular plan, and containing the image of the god, and of an open portico, or *pronaos*. In order to invite the reverence of the people to the inner sanctuary, to which they were not admitted, the portico received its striking and significant decoration. Its chief front had an open colonnade, with which were connected multifarious sculptured decorations. Afterwards, in most great buildings this colonnade was continued all round the temple, in order to relieve the dead external wall. In these porticos, the reciprocal relations between the sculptured and the properly architectural parts were arranged with the most correct feeling. The architecture appears as the frame-work of the sculpture, and the sculpture as the blossom of the architectural stem. They are distinguished from each other in the most decided manner, but in connexion they constitute a complete whole. The architectural frame-work, in the first place, consists

* The principal collections of details and practical text-books in German, are translations from the English.

of a row of columns, which are erected on a common foundation, the *podium* or *stylobate*, which consists of several steps. The columns derive from the flutings a vigorous ascending energy, which is terminated by the plain horizontal architrave. Above the architrave is the frieze, in Greek, *zophoros*, or *sculpture-bearer*, which commonly displays a series of bas-reliefs. Above the sculpture of the frieze rests the cornice, the chief member of which, a strongly projecting plate, forms a decided termination. At either end of the temple, a gable, or pediment, surmounts the cornice. The tympanum of the pediment contains the most important sculptures. The apex and extreme corners of the pediment bear weighty masses of stone called *acroteria*; and these are commonly the supporters of light aspiring ornaments. The character of the general form of the Doric temple is simple and determinate; the intermediate members which connect or separate the chief parts of the building, as also the decorations, are simple and even severe. Rest and power, firmness and dignity, are expressed throughout. The columns are massively proportioned, stand near together, and offer a bold opposition to the superincumbent pressure of the entablature, which rests heavily upon them. The Doric column has two parts, shaft and capital. It has no base, but springs at once from the highest step of the foundation. The flutings of the shaft express a severe self-confinement and concentration of its power. The shaft diminishes rapidly from the bottom upwards, whereby the supporting power is concentrated, as it approaches the pressure of the architrave. An easy *entasis*, or swelling, which accompanies this diminution of the diameter of the shaft, gives it additional animation. A strong square plate, the *abacus*, provides a firm bed for the architrave. Against this abacus, the animated column thrusts itself, spreading under the pressure of the abacus, into the convex protuberant form of the *echinus*, or lower part of the capital. The echinus is embraced in its lower circumference by rings called annulets, which again express the firm confinement of the aspiring element of the column. Below the echinus, there are one or more small grooves, or channels, which go round the shaft, preparing the eye for the termination of the direct aspiring power, which occurs higher up in the annulets. The architrave is a plain rectangular beam, or lintel, which is separated from the frieze by a slightly projecting band, or *fillet*. The frieze, in the Doric style, is not filled throughout with sculpture, but is divided at regular intervals by the *triglyphs*, which are quadrangular slabs, or blocks, projecting a little before the face of the frieze. It is supposed that they represent the ends of the cross-beams, which, in the earliest wooden edifices, rested on the architrave. The spaces, occupied by sculpture, between the

triglyphs are called *metopæ*. The triglyphs owe their name to the channels which are cut vertically in their surface, and which appear to reciprocate the flutes of the shafts. Underneath each triglyph, and below the fillet, or *tænia* of the architrave, there is another fillet, or band, on which, by way of enrichment, hangs a row of *guttæ*, or drops, which assist in the triglyphic character. Above the triglyphs, and underneath the *corona*, or chief member of the cornice, there are small blocks called *mutules*, derived probably from the original projecting plank-heads, and on these also there are rows of *guttæ*. The *corona* is finally crowned by a moulding called the *cymatium*. These forms undoubtedly suggest a rude wooden construction as their origin: but it is an error to consider them as a direct and intentional imitation of the early wooden edifice, or as anything more than a mere echo of that form of construction.

The sculptures in the *metopæ* of the frieze consist generally of bold projecting reliefs, constituting an effective contrast with the architectural features. Still more conspicuous are the sculptures of the pediment, consisting generally of groups of perfect statues.

The inclined cornice of the pediment follows the form of the horizontal cornice; it has, however, no *mutules*, and is crowned by a moulding of a highly decorated and aspiring character called the *cyma*. The horizontal cornices are frequently decorated at certain intervals with light palm, or honeysuckle leaves, which correspond to the rows of hollow tiles that lie upon the flat ones, and constitute ridges down the inclined sides of the roof, and which give, like the *acroteria* at the angles of the pediment, a finishing stroke to the architectural treatment. The ceiling of the portico is constructed of cross-beams, from the architrave to the walls of the *cella*, with broad slabs placed upon them, forming *cassoons* or panels, which are often highly decorated, and harmonize well with the rest of the building. The *antæ*, or terminations of walls, have a peculiar architectural development; they do not follow the form of the columns, as they were made to do by the Roman and late Italian architects; they have fine and light cap and base-mouldings, which are, for the most part, continued along the walls, with which the *antæ* are in connexion. These cap-mouldings have nothing in common with the significant mouldings of the capital of the column. They have more the character of mere decoration.

Painting in colours was extensively used in connexion with, and in subordination to, these architectural forms. The triglyphs, the ornamental mouldings of the frieze and cornice, the *cassoons* in the ceiling, the caps of the *antæ*, the sculptures in the frieze and tympanum, and the ground against which they stood, were

painted in various colours. The figures painted on the mouldings seem to have been curiously subordinated to the form of the moulding, which they appear to have rendered distinct and obvious to the eye at a distance. Thus the *ovolo* was painted with the egg and anchor ornament; the *bead* with pearls; sometimes these figures were cut into the mouldings, instead of being painted upon it. Rectangular members frequently exhibited the peculiar "*meander*," which is also well adapted to call attention to the rectangular form. Everywhere the colours were decided and well contrasted.

The proportions of the early Doric architecture were exceedingly massive, and expressive of a vast exertion of power. In the most beautiful period of that style, the character became lighter, the expression of power more moderate, an attitude of conscious security being the chief thing aimed at.

Such is the substance of Kugler's account of the Doric style. We have omitted nothing of any æsthetical importance, and have *literally translated all such phrases as seemed to be possessed of unusual significance*. We add, in few words, the pith of his account of the Ionic style.

The character of the architectural frame-work in Ionic architecture, displays no less of decision than that of the Doric; but it is more completely organized and more richly developed; the details are more various, soft, and flowing. Where vigour is to be expressed, the proportions are more free and light. The Vitruvian fable, which attributes the masculine character to the Doric, the feminine to the Ionic, is quite appropriate. The Ionic column has a peculiar base, the form of which intimates that it is designed to oppose the pressure of the shaft by an independent power. The chief member of the base consists of a sweeping hollow, of a strained, elastic tension, expressing energetic concentration of power; above the hollow rests a large round moulding, the *torus*, the form of which expresses the superincumbent weight. The other parts are variously developed, in the different kinds of Ionic architecture. The torus is sometimes enriched with horizontal channels, suggesting the same concentration of power as is expressed by the flutings of the shaft. The shaft is not so much tapered as in the Doric style, and its entasis is less decided. The flutes are deeper, and have broad fillets, instead of sharp edges, between them; the expression of self-contracted energy being thus rendered less severe than in the Doric. The Ionic capital widely deviates in detail from that of the earlier style, and exhibits evident traces of oriental origin;* but the

* This remark has been strikingly confirmed by Mr. Layard's discovery of a Nineveh bas-relief, containing representations of columns decidedly of the Ionic type.

fundamental principle is the same in the capitals of both styles. The *echinus*, or ovolo, constituting the lower part of the capital, resembles the Doric ovolo in its general form; but, in accordance with the system of fuller development and greater enrichment in the Ionic style, this ovolo is carved into the egg-mould. In place of the rude unanimated form of the Doric abacus, we have the volutes which press against the sides of the ovolo in strong elastic curves. The Ionic architrave is not a single beam like the Doric, but consists of two or three courses, or *fasciæ* projecting slightly one above the other: its weight is thus divided and organized. The architrave is surmounted by a fine fillet, which is borne by an animated moulding. The frieze has no divisions, but is completely filled with sculpture. The *corona*, or chief mass of the cornice, is carried by a succession of expressive mouldings. Among these sometimes appear the *dentils*, which resemble a course of plank-heads set vertically, and which are strikingly deficient in the animation which pervades all other Ionic members. In the Ionic buildings of Attica, the dentils are omitted as generally as they are retained in the temples of Asia Minor. The highest mouldings of the cornice, the decorations of the lacunaria, and the mouldings of the antæ-caps, harmonize with the other members in their display of a more feminine development, and a greater variety than are found in the Doric style. Colours were used in Ionic as in Doric; but the figures which were painted on the Doric mouldings were commonly carved in the Ionic. The voluted capital allows of many modifications of its details. The most important variety is that in which the fillet forming the volute becomes double, causing a preponderance of effect in the capital, which requires the addition of a broad and highly decorated necking to the top of the shaft. This necking afterwards acquired self-importance; the leaves at first carved upon it in low relief sprang from its surface; the volutes were diminished in size, and thus resulted the Corinthian capital. This form of capital appears extremely seldom in the good Greek period, and it was first developed into an independent style after the close of that period, by the Romans, or by Greeks working under them.

This sketch of Greek architecture may be safely received as a full summary of all that is known up to the present time, even in Germany, of architectural æsthetics. We have adhered pretty closely to Kugler's account, having given his opinions, where, in some instances, they are quite contradicted by our own.

As useful appendages to the above description, we subjoin two short passages, the first we translate from Hübsch, describing well the total effect of Greek architectural art; the second is from Quatremère de Quincy, on the statues of Phidias.

"The religion of the Greeks although it proposed a pure ideal humanity, soared but little above the sphere of earth, if we contemplate it from the Christian point of view. It urged man to moderation in conduct, but demanded of him no self-contemplation, contenting itself with leaving him in a childlike temper of soul. In like manner, Greek art depicted, indeed, the ideal aspect of life, but never attained the super-earthly regions of Christian art. The essence of Greek art is a serene rest, a simplicity, even a meagreness of significance, but set forth with clear precision and perfect satisfactoriness. So, above all, with Greek architecture."

"Ses (Phidias's) ouvrages servirent puissamment la religion. L'on pourrait dire que, selon l'esprit des Grecs et de leur culte, une statue comme celle du Parthenon, était ce qu'aurait été dans certains temps chez nous quelque nouveau traité de théologie, de dogme, ou d'histoire sainte."

Before we proceed further, a few sentences, by way of comment on the foregoing description, may be useful. And, *first*, concerning that famous "hut-theory," to which Hope gave his authority, and which has prevailed in England ever since, disgracing our taste and understanding. This theory traces every feature of the Greek temple to the constructive necessities of the wooden edifice, which preceded marble architecture; and, not contented with such a stretch of unimaginativeness, it further attributes the main effect of marble architecture to its suggestion of those wooden necessities. We see that Kugler rejects this plausible absurdity, without, however, proving the justice of that rejection, as he easily might have done, by instancing the Ionic dentils, and Corinthian *modillons*, or consoles, as examples of members which *force* the attention upon the construction, and ought, therefore, according to the "hut-theory," to be most conspicuous beauties, instead of being eye-sores, as they are to those who have any sound feeling for Greek architecture. These members *support* the corona of the cornice; and, in order to be intelligible, refer to their continuation, as beams, in the substance of the entablature. They are thus essentially constructive features, and, in this, differ from the triglyphs, mutules, and other members, which, though no doubt they had an equally constructive origin, do not refer to that origin for their only or chief significance. They are, indeed, as Kugler well says, an echo of the wooden construction. Their properly artistical significance, as we shall presently shew, is purely superficial, and does not require, but would be weakened, or quite destroyed, by any allusion to the *internal and unseen* construction of the entablature. Every member, indeed, ought to have a strict constructive propriety; but this constitutes not the artistical significance, but only its condition. Does the spectator really refer any portion of the delight with which he beholds a pure Doric front, to his

apprehension of the likeness of its most peculiar beauty, the triglyph to a notched beam-end? Hope, and other critics of the same note, attribute the strict appropriation of the principal forms of Greek architecture to religious purposes, to the transmission merely of a conventional type, from which to depart would have been to disturb the traditional associations connected with those forms. But we have proofs enough of the fact, that the ancients were not blind to the essential and peculiar appropriateness of the architectural *forms* of their temples, to the service for which they were destined. In late periods, the Greek styles were applied to secular purposes; but, while the constructive type was retained, the religious appropriateness vanished, and there is as much difference between the Doric of the "Portico of Philip," and that of the Parthenon, as there is between the secular Gothic of the Town-Hall at Louvain, and the fervently religious, though somewhat late, art of the neighbouring Tower of Malines. Every one knows what danger from popular suspicion was incurred by a distinguished Greek, who solicited permission to adorn his house-front with a pediment: and that the appropriateness of this feature of a Greek temple was not felt to be merely traditional, may farther be inferred from the fact, that the comparatively coarse perception of a Roman, Cicero, enabled him to detect so much beauty in the form in question, as to induce him to affirm, that "if a temple were to be built in heaven, where no rain falls, it would be necessary to bestow a pediment upon it."

In regard to the, until recently uninvestigated, and even now ill-understood system of polychrome painting, in Greek architecture, we would remind those whose sense of "classicality" is mystified by this, and other systems, which are now found to have been practised in Greek art, that such sense has most probably been formed under the influence of the notion, that the use of colours in architecture was not admitted by the Greeks. In this case, the sense of outraged classical usage will of course be removed, by getting by heart the fact, that classical usage was *not* outraged thereby. The practice of painting sculptures, setting precious stones in their eyes, &c., does not come within our cognizance as critics merely of architecture; but we may state our conviction, that the objections of most persons to such practices will be removed by due consideration of the above remark. There are some apparently substantial objections to polychrome architectural decoration, which we shall remove in due course. In the meantime, let our readers reflect, that the acknowledged perfection of the taste of the Greeks, in all departments of their art which have been intelligibly transmitted to us ought to induce us to credit them for not having grossly failed, where ma-

terials are as yet wanting to enable us to judge with safety. And here we may aptly call attention to the very remarkable fact in the history of pure Greek art, that it made a deliberate choice of simplicity and true refinement, the period preceding it having largely indulged in barbaric and unartistical splendour, as is known to all readers of Homer. This fact is very remarkable indeed, constituting, as it does, an isolated instance of the development of an art of the highest completeness and purity, from a state of things which, with most other arts, has constituted their melancholy termination.

Our readers do not need to be informed, that the general view of Kugler, as also that which is contained in the definition of Freeman, is not altogether a new one. Architectural critics, in all times, have perceived the necessity that the Greek styles of architecture, and their modifications, should express a general adaptation of supporting parts to parts supported. Kugler has only investigated this relationship of members a little more extensively than it had been investigated before. "The continued plynth," writes Milizia, "on which edifices are raised from the ground to protect them from the damp, and to render them level when the soil is uneven, must not be too high, nor ornamented with mouldings, nor cut by doors, which would destroy the *idea of that massiveness requisite for the base of a building*." To the same effect, Gwilt, though by no means a clever man, says, "the proportions of an object must not in strength be carried beyond what is required for fitness, for in that case they will degenerate into clumsiness, whilst elegance, on the contrary, is the result of the nicest adjustment of proportion." Again, "the art of decorations, so as to add to the beauty of an object, is, in other words, that of carrying out the emotions already produced, by the general form and parts of the object itself." Admirably true! Yet so little does Mr. Gwilt comprehend the extent of the truth he enunciates, that in the very next page of his "Encyclopædia," he contradicts himself in these words:—"Even in the most systematic of the different kinds of architecture, namely, that of the Greeks, we cannot avoid perceiving a great number of forms and details, whose origin is derived from the love of variety, and that alone. * * * Such, for instance, are the roses of caissons in ceilings and soffits, the leaves round the bell of the Corinthian capital, the Ionic volutes, and many others, besides universally the carving of mouldings." Even Kugler, as our abstract shews, has no faith in the universal presence of an artistical idea in pure Greek architecture: he speaks of the cappings of antæ, and of other features, which we shall prove to be most pregnant with artistical significance, as "*mere decoration*." Alison and Lord Aberdeen, who have put forth enlightened, though very partial

views of the essential character of Greek architecture, have attributed all the vast surplus beauty for which they could not account, to the force of "classical associations."

Of the numerous attempts which have been made to explain the effect of Greek architecture, it must therefore be said that their fault is incompleteness rather than falsehood.

In the criticism which is to follow, we propose to do no more than many other critics might have done long ago, had they consistently followed up the clue which their perception of the real character and mode of operation of some few of the details of Greek art provided them with. We propose fully to describe and to define what probably every man of fair cultivation has felt, in contemplating the products of Greek architecture; and what some have been upon the verge of describing as fully as we shall do, and seem only to have been arrested in their way towards the clear truth, by the impatience which most minds suffer, when they attempt to contemplate and to define their own emotions. Yet we by no means refuse the credit of being the true discoverers of the significance of Greek architecture. They are the first discoverers of truths who first understand their general extent and importance.

All merely arbitrary arrangement is impossible. The mind of the worker, be his production what it may, must have been guided by an aim or aims, or inspired by an idea or ideas, capable of being at least approximately brought out and stated by the critic. The dignity of works of art does not depend upon the fact of their having been thus regulated by pervading principles; it depends upon the dignity of those principles. Being convinced of this fact, the critic, when a work of art is offered for his examination, must endeavour to discover the aim, or idea, in view, or under the inspiration of which the elements of the work were chosen and combined. Should any particular significance suggest itself as being apparently expressed by the whole, and by the several parts of the production, his presumption in favour of his having hit upon the idea originally intended to be expressed, must amount to certainty, should subsequent reflection shew him that this idea, of all others, corresponds best to the circumstances of the artist, and the destination of his work. For instance, the Romanesque style, in all its decoration, is expressive of its origin in the destruction of ancient Roman works, and the reconstruction of the Basilica, from the diverse and discordant ruins. *Organized chaos, contrast for contrast's sake*, is everywhere manifest in this style. This is the law of its decoration; and, unless by a great stretch of fancy, we receive it as a prophetic symbol of the constitution of the "Romantic" mind, in contradistinction to the Antique, we must allow the notion to be

void of independent artistical worth. Some such notion as this is to be traced as the leading characteristic in each of the pseudo-architectures of India, Mexico, China, &c. But if to the mind's eye we recall the various kinds of architecture, that, from the beginning, have arisen, we shall remark three kinds, which, in a peculiar manner, stand out from, and above the rest. It is almost needless to name the architectures of Egypt, Greece, and Christian Europe in the Middle Ages, as constituting this conspicuous triad. These architectures are distinguished from all others, by a simplicity, definiteness, dignity, and appropriateness of effect, resulting from the general subordination in each style, not only of decoration, but of total form, to a particular thought or sentiment, intimately allied with, and strongly suggestive of, the character of the religion to which it is applied. The leading expressions of the three architectures are, moreover, very strikingly and simply related; and as they are thus mutually illustrative, it will be well to say a few words concerning their relationship, before we proceed to speak in detail of the Greek art.

The total forms become expressive, and even religiously symbolical, by a striking, and in each case, a quite peculiar relatedness to the great natural law of gravitation. In fewest words, the general forms of Egyptian architecture are those of *simple weight*, and they express gloomy and everlasting material duration; those of Greek architecture convey the notion of *weight competently supported*, and are expressive of secure, conscious, and well-ordered power; finally, the prevailing forms of Gothic architecture shew *weight annihilated*; spire and tower, buttress, clerestory, and pinnacle, rise to heaven, and indicate the spirituality of the worship to which they are applied.

Taking the well-known form of the tower-flanked entrance to the temple of Dekkeh, Nubia,—a form nearly as common in Egypt and Nubia, as that of the Parthenon in Greece,—let us see how it corresponds to our view of its artistical meaning.

The cone would be the simplest possible form of mere weight; it is that which any compact mass of solid matter would assume were the attraction of adhesion to be destroyed from between its particles. The pyramid is the same expression *organized*, made conscious by the addition of a non-natural modification of form, which, far from interfering with, intensifies the original expression. The pyramid, simple or yet further intensified in its expression, is the universal type in Egyptian architecture. In the above named, and in many similar edifices, the first degree of intensification of the pyramidal expression is obtained by truncation, which awakens the activity of the imagination. The head of the pyramid is cut off, and the suggestive power of the remainder is more than the direct power of the total form. The next step in the

growth of the expression is to be found in the addition of the impending cornice, which, vast and insecure as it is, appears a mere trifle in comparison with the enormous and eternal pyramidal mass, to which our attention is called by the juxtaposition of that contradictory member. The third degree of intensification of the pyramidal expression is obtained by its multiplication: a chasm divides the two pyramidal towers, the integrity of the single pyramid being retained by the cessation of that chasm long before it reaches the ground. In the fourth place, the plane of the doorway, in the centre, leaves the plane of the pyramidal building, and approaches to a perpendicular position, and the sides of the doorway are parallel and not converging. The extreme subtilty and power of this method of attracting the attention to the total form of the building, by contrast, appears to us to be one of the most remarkable efforts of architecture. Finally, all the angles, where the form is of course the most conspicuously developed, are bounded by powerfully marked mouldings, directing the eye forcibly to their pyramidal inclination; a similar office being performed by channels which run up the face of the building just where its form is contrasted by the different plane of the doorway. It is further to be observed that the chasm in the pyramid above the doorway serves the second purpose of an ostentation of security and solidity; the mass ceases, where it cannot be continued unbroken to the ground.

Other means of intensifying the pyramidal expression were sometimes introduced in this form of building, particularly a small niche or doorway, which, cut perpendicularly into the face of the tower at its base, vividly contrasted its pyramidal inclination. The huge, spreading edifice, which lay behind this divided pyramid, repeated the pyramidal form, but here the truncation occurred much nearer the ground; the striking cornice everywhere overhung the inclined walls, which were further contrasted by openings filled with vertical colonnades. The form of the Egyptian column merits peculiar attention, in relation to the form subsequently established in Greece. The outline of the shaft immediately suggests the notion of a yielding to vast superincumbent pressure; it bulges out near the base, like the bottom of a mushroom-stalk. Higher up, where the supporting power of the column comes into conflict with the weight of the entablature, the capital is usually expressive of violent energy, the power of the shaft becoming concentrated by a rapid taper as it approaches the top, is checked, for a moment, immediately below the capital; after which it expands again, and shoots in right and converging lines against the massive abacus. The number of these columns always seemed to express an extraordinary weight in the masonry under which they were placed. They were

often set in squadrons, as thick almost as they could stand, and thus they admirably carried out the fundamental sentiment of Egyptian architecture, by recognising no proportion of power to the superimposed mass. An Egyptian colonnade seemed fitted to bear any or all weight. It might take the place of granitic formation, the basis of the earth, without requiring any increment of power. Vast faces of wall were sculptured all over, but so extremely superficially that the decoration, instead of diminishing the notion of solidity, directed the attention to it by contrast. In frequent neighbourhood to these temple-palaces, whose totality and details were, with one or two exceptions, invariably and elaborately expressive of huge, self-supported weight,—for the colonnades were as heavy as the masses above them,—stood the simple pyramid, the pure architectural expression of the leading thought, and the guide to, and corroboration of, the suggested pyramid, wherever it occurred. Another equally valuable, and more constant and intentional accompaniment of the Egyptian temple-palace, was the pair of light and lofty obeliskes, which were placed at the grand entrance, and which threw the massive pyramidal forms of the whole building into powerful relief by the striking contrast of isolated shafts, of which the taper was really no more than sufficient to give them a secure standing—a fact which is distinctly declared by their termination in *pyramidal* points, contradicting the very slightly and constructively necessary pyramidal form of the whole shaft.

Thus, then, the Egyptian sacred edifice had the effect of being *all base*; supported superstructure was nowhere to be found; colonnades were rather revelations of the weight of the mass, from which they seemed to have been carved, than adequate supports of roof or entablature.

The general expression of the opposite idea by Gothic architecture* has been too well described and accounted for, in other quarters, to need any exposition by us of its causes. And our chief object, in the remainder of this paper, will be to prove the universal prevalence of the intermediate notion, namely, that of weight adequately supported, in the architecture of Greece.

It is worthy of remark, that, in all times, and in the commonest phraseology, the three relations of matter, which we have declared to be, generally, the leading notions, in the only three architectures of artistical integrity which the world has seen, have been employed as the fittest symbols for the sensual, the intel-

* We recommend to our readers the perusal of an essay on "The *Æsthetics of Gothic Architecture*," in a late number of our contemporary, the *British Quarterly Review*. The author of that essay does, for Northern Mediæval Architecture, much the same kind and amount of service as we are attempting, in the present paper, for the Egyptian and Greek art.

lectual, and the spiritual mind. We are not bound to account for this fact, which, being admitted, is, however, of importance, as a confirmation of the extreme appropriateness of the Egyptian, Greek, and Gothic architectures.

In "Courtin's *Encyclopédie Moderne*," under the head of Architecture, we find the following observation:—"Considérée comme une combinaison des moyens que la nature a offerts à l'homme pour protéger sa faiblesse ou charmer son existence, elle (*Architecture*) demande peut-être plus d'imagination que les autres arts, pour imprimer à ses productions un caractère dont elle ne trouve d'autre exemple dans la nature que l'ordre, l'intelligence, et l'harmonie qui y règnent; tandis que la peinture et la sculpture y puisent non seulement les modèles qu'elles représentent, mais encore l'expression des sentiments dont elles veulent animer leurs sujets." Goethe, also, speaks of "the extreme difficulty of giving character to architecture, of imparting variety and beauty." He might, indeed, have said the *impossibility* of doing so, in the absence of any all-prevalent thought. But this very impossibility of making architecture even tolerable without the highest and most enlightened effort, renders it of all arts, except music, the one which, perhaps, is best fitted for the service of religion. All other arts have necessarily an inferior secondary meaning, by reason of their being imitative; and mere imitation, when it is present, is apt to satisfy common minds wholly, and to divert higher minds from the exclusive contemplation of the properly artistical significance.

Much valuable criticism has been neglected, and more valueless criticism written, for want of a general knowledge of the truth, that in art a single effect may be the intended result of a co-operation of many causes, and a single cause the producer of many effects. Magnitude is not to be regarded as having been the less an intentional, or at least a conscious exponent of a sensual religion, because the flat surface of Egypt required colossal size in her temples to redeem them from insignificance; nor is the artistical effect of the Gothic flying buttress to be denied to have formed part of the architect's intention, because in it he also provided in the best possible manner for a merely mechanical end. Hope gives the old Vitruvian fancies on the origin of certain Greek decorations, in these words:—"Some drops of rain, distilled from the ends of the rafters that projected over an architrave, so pleased an architect that he added them as permanent ornaments to his Doric triglyph;* a few rams' horns,

* This account is quite contradicted by the fact, that the Doric guttæ are found where rain could not possibly come; below the inner frieze of the Parthenon, for instance. Kugler thinks, with much more plausibility, that the guttæ were originally wooden nail-heads.

suspended from the top of a pillar, so struck the imagination of another, that he formed out of them the new combination, since called the Ionic capital; * * * and a wild acanthus, accidentally lodged on the top of an ancient sepulchral cippus, and with its foliage embracing a basket placed on the pillar, and compelled to curl down by the tile that covered the basket, so charmed a third, that, without altering essentially the other parts of the Ionic combination, he substituted it as a new capital." Now all this, and a good deal more of the like which has been written, may be quite true, for aught we know or care. Its truth or untruth in no way affects the validity of the views of the significance which we are about to trace in the members said to have originated in this manner. If they so originated, it was because the forms which were detected by the architect, in such accidental juxtapositions, coincided accurately with the spirit of his building. It was the truly, though unintentionally, artistical expression of the architectural idea, which "so pleased" one, "struck" another, and "charmed" a third, that he made a permanent architectural feature of it.

If we contemplate Greek architecture, with reference to Egyptian and Gothic, we shall find that it possesses the great superiority of being absolutely consistent. The latter styles sometimes admitted features which were independently symbolical; such, for example, were the Egyptian lotus-flower capitals, that were so common and so contrary to the artistical type which we have described above. In Greek architecture, every the slightest decoration was subordinated to the one highly symbolical idea of the total work; and, with this view, the hundred-times repeated, and never yet in the smallest degree comprehended, law of architectural unity, which, to use the words of Milizia, "requires that all the parts of an edifice, and all its ornaments, should have reference to the principal object," becomes at once intelligible and practical.

We close this batch of prefatory remarks by reminding the reader, first, that, as we propose to analyze the emotion produced by Greek architecture in its totality and details, our analysis will be interesting and even intelligible only to those—the vast majority, we trust—who are capable of receiving pleasure from the forms described; secondly, that in modern times we are accustomed to see the members of Greek architecture so modified or placed, that their meaning is destroyed, or rendered quite *mal-à-propos*; consequently, in estimating their effect upon the first spectators of the Parthenon or the Erechtheum, great allowance is to be made for their novelty and exclusive employment in appropriate situations: and, lastly, that if our analysis is found to fail in any trifling point, it ought to be inquired whether the

reason of such failure may not probably lie in the impossibility, under present circumstances, of ascertaining what really was the effect of certain members with the complete context which can never be restored.

We proceed to consider the Greek styles of architecture in the usual order: the Doric being the first. In describing and analyzing this style, we describe and analyze the others, in all their most important features, the variations of the styles being modifications of one and the same expression.

The stylobate, or general basement, as a rule, rises in three stages, which, in the larger temples, do not serve as steps; in these stages, steps of a convenient size are cut at the points where the basement is to be mounted. It has been observed that these successive stages afford projections and horizontal lines, which balance the lines and projections of the entablature. This is true; but there are other effects gained by the feature in point. There is, in Greek architecture, a *duality* which is almost as remarkable as the triplicity of Gothic architecture. This duality is violated by the form of the pediment, but it is, in great measure restored, by a corresponding violation in the stages of the basement; such violation also confirms the character of the stylobate as essential basement, separating it from the general character of the temple;—an emphasis very necessary in the first stage of a building, which is to express adequate support and conscious security at every point. When the body of the temple is constructed upon a second basement, as in the Parthenon, the stages being essentially a part of the temple, exhibit the general duality. The stages of the general basement are frequently undercut; the number of horizontal lines being thus doubled. These lines of the stylobate answer another and very important purpose. Mr. C. F. Penrose has recently determined, by careful measurements, that the entablature and stylobate deviate very considerably from horizontality. In his examination of the Parthenon, he proves that the curves which are formed by the lines of these members are maintained with extreme care. Each abacus is cut into the form of a nail-head, to suit the inclination of the stones of the architrave, and even the junctions of the stones of the basement are not perpendicular to the truly horizontal line of the ground of masonry from which they rise, but are normals, or at right angles to the curve of the upper stage, like the stones of an arch. These curves do more than merely correct the concavity which a truly horizontal line assumes, when it is seen from above, and its convexity, when regarded from below. A straight line of any considerable extent is an essentially displeasing and insignificant object. It nowhere exists in nature, and ought never to be found in art. We have

not space to examine the reasons of its ugliness; it is enough that its inadmissibility has been practically acknowledged by all great architects, ancient and modern; the lines of every good Gothic spire, the surfaces of all Greek and Gothic walls are curves, and half of the immense superiority of the Italian architects of the Renaissance over the generally far *better informed* architects of the present day, seems to us to consist in their finer sense of the necessity of avoiding straight lines and exactly plane and perpendicular surfaces. Now, if we are not mistaken, the most important service performed by the numerous lines of the Greek basement, is the division and repetition of its beautiful parabolic curve, which is thus rendered softer, and, at the same time, more palpable than it would have been without them. We regret that our limits forbid us to express all that occurs to our mind in connexion with this curious and unexamined subject; we can only say that we perfectly agree with Mr. Penrose, who, in his brief and most interesting letters concerning the point in question, and certain other curious "irregularities" in Greek architecture, which we shall notice in due course, writes, "I am quite satisfied that the neglect of these small adjustments has given such a dry character to the greater part of the experiments which have been made in England in Greek architecture, and have brought the style into discredit *with those persons who have not had the advantage of seeing the glorious originals.*"*

W. Reveley, in his preface to the third volume of Stuart and Revett, says justly that the Doric column "has no base, because its great breadth at the bottom of the shaft is sufficient to overcome the idea of its sinking into its supporting bed." The immediate origin of the Doric column in the ground, is also an important element in its expression of vigorous and active support. A base may be a very beautiful feature in itself, and even an harmonious adjunct to a style of avowedly less decision and power than the Doric, but it is impossible not to perceive how vastly the upward stream of power in the Doric shaft would be diminished by any such interposition between it and the general basement. Kugler's profound remark concerning the flutings, which invariably decorate the shafts in Greek architecture, has been already given by us; that this expression of facile *concentration of form*, where, from the superimposed weight of the entablature, the opposite expression would be expected, is really the grand motive of the feature in question, may be sufficiently proved by comparing its effect with the effect of its absence in the mock-simple "Roman Doric," which always seems to *suffer*

* Probably the irregularities in question ought to be considerably exaggerated in modern and northern buildings, to suit our less cultivated and less subtle perceptive powers.

from the burthen it is made to bear. The Greek architects attached so much importance to the fluting of their shafts, that when the completion of the building had to be postponed for want of funds, or for any other reason, the flutes were *registered*; that is to say, a short space, at top and bottom of the shaft, was fluted; and the rest left plain. Thus the expression of concentration was given at the points where it was most required, and the intended continuation of the flutes along the rest of the shaft was distinctly implied. The only instance known of Doric shafts without fluting, is in the temple at *Ægesta*; here, however, spaces at top and bottom are chiselled; doubtless for the reception of the registered flutes, the addition of which may have been prevented by some accident.

The Doric shaft diminishes rapidly as it approaches the weight of the entablature, but this diminution does not take place in a right line. A gentle swell, which is called the *entasis*, accompanies the taper, and is productive of the most striking and refined effects, which may be thus described. The entasis, by occurring higher up in the shaft than it would, were it produced, as the low swell of the Egyptian shaft seems to be by superincumbent weight, distinctly negatives the notion of sufferance from its burthen. Again, the entasis does away with the stiff, mechanical character of the straight taper, which would appear extremely harsh when repeated throughout an entire colonnade; whereas the repetition of an organic curve is a multiplication of its beauty. The active entasis, moreover, assists and is assisted by the flutes, the upward power of which is pronounced by the curve, while by them the curve is multiplied. Finally, the total form of the Doric shaft, as is well known to students of mechanics, is the best possible for the support of weight—a fact of which the eye probably becomes sensible, before the principle is comprehended by the understanding. W. Jenkins, jun., in his “Further Elucidations” of Stuart and Revett’s *Antiquities of Athens*, writes, “The entasis of columns has not till lately formed a part of the critical study and observation of the student of Grecian architecture, and had escaped even the exact and minute attention of Stuart and Revett; yet of its importance no one will doubt who considers but for a moment how much of beauty depends upon the nicely executed contour of the shaft of the column. * * * Vitruvius, in noticing the diminution of columns is very concise, and has evidently laid down rules rather coinciding with his own ideas of their fitness than with the precedents in Grecian architecture.” Mr. Jenkins proceeds to say that the Greeks intended to produce the effect of a right line in all known instances, except that of one of the temples at *Pæstum*; as a corroborating authority he quotes W. Wilkins, who

writes, however, of entasis in the *Ionic* style, in which probably it served chiefly the purpose, stated by Mr. Jenkins, of correcting the tendency to hollowness in the middle; for the *Ionic* entasis is much less perceptible than the *Doric*. That this reason should ever have been given and accepted for the *Doric* entasis, is only to be explained by the fact, that most people will put up with a wrong rationale rather than hold none at all. No eye but such as had been previously half-blinded by the false doctrine that the lines of the *Doric* shaft were right lines, could fail to miss the entasis in any good specimen; the existence of the error in question is, however, settled by the circumstance of the continual and immediate juxtaposition of the *antæ*, or decorated pilaster-like wall terminations, which are perpendicular and have no entasis, with the *Doric* shaft, whereby the eye is forcibly directed to the contrasted peculiarities of the latter. E. Dodwell, (*Tour in Greece*, i. p. 543,) says, that the shafts at Sunium have no entasis; but more elaborate admeasurements than he had leisure to make will be required to convince us that this noble temple is without the feature that constitutes so large a portion of the beauty of the Parthenon and Theseum.

The deep groove, or grooves, cut in the *Doric* shaft a little way below the ovolo, is the feature next to be considered. As usual, the true reason of its existence having been overlooked, false ones have been suggested and accepted. Aikin, in his valuable *Essay on the Doric Style*, says, "In the great majority of instances there is a kind of necking formed below the annulets, by one or three narrow grooves. I suppose that this may have been intended originally for the purpose of concealing the joint formed by the meeting of the capital and shaft. * * * At the same time, it is a real beauty, by adding height to the capital, which would otherwise appear rather low." Now, the *Doric* capital does not begin at the groove—it begins at the annulets; the continuation of the fluting, after its momentary interruption by the groove, marking the continuation of the shaft up to that point. Another and a much more plausible reason for this feature is the mechanical provision which it makes against the liability of stones to crush and splinter at the edges, under a great weight; but that this was not the only or chief motive with the Greek architects, is shewn by the fact, that in the earliest examples there are *three* grooves, where only one for the above was demanded. There can be no doubt that its extreme beauty was the main motive for the introduction of this peculiar and almost invariable feature of the *Doric* shaft. As we have shewn to be the case with the entasis, more than one æsthetic end is attained by these cuttings. The most striking effect is that of "competence of power, which is suggested by its slight and volun-

tary waste just where it is most tried, in the narrowest part of the shaft immediately below the great burthen of the entablature. Again, the interruption which is suffered and *overcome* by the flutings, greatly increases their effect of active and forcible ascension. Lastly, while the channel increases the effect of the flutings, it also prepares the eye for their final and otherwise too sudden check, by the annulets at the bottom of the ovolo. As was to be expected, with these motives for the Doric grooves, their conspicuousness is always in proportion to the force expressed by the thickness, and rapidity of diminution of the shaft. The following facts are interesting corroborations of these views. I. In the Temple of Apollo at Bassæ, the shafts have three channels, one of which is cut much deeper than the rest,—manifestly for the constructive purpose. II. In two of the temples at Pæstum, the Doric shafts have a broad neck, cut in immediately under the ovolo; here the channel is omitted, as artistically unnecessary. III. In the interior of the largest temple at Pæstum, the upper tier of Doric columns have no trace of the channel, their inferiority of power, compared with the great channelled shafts upon which they stand, being thus pronounced.

We now come to the Doric capital. Its commencement is marked by the band of narrow rings which bind the lower rim of the great parabolic ovolo, and give a decisive and final check to the free motive power of the shaft. Kugler, the only writer who has attempted to account for this feature, traces in its formation the same notion of concentration as that which is manifested by the flutings of the shaft; but to satisfy our readers that he is in error, we need only mention that the annulets are often merely angular notches, and that they are always so small and close together that their true form, whatever it may be, can only be descried within the distance of a few feet. A decisive band of shadow is their only appearance, when viewed from the distances at which they are intended to be seen. The whole breadth occupied by the four annulets, in the capitals of the Theseum, is less than two inches. Moreover, these annulets are not sunk in the body of the ovolo, as they ought to be, in order to carry out Kugler's view, but form projections from it. That the band of shadow, serving as a check and boundary to the flutes, (which seem to strike against the bottom of the ovolo, and to become *flattened* by the force with which they do so,) is the motive for the annulets, is further proved, by the circumstance that their number and arrangement are variously adapted, in different situations, to that result. For instance, the capitals of the external portico of the Parthenon, which are exposed to bright light, exhibit five annulets close together, while the more dimly lighted capitals behind have but three annulets, placed comparatively widely apart.

Directly above the band of annulets the magnificent form of the Doric ovolo, or echinus, expands to meet the entablature. Its powerful parabolic curve provides and expresses the requisite distribution of the force of the shaft, at the point of conflict between the weight and the active support. In the best age of the art the ovolo became so straight that it might almost be regarded as a quirked chamfer. Kugler prefers the earlier bulging curve. We differ from him, believing that this form is not free from an appearance of labour and compression, which is at variance with the spirit of the style. It would require more space than we can spare to do justice to this member of the Doric order. If, as has been doubted, *sublimity* is anywhere to be found in Greek architecture, it is in the shape of the Doric echinus, and, in a less degree, in the *curves* of mouldings, entasis, &c., all of which are formed from conic sections; unlike the stupidly "symmetrical" Roman curves, which are all developed from the most insignificant and material figure in nature, the perfect sphere. The Greek ovolo, at its greatest breadth, nearly equals the breadth of the plain square abacus which rests upon it, but instead of meeting the abacus at this greatest breadth, that breadth is again diminished, by what is called the *quirk*, and thus is obtained, perhaps, the most striking effect of competence of power to be detected in the whole system of Greek architecture.

In the simple abacus we behold an emphatic separation of the two grand portions of the building, namely, the supporting part and the part supported. Artistically the abacus belongs to neither. It has no *active* expression of any sort. The ignorant Roman architecture converted it into a part of the capital, by crowning it with a small moulding expressive of support, and thus destroying its efficacy as a distinguishing member. In the Greek Doric, it becomes a *passive* vehicle of the general idea, by a slight projection beyond the face of the architrave, indicating once more, by apparent waste, (like the groove of the shaft and the quirk of the ovolo,) the constant superabundance of the transmitted force.

We now come to the entablature, or the general mass which is borne by the columns. As hitherto, each element of form and decoration has been an active revelation of *support*, we shall now find a no less various and lively expression of the *weight supported*.

The entablature is made up of three quite distinct parts, namely, the architrave, the frieze, and the cornice; and in each part the idea of weight is expressed in a different manner. In showing the truth of this assertion, we shall show, for the first time, that the distinction universally observed between these members is real and not arbitrary.

The architrave is a perfectly plain course of stone, resting

on the abaci, and, in the best specimens, projecting beyond the neck of the shaft so far that its face coincides nearly with a perpendicular line drawn from the base of the shaft; the mass is thus truly poised upon the supporting power, and the weight is left, in the first instance, to express itself.

In the architectural decorations of the frieze gravitation is no longer tacit. The triglyphs are projections from the face of the frieze, carved with vertical channels, and terminated below by rows of guttæ. The triglyphs of themselves are inexpressive, but a depending effect is at once conferred upon them by the juxtaposition of the guttæ which hang above and below them, like drops of rain at the point of falling. This effect, by a mode of operation precisely similar to that of the groove upon the ascending effect of the flutings, is greatly increased by the interposition of a fillet, called the *tænia*, between the triglyphs and the lower guttæ; the descending tendency of the triglyphs is continued, in spite of the interruption. Of the guttæ it is to be remarked, that their number, below the triglyphs, is commonly double the number of the vertical bars above them. This multiplication, in the direction of the earth, is a chief cause of the effect of the lower guttæ. The guttæ contain another element of effect which is quite independent of the triglyphs; by the expression of gravitation in these small depending particles the mind is forcibly referred to the vast mass of which they are the accompaniment. Throughout all modifications of Doric architecture these seeming trifles were never lost sight of, in fact, the effect of the entablature depends upon them more, perhaps, than upon any other feature. The importance of the guttæ, and the *nature* of their importance, as we have described it, may be seen at once by any one who will be at the pains to refer to Wilkins' Restoration of the Hexastyle Temple at Pæstum, in which the guttæ are absent. In addition to these means of producing what Kugler vaguely calls the "triglyphic character," little pendants were sometimes placed at the top of the chamfered sides of the triglyphs. It is also not unworthy of remark, that, at most times, the deep shadow of the cornice would fall across the triglyphs, causing a horizontal division of their forms, which would certainly be an addition to their expressive power. The total effect of the architectural members of the frieze is thus simply and decidedly *depending*; and it is important to observe, that the language of the triglyphs and guttæ, though uttered in the frieze, must be regarded as applying to the whole entablature; it is as effective an expression of the weight of the unadorned architrave below as of that of the frieze itself; for frieze and architrave are really but one mass. That the plain architrave, when juxtaposed with its interpreter, (so to speak,) the frieze,

conveys, of the two members, the greatest notion of weight, is shown by the fact that, in the earliest temples, which are the mightiest expressions of gravitation and support, the breadth of the architrave exceeds that of the frieze. In the best age, when an expression of admirable ease and grace was added to that of gross power, the breadth of the two members is pretty equal, and, in the last period, when the Doric order was applied to secular purposes, and less gravity was demanded, the breadth of the frieze became increased beyond that of the architrave. The depending frieze attracts attention less to its own weight than to that of the bare architrave.

From a passage in Euripides, it appears that the metopæ, or spaces between the triglyphs, were originally open; they were subsequently closed up by slabs of stone—sculptured or plain, probably to do away with the appearance which the triglyphs must have had of supporting the cornice; an appearance ruinous to the all-important effect of simple depension.*

The effect of the cornice is distinguished from that of the simple architrave and depending frieze by being powerfully *impending*. The Germans expressively name the massive projecting corona, which constitutes the principle bulk of the cornice, the *Hängplatte*. Above the corona is a second projection, called the cymatium. The naturally impending effect of this arrangement is increased in various ways, the most ordinary being the following:—The corona is always deeply undercut, producing a mass of black shadow which throws the face of the member forward, and causing the greatest weight to occur at the greatest distance from its support in the frieze. Upon the undercut surface are placed square slabs, declining forwards, and covered with rows of guttæ, which resemble rain-drops gliding down the slanting surface, to fall off at its edge. The double duty, which is thus performed by the guttæ, of producing a depending effect in the frieze and an impending one in the cornice, is a great addition to the unity and harmony of the composition. In the exquisite Temple of Theseus at Athens, the corona terminates above in an undercut moulding, which operates powerfully in throwing forward the cymatium, with its fillets.

* Any person possessed of moderate perceptive power may convince himself experimentally of the justice of these views of the intention and effect of the triglyphs and guttæ by paying a visit to the Waterloo Road, London, where there is a large church having a portico completely Doric in everything but in its omission of these features. The result is, that the entablature, which is of good proportions, appears to be much *too light* to justify the active supporting power expressed by the columns, with their flutes and strong entasis. The grossest architectural blunder we have ever met with is to be seen in one of the new public buildings of Berlin, by the eminent architect Schinkel. The portico, otherwise purely Doric, exhibits a row of winged and ascending angels in the place of the weighty and depending triglyphs.

In the Doric cymatium, which is the crowning member of the whole entablature, another very subtle and decided effect is called into play. We have said and shown that the entablature, generally, is an unmixed, though various expression of weight: in the final cymatium, however, we have once more an expression of support. This moulding is almost always the same powerfully supporting ovolo which we have described in speaking of the capital. Aikin mentions the late and degraded "Portico of Philip," which has the *cyma recta*, as a striking exception to the rule, and he complains, erroneously, as we shall shew, of the continual repetition of the ovolo in early and good examples. Now, the meaning, that is to say, the effect, of this moulding, is to declare an amount of weight in the very thin slab above it sufficient to justify the sub-position of a powerful support; a declaration which applies, by inference, to every equal breadth of the entablature, of which this ultimate slab or fillet constitutes an extremely small compartment. Thus, while the entablature generally expresses, in all possible ways, the fact and character of weight, the cymatium, by a mechanical hyperbole, calls attention to its intensity. This, and some other equally subtle methods of effect, which, by reason of their ignorant misuse by the moderns, and our comparatively sluggish imagination, are not generally efficient with us, were, no doubt, at once appreciated by the rapid perception of the Greeks. Two of the, in many respects extraordinary and exceptional, edifices at Pæstum, substitute, for the above form of cymatium, the impending moulding called the *cavetto*, or hollow, which is that of the great Egyptian cornices already described, and which, if we dispense with the idea of the fillet-bearing ovolo, is the best possible finish to this portion of the entablature. The more obvious effect of the *cavetto* ought, perhaps, to give it the preference over the ovolo, for the cymatium of modern Doric buildings.

At each end of the Temple, above the entablature, appears the pediment. The architectural fitness of this member depends upon the symbolization of weight by pyramidal forms, which we have before asserted: but this fitness would scarcely be sufficient to justify so conspicuous a feature, if it did not also serve as the frame-work for important sculptures. The massive *acroteria* which rest upon the angles of the pediment, are usually believed to have been intended merely as supports for statues; but late investigations have shown that the ornaments carried by these slabs of stone were of an extremely light, and commonly insignificant character, and therefore quite disproportioned to these great angular masses, when regarded as pedestals. It is, therefore, to be inferred that these ornaments were put upon the *acroteria* for the express purpose of *denying* the natural notion that they were

intended for bearing statues, and thereby to induce the attention to their true meaning, as corrections of the apparent tendency of the inclined pedimental cornices to slide into a horizontal position. The *antefixæ*, or erect, foliated ornaments, that rose from the horizontal cornices of the sides of the Temple, performed a similar office for the slanting roof-lines. They are commonly explained as covering the terminations of the joints of the bulky marble tiling, but unfortunately for the satisfactoriness of this account, we have, among other records of like tendency, the following description of the *antefixæ* of the Parthenon, by the excellent annotator of Stuart and Revett, Mr. Kinnaird:—"The *antefixæ* appear to have been placed on the cornice, one over each metopa and one over each triglyph; and those of the triglyphs only correspond with every third joint of the marble tiling; the others are simply ornamental, and are placed between the joints." It is therefore certain that the original object of the *antefixæ* was the introduction of an additional expression of the general idea, by affording a conspicuous stay and support to the roof-lines, which were not pitched high enough for self-support.

The inclined cornices of the pediment were generally, but by no means always, crowned by a moulding, called the *simæ*. "The *simæ*," writes Kinnaird, "seem to have originated from the termination of the fictile tiles over the pediments of the early structures, which were probably turned up in a graceful form to a continued line, in order to conceal the broken and jagged appearance of the outline formed by the end laps of the tegulæ next the most ornamental fronts." We have endeavoured all along to impress our readers with the truth, that something more than utility, or mere decoration, is to be sought for in every the slightest member of a truly artistical work, like a Doric temple. There can be little doubt, we think, that the continuance, if not the origin, of the *simæ*, as the crowning member of the Doric pediment, is to be accounted for by the loss of meaning, which is suffered by the usual cymatium, when it is placed in a slanting position. The nature of the pediment required the repetition of the form of the horizontal in the slanting cornices; consequently the ovolo could not be got rid off; but its conspicuousness could be, and was, abolished by the superposition of the *simæ*, the form of which has no relation to other weight than its own. This beautiful curved moulding is essentially *self-supporting** in its appearance, and it therefore constitutes an excellent termination where reference to superincumbent weight is inadmissible.

* In speaking of the forms of mouldings as naturally expressive of support, suffering from weight, &c., we are inventing no new phraseology. Even the matter-of-fact Mr. Gwilt alludes in his "Encyclopædia" to those essential characteristics of the few and simple Greek mouldings.

The *sima*, carved or painted, as it was, with a light aspiring ornament, also afforded a strong contrast with the forms of the column-borne mass, of which it was the ultimate termination. This view of part of its intention seems to be borne out by its superposition on the Ionic pediment, where the idea of the ovolo was absent, and therefore had not to be counteracted. We frankly confess, however, that all that we have said goes rather to excuse the *sima* than fully to justify it. It is not improbable that its original effect, with its unrestorable context of colour, &c., may have been other than we imagine it to have been. The termination of the *sima* at the lower angles of the pediment were covered by lions' heads, which served, or seemed to serve as water-spouts, their position being, in some measure, though, it must be allowed, not wholly redeemed by their symbolism, which, according to Dodwell, originated in the overflow of the Nile, when the Sun was in the constellation *Leo*.

The lateral walls are commonly continued beyond the terminal walls of the naos, to form the *pronaos* and the *posticum*; the ends of the walls receiving an additional breadth, and a peculiar capital and base, which constitute the *antæ*. The management of the walls and their terminations is extremely interesting. To use the words of Kinnaird, in describing a Greek temple, "The margins of the joints of the columns from 5 to 9 inches within the circumference, and those of the *vertical* joints of the masonry of the walls and steps from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches within, are united together with polished surfaces. * * * The *horizontal* beds (of the wall masonry) are worked smooth and not polished." These curious facts are quite explicable in the light of the views which we are engaged in establishing. It is of the highest importance that the ascending lines of the shaft should suffer no check until they reach the groove at the neck; consequently the junctions of the *frustra* are rendered invisible, and the active energy of the form of the shaft is preserved unimpaired. It is also of importance that *active vigour* in the shafts should be contrasted by *passive opposition* to superincumbent weight in the walls. Passivity is therefore pronounced, in a decided manner, by strong horizontal lines, their effect being much increased by the absence of visible vertical lines. The horizontal lines of the walls are continued in the *antæ*, which, so far from being of the same nature as the columns, as the Roman and the late Italian architects imagined, are exactly the opposite in character. The *antæ* being the most important and serviceable parts of the walls, are merely intensifications of their passive expression. Unlike the Doric columns, the *antæ* often have bases; and these, unlike the base of the Ionic column, which we shall presently describe, express sufferance from weight. Such also, in

a most striking manner, is the expression of the capitals of the antæ, corresponding in position, but powerfully contrasting, with the capitals of the columns. Instead of the diminished neck, and the weakening groove, at that point of the shaft where the conflict of weight and support is most conspicuous, we have in the antæ a sudden and decided increase of breadth and strength by means of cappings, which rise in one or two deep faces, and of projecting bands, which, in real and apparent operation are precisely the reverse of the groove of the shaft. Besides these characteristics, which are as universally present in the antæ as the contrasting characteristics are in the columns, various other means are adopted for the development of the idea, by a declaration of the weight which the antæ, in common with the walls, support, and by an exhibition of a (for the most part) passive resistance. Laborious tiers of supporting mouldings sometimes occupy, in the antæ, the place of the single echinus in the Doric or Ionic capital; and other mouldings are so undercut as to seem to yield beneath their burthen,—an effect which is never found in any other part of the building, except sometimes, as in the Temple of Theseus, under the final cymatium of the cornice, where, it will be remembered, such an exhibition of sufferance from weight is in peculiar keeping. The antæ have no diminution, and no entasis but the slight one which they share with the walls: the connexion of walls and antæ is further marked by a partial or entire continuation of the base and capital mouldings of the latter along the top and foot of the former. Thus, then, Mr. Ruskin is mistaken when he affirms, that “In the Greek temple the wall is as nothing; the entire interest is in the detached columns and the frieze they bear.” And Kugler is equally wrong in describing the cap-mouldings of antæ and walls as “mere decoration.” There is no such thing in Greek architecture. It must be borne in mind that, at the basis of the artistical expression of the walls, is the *assumption* of their competence to support the weight which is placed upon them; such competence is the necessary result of commonly good masonry; and it would be absurd to give them that ostentation of active energy which is appropriate in the comparatively small mass of the column. This *natural* competence of the walls, taken for granted, or at least expressed only by a general inclination inwards, making it obviously impossible that they should fall, except in a direction in which they would be mutually propped, enables them to *afford*, for the sake of contrast, a display of sufferance and of laboriousness which would shock the eye if found in the smaller columnar masses. Of the antæ, generally, it is to be observed that they appear whenever an unusual stress is, or seems to be laid upon the

walls. Their ordinary positions are at the projecting ends of walls, in the pronaos, and posticum, and at the corners of the building; sometimes the door-posts exhibit the form of antæ. The fullest effect of the admirable contrasts of columns and antæ is obtained by the usual introduction of two or more of the former between a pair of the latter. And here, it may be remarked, by the way, that the Greek architects never employed contrast for the mere sake of contrast. The legitimate object of contrast in art is the introduction of an additional emphasis into the expression of the principal idea.

Of Greek doorways and windows (which seem to have been very rarely introduced) the most striking peculiarity is a rapid diminution in width towards the top. The expression of resistance to the tendency of the mass of the wall to crush in, which is thus obtained, needs not to be pointed out or described. The smaller the aperture the greater is the amount of diminution; and when the height of doorways exceeds about 30 feet, the sides become parallel. This is to be accounted for by the effect produced by so large an opening of diminishing the mass and pressure of the wall; and by the effect of *perspective* in creating the slight apparent diminution of width which is still necessary. It is a fact, first noticed, we believe, by Mr. Inwood,* and most interesting in connexion with the present views, "that the diminution of doors and windows originated with the Greeks." "Those of the Egyptians appear to have been perfectly upright."

The effect of the deeply recessed *lacunaria* of the roof is twofold. They make an ostentation of the mass which is imposed upon wall and column, and, at the same time, lighten it where it is without their support. A curious misunderstanding of the artistical object of these recesses in the ceiling is shewn in one of the halls of the New British Museum. A portion of the ceiling is arched, and a portion flat; the *self-supporting arch* exhibits the *lacunaria*, and the plain surface is without them! The Greek *lacunaria* were sometimes painted green or blue, and set with golden stars, to imitate the sky—a bold and quite artistical contrivance for distracting the attention from the unavoidable evil of a heavy ceiling with only a distant lateral support.

Having now described and explained the several members and decorations of Doric architecture, we must notice some remarkable rules which are observable in its management and connexion.

The greatest care is taken to give each member a distinct independent existence. For example, the capital is not a band

* To whom we are indebted for the first notice of this peculiarity in Greek architecture.

of shadow ; entablature and columni by the abacus ; frieze and architrave by the *tænia* ; *tænia* and lower *guttæ* by the *regula* ; and so on, each separating member being *passive* ; and taking, as a rule, no part in the work other than that of separation. The eye is thus directed to a separate though corresponding significance in each part ; confusion and consequent obscurity are avoided ; and an important effect of deliberate and conscious intention is obtained in the entire work.

Extremely subtle and effective means are taken to confer an appearance of totality upon the whole building. Abandoning mechanical symmetry whenever a higher object was in view, the Greek architect bound the corners of his frieze with triglyphs, and so violated the rule prevailing throughout the frieze, and requiring that a triglyph should hang its weight above the centre of each supporting column, and that the metopæ should constitute equal rectangular spaces. It may be said, indeed, that apart from the object, the very fact of the violation is here an excellence, as conferring a terminal effect at the points of its occurrence. The same thing is true of the irregularities of angular intercolumniation ; the additional thickness and closeness of the corner columns having, however, for their primary object a correspondence to the apparently greater amount of weight to be supported at the angles of the entablature.

We must here notice a most remarkable instance of adaptation of intercolumniation to real or apparent irregularity of superincumbent weight. It is obvious, that the longer an even colonnade is, the better does the middle portion of the entablature appear to be supported, and the more therefore does weight appear to be concentrated at the corners, where consequently the unusual closeness and thickness of the columns is generally found ; but where the columns are few, as in tetrastyle porticos, the chief weight appears to occur in the middle ; and, accordingly, we discover that the central intervals of the tetrastyle portico of the Eretheion, and of the portico of the temple near the Ilyssus, were actually made less than the outer intervals ; a fact which would quite overthrow the Vitruvian rationale, which attributed columnar irregularities to the necessity of correcting certain optical illusions connected with isolated columns, were that explanation not sufficiently refuted by the circumstance that these irregularities are always too conspicuous for the purpose stated.

The *antæ* are, in all respects, to the corners of the cella what the columnar irregularities are to the corners of the entablature : in each case, developments of increased power of support correspond to the really or apparently increased proportion of weight ; and an appearance of finish and determinateness is obtained, by

a concentration of effects which are common to the whole building, at the points of the cessation of the colonnades and surfaces of wall.

The effect of totality in the building must, however, have received its most important aids from the delicate curves formed by the lines of the entire basement and entablature, and from the *inward inclination* of the axes of the whole of the outer columns, and the slightly pyramidal slope of all the outer walls; the inclination of the latter being about parallel to the axes of the former. And here, by the way, let us again assert the essential hideousness of straight lines and truly plane and perpendicular surfaces in architecture. In good works we are firmly persuaded that such things will never be found: the magnificent surfaces of Italian palatial, as well as of Greek and Gothic, architecture, exhibit the sweep of delicate, but very palpable curves. Let our readers compare the perpendicular planes of the new Law Buildings, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, with the curved and inwardly inclined face of the Reform Club, and they will feel the importance of the difference. No style of architecture can require or excuse flat and perpendicular walls of any considerable extent; for an appearance of security, which is part of the main expression of Greek architecture, is also an essential *condition* of expression in every other style.

Of the obscure system of architectural colouring enough is understood to enable us to conclude that it assisted the development of the idea of the building. We give a passage from Kinnaid, describing the remains of colour in the Parthenon:—

“A remarkable decoration of this temple, as well as of others of the age of Pericles, was the painting, the remains of which are still distinctly perceptible on various parts of the building, *of a character correspondent with early Greek ornament*; and in some places, where the colours have fled, the outlines of the ornament graven on the marble still indicates the place of their application. The nearest parts painted, now perceptible to the eye, are the capitals of the antæ; the tænia and regula of the external architrave; the fascia underneath the mutules; the fascia and ogee beneath it over the frieze within the peristylum; the fascia and moulding above it within the posticum; the frieze of the posticum; the raking bed-mouldings and cymatium of the pediment. The tænia and fascias are each painted with an example of the fret ornament, called the meander and labyrinth; *the regula with a pendent palmette* or honeysuckle and husk; the ogees with a flat leaf; the cymatium of the pediment with an egg and dart. The frieze of the posticum was decorated with two zigzag stripes, apparently of green on a red ground. The colours remaining at the other parts now appear of an opaque or brownish red. The simas were ornamentally painted, as in other monuments of Grecian architecture, when they were highly enriched with painted decoration, as particu-

larly observed at Selinus and Ægina. The lacunaria, as usual in other temples of that age, were doubtless decorated with gilding and colours."

These and all other facts connected with ancient architectural painting go to confirm Kugler's remark, that the figures painted, and subsequently carved, on Greek mouldings and fascias, served to *bring out* the forms of their ground. We need not call the reader's attention to the great importance which this remark acquires in the light which we have now thrown upon the architectural significance of those forms. But other offices than this seem to have been fulfilled by painting in Greek architecture. For instance, the character of triglyph and guttæ was intensified by a pendent palmette on the interposed regula; the unavoidable defect of the continuation of the forms of the horizontal in the slanting cornices of the pediment seems to have been softened by peculiar colouring in the temple of Theseus; the soffit of the mutules, or slabs from which the upper guttæ hung, was painted light blue, while the guttæ were dark red—a contrast which must have greatly intensified their natural expression. A dull, heavy red and a light blue appear to have been the prevalent colours, and they seem to have been always so employed as to aid the expression of weight and of active supporting energy.

From a mass of about ten times the amount of the materials which we have had space to employ, an analysis of Doric architecture has now been sketched which we feel confident will be regarded as possessing an interest neither slight, doubtful, impermanent, nor deficient in novelty. We must be allowed the pleasure of appending, by way of foil, a piece of criticism in the old but still prevalent style. It is from Aikin's *Essay on Doric Architecture*, and, *as far as it goes*, is just and true.

"The original type, as explained by Vitruvius, and confirmed by the examination of the specimens of the order, is to be found in the wooden hut, or rather in the principles of timber-building. * * * The trunk of a tree placed upright, as a support, indicates a column, and is diminished by nature. The square capping of whatever kind, which would be placed upon the top of the post to shelter it, and to afford a firmer bed for the horizontal timbers, presents the elements of a capital; while the architrave, frieze, and cornice are literal transcripts from the timbers of the roof and ceiling. Thus so much was established as to the general design by the original model that it was only necessary to refine and adorn the component parts; to flute the shaft; to obviate the crude appearance of the abacus placed upon the naked shaft, by encircling the upper part of the column with an ovolo and annulets, and thus form a complete capital; to cover the ends of the joists with triglyphs; to convert square edges into mouldings; to ornament mutules with guttæ, and thus form a regular cornice."

We have no space to enter upon the secondary, but for the architect indispensable, considerations of proportion, symmetry, &c., which have hitherto constituted the staple of architectural æsthetics. It must, however, be remarked, that these elements can be treated with success only in the light of the general idea. The single instance of the proportions of frieze and architrave, which we have seen to depend mainly upon particular modifications of that idea, will sufficiently justify our assertion.

Although we have now done the main work of distinctly asserting and proving the idea of Greek architecture, our task cannot be regarded as possessed, in any measure, of the adornment of completeness, if we fail to notice the striking modifications of the treatment of the idea in the Ionic and Corinthian styles, and to attribute to the Roman and late Italian architects whatever merit they may claim as preservers of the Greek tradition, with some slight degree of vitality, among the host of corruptions for the origination of which they have to answer.

In the abstract which we have given of Kugler's views, there is admirably conveyed the general distinction of sentiment between the Ionic and Doric styles. We must give a brief and consequently very imperfect account of the causes of this distinction.

Alison says, "What constitutes an order is its proportions, not its ornaments." This view is now exploded. The gravest Ionic exhibits the general proportions of the lightest Doric. Nor has any tenable view been substituted. There is, however, a real, all-pervading distinction, and it may be defined thus:—*Whereas in the Doric order there occurs, at the point of the abacus, an absolute division and distinction between the two sets of supporting and supported members, in the Ionic order there is no such separation, each member being expressive of weight with respect to those below it, and of support with respect to those above it.*

A greater degree of general animation in the Ionic style is the obvious result of this law; and in harmony with this peculiarity is the introduction, in the base and capital particularly, of the idea of *elasticity*, which is not to be found in any Doric member.

The Ionic shaft, which, on account of the rigid character of the fluting and the absence of diminution towards the top, has, when taken alone, a heavier character than the Doric shaft, is placed upon a base of very striking construction. It is obvious that a base must express a competence of support for the shaft, and that which the shaft bears. It must therefore have a breadth greater than that of the shaft. But when breadth only is given, as in a plain square plinth, the effect is inorganic and unarchitectural. When the utter simplicity of the square plinth is superseded by the next simplest form of the single torus, as in

"Roman Doric" bases, a most unpleasant appearance of protuberance, compelled by superincumbent weight, is the result. The original Ionic architects placed a *scotia*, or hollow, below the torus, and so contradicted the bad effect just mentioned; but they introduced the almost equal evil of a base that seemed to require another base for its own security. Many other experiments were tried; but it was reserved for the architects of Attica to invent and establish the use of the exquisitely beautiful form which every one knows under the name of the "Attic base." It consists of an upper and a lower torus, and of an intermediate scotia, with separating fillets. The lower torus is larger than the upper one, and the diameter of the scotia, which withdraws itself below the upper torus, is nevertheless greater than the diameter of the shaft, so that the whole form has the unmistakable stability and solidity which are assumed in the idea of a base. The creation of any part of the form by pressure from above is, however, denied by the fact, that the base is narrowest where, if weight had had anything to do in its production, it must have been broadest. It may be said, also, that the bulge of the tori invites the mind to entertain the notion of the operation of weight, only to contradict that notion by the recession of the scotia; a function which is quite in keeping with the elaborately intellectual character of Greek art. Kugler has noticed the elasticity of the Attic base; but we are inclined to think that the Greek architects did not set much value upon that part of its expression. An attempt seems, indeed, to have been made to correct that effect in some cases by the addition of a second scotia, and in others by a peculiar inelastic formation of the curve. Sometimes the idea of the scotia is repeated in the upper torus by a series of horizontal flutings.

The volutes form the principal feature of the Ionic character; they are of a decidedly elastic character. Kugler has only remarked that "they press against the sides of the ovolo in strong elastic curves." This is true of the meagre volutes of the original and *properly* Ionic style; but the *Attic* volutes were as great an improvement upon the original Ionic as the Attic base was upon the bases which are found in the Ionic Islands and in Asia Minor. The *Attic* volutes are apparently formed by compression from the weight of the entablature. The Ionic ovolo is small and deeply carved, in accordance with a law already stated. The abacus, unlike the Doric abacus, is a powerfully supporting member, on account of the smallness of its width and the vigour and depth of its denticular cuttings. The merits of the Ionic capital, which here we hint at rather than describe, are, however, much diminished—at least for the modern eye—by extreme elaborateness, and consequent obscurity, of meaning. Neither in respect

of this nor of any other member can we consent, with Kugler, to regard the Ionic as an improvement upon the Doric order.

The Ionic entablature is divided, like the Doric, into architrave, frieze, and cornice; but the mutual relation of these members is quite new. The architrave is formed of two or (much more commonly) three plain faces, the upper projecting slightly beyond the lower; this arrangement—hitherto generally explained as affording a correction of one of the many “optical illusions” which are supposed to haunt the architect, and which come in so aptly when true rationalia are wanting—gives at the outset an impending effect to the whole entablature. Above the architrave the frieze retires so far as to throw the centre of gravity of the entablature justly over the centre of the shafts, allowing even for the additional impension of the cornice, which projects considerably beyond the upper fascia of the architrave. This pleasing balance of the sentiments of impension and recession, which evidently neutralize each other and produce a conscious security, is the principal characteristic of the Ionic entablature, and gives it no remote resemblance to the usual Ionic base already described. The inferior solemnity of this order rendered the idea of the Doric cymatium, as we have explained it, inappropriate. Accordingly, the whole importance of the cornice is centered in the broad projecting corona. This is a great advantage in the pedimental fronts of the building, for the whole of the horizontal may be continued in the slanting cornices without any such inconsistency as we have detected in the ordinary form of Doric pediment.

The remaining elements of an Ionic temple are too little different in character from the Doric to demand much detailed attention here. Doors are surrounded by mouldings expressive of the power of the jambs and lintel, to resist the mural pressure; a very simple, but most ingenious frame-work gives conscious security to windows; and various isolated developments of the idea of Greek architecture occur where exceptional edifices offer occasion for them; as in the caryatides of the Pandrosium, that express the facility wherewith they carry their burden, by an inclination of one knee, which throws the entire weight upon the leg that retains its perpendicular position.

There is one feature of the Ionic, which is quite absent in the Doric style. It is the employment of *ornament*, as a means of expressing the leading sentiment. Thus fascias which may be supposed to suffer from weight, declare their competence to resist it with ease, by a series of roses; as in the fascia beneath the ponderous cornice of the Pandrosium, and in the plain portions of door-jambs. A striking instance of this use of ornament is the broad band of foliage below the capitals of the Eretheion.

The system of carving which was adopted in the Ionic supporting-mouldings, served not only to bring out the essential form, but also to declare their competence (on the principle of the Doric groove) by a voluntary sacrifice of power.*

It is from no more than about half-a-dozen good examples—and some of these are much dilapidated or quite exceptional—that all our conclusions concerning the Ionic style are to be drawn. A careful consideration of these examples is sufficient, however, to enable us to take a middle position between Kugler's excessive admiration and Mr. Ruskin's excessive contempt for this style. Whatever may have been the impression produced upon the ancient Greeks by the Ionic capital, it possesses for us moderns an amount of obscurity which constitutes an almost fatal objection to its extensive use in what ought to be the most popular of the fine arts. All the leading forms of the Doric order are simple and to be generally *felt*, if not to be generally understood. It has its obscurities; but these are not conspicuous enough to stand in the way of the total effect.

Kugler has well remarked, that the Corinthian capital is an easy deduction from the decorated capital of the Eretheion. If the Corinthian style deserves to be ranked as one of the styles of Greek architecture, its claim to that honour results from its having adopted, more fully than the Ionic, the principle of ornamentation as an expression of facility of power. It is important to remark, that the only available examples of the order, of a good Greek date, consist not of original temples, but of secular monuments, devoted to the commemoration of victories in games, or to utilitarian purposes. The Corinthian style first became a distinct order of Temple architecture under the Romans, who, of all the elements of beauty in the Greek art, seem to have understood and heartily adopted only the one which is alone chargeable with a tendency to meretriciousness.

Had the Roman architects, and the Greek architects working under Roman masters, been contented with this showy daughter of their adoption; they would not have been obnoxious to the ridicule which is deserved by all who meddle with things they do not understand. But they must not only imitate the deceased Doric and Ionic architectures, they must add, alter, and "improve" with unheard-of stupidity. Take the best instance of "Roman Doric" which remains to us, the Theatre of Marcellus. The shaft is provided with a base; and, in order to simplify Doric simplicity, the all-important flutings are omitted; instead

* "There are some mouldings whose profile is indicative of bearing weight, as the ovolo and talon, which, by being deeply cut, though themselves heavy in character, are thereby susceptible of having great lightness imparted to them, whilst such as the cyma and cavette should not be ornamented deep in the solid."—Gwilt.

of the groove there is an astragal! the quirk of the ovolo is omitted, and the simpler section of a circle is substituted for the parabola; the abacus is crowned with a mean little supporting moulding, by way of relieving the monotony of the dead square mass; the architrave is a thin strip, and is overhung by a frieze out of all proportion, bearing lanky triglyphs, terminated by triangular guttæ; below the weak corona there are a row of Ionic dentils, &c. &c. Among other pleasantries of Roman architecture, we have columns, with their bases, perched upon high pedestals; antæ reduced to harmony with the columns by the adoption of all their forms; *fluted friezes* (the Incantada), arches springing from slices of entablature; and a great deal more of the like, most of which was very religiously adopted by the architects of the *Renaissance*.

The general character of true Greek architecture is now so well understood, and its infinite superiority to all Roman and Romanizing imitations is so widely acknowledged, that there is no reason to fear lest the architects of the present day should commit blunders of this gross kind; but they are constantly falling into errors scarcely less fatal to the total result of their works. The Comic Muse, from her niche in the front of Covent Garden Theatre, laughs at the inappropriateness of its Doric portico; and the omission of one or two of the refined "irregularities" of the Greek art is the omission of half the glory that ought to have sent its subtle beams from the still noble façade of the New British Museum.

Our readers will expect us to say something more than we have yet said concerning the work, the title of which stands at the head of this Article. As is often the case with greatly useful books, Mr. Ruskin's "*Seven Lamps of Architecture*" bears, at the first glance, an unpractical character. His criticism, for the most part, like Wordsworth's poetry, must create the taste by which it is to be appreciated and adopted. Yet the brilliant manner by which the present and other works of the same writer are adorned, have placed them at once among the books that *must* be read. This is a misfortune; for to admire the rhetoric and heartily and practically to adopt the views propounded in them, are two very different things, requiring two very different orders of readers. We confess that we would rather behold verities of such profundity and import clothed more soberly. It would protect them from the praises of the ignorant, and would greatly recommend them to those for whom truth is its own ornament. We know a literary lady, who cannot tell a Doric shaft from a flying buttress, who is nevertheless profound in the "*Seven Lamps*." This kind of popularity ought to be avoided

by a man of science like Mr. Ruskin, even were its attainment not at the sacrifice of space and of permanent utility. There are many passages which, if we had found them in a pulpit exhortation for a mixed multitude, would have impressed us as scarcely inferior to the magnificent strains of Jeremy Taylor; in fact, with the first reading of them we were charmed. The book, however, requires more than a first reading; it is a scientific work, and requires careful study; and ought, therefore, to have been written throughout in a scientific manner: on the second and more studious reading, much that had so delighted us at first, already began to look like "fine writing." Concerning the far more important question of the views broached in Mr. Ruskin's volume, we think that we may safely pronounce them to constitute the most significant piece of criticism which has appeared in the English language for very many years. The indispensable connexion and coincidence of the highest moral activity with the activity of art, has never before been nearly so distinctly or impressively declared; and yet this is the one truth which is demanded for the regeneration of the arts.

We are compelled, by pressure for space, to take the shortest method of giving our readers a notion of the general character of Mr. Ruskin's criticism. We select the following passage, on account of its interest in connexion with the fundamental and now much agitated question of the relationships of art with religion.

"But farther, was it necessary to the carrying out of the Mosaical system that there should be art or splendour in the form or services of the tabernacle or temple? Was it necessary to the perfection of any one of their typical offices, that there should be that hanging of blue and purple and scarlet?—those taches of brass and sockets of silver?—that working in cedar, and overlaying with gold? One thing at least is evident; there was a deep and awful danger in it; a danger that the God whom they so worshipped might be associated in the minds of the serfs of Egypt, with the gods to whom they had seen similar gifts offered, and similar honours paid. The probability in our times of fellowship with the feelings of the idolatrous Romanist is absolutely as nothing, compared with the danger to the Israelite of a sympathy with the idolatrous Egyptian; no speculative, no unproved danger, but proved fatally by their fall, during a month's abandonment to their own will; a fall into the most servile idolatry; yet marked by such offerings to their idol, as their leader was, in the close sequel, instructed to bid them offer to God. This danger was imminent, perpetual, and of the most awful kind: it was the one against which God made provision, not only by commandments, by threatenings, by promises, the most urgent, repeated, and impressive; but by temporary ordinances of a severity so terrible as almost to dim for a time, in the eyes of his people, his attribute of mercy. The principal

object of every instituted law of that Theocracy, of every judgment sent forth in its vindication, was to mark to his people, his hatred of idolatry; a hatred written under their advancing steps, in the blood of the Canaanite, and more sternly still in the darkness of their own desolation, when the children and the sucklings swooned in the streets of Jerusalem, and the lion tracked his prey in the dust of Samaria. Yet against this mortal danger, provision was not made in one way (to man's thoughts, the simplest, the most natural, the most effective) by withdrawing from the worship of the Divine Being whatever could delight the sense, or shape the imagination, or limit the idea of Deity to place. This one way God refused, demanding for himself such honours, and accepting for himself such local dwelling as had been paid and dedicated to idol gods by heathen worshippers;—and for what reason? Was the glory of the tabernacle necessary to set forth or image his own glory to the minds of his people? What! purple or scarlet necessary to the people who had seen the great river of Egypt run scarlet to the sea under his condemnation? What! golden lamp and cherub necessary, when they had seen the silver waves of the Red Sea clasp in their arched hollows the corpses of the horse and his rider? Nay; not so. There was but one reason, and that an eternal one: that as the covenant which he made with men was accompanied with some external sign of its continuance and his remembrance of it, so the acceptance of that covenant might be marked and signified by men, in some external sign of their love and obedience, and surrender of themselves and theirs to his will; and their gratitude to him, and continual remembrance of him, might have at once their expression and their enduring testimony in the presentation to him, not only of the firstlings of the herd and fold; not only of the fruits of the earth and the tithe of time, but of all treasures of wisdom and beauty; of the thought that invents, and the hand that labours; of wealth of wood, and weight of stone; of the strength of iron, and of the light of gold."

Every one must be alive to the justice of Mr. Ruskin's censure of the modern system of domestic decoration. His comments upon railway architecture are perhaps more amusing than just.

"Hence, then, a general law of singular importance in the present day, a law of simple common sense—not to decorate things belonging to purposes of active and occupied life. Wherever you can rest, then decorate; where rest is forbidden, so is beauty. You must not mix ornament with business, any more than you mix play; work first and then rest, work first and then gaze, but do not use golden ploughshares nor bind ledgers in enamel. Do not thrash with sculptured flails, nor put bas-reliefs on millstones. What! it will be asked, are we in the habit of doing so? Even so, always and everywhere. The most familiar position of Greek mouldings is in these days on shop-fronts. There is not a tradesman's sign, nor shelf, nor counter, in all the streets of all our cities, which has not upon it ornaments which

were invented to adorn temples, and beautify king's palaces. There is not the smallest advantage in them where they are. Absolutely valueless—utterly without the power of giving pleasure—they only satiate the eye and vulgarize their own forms. Many of these are in themselves good copies of fine things, which things we shall never in consequence enjoy any more. Many a graceful bracket or pretty beading there is in wood over a grocer's, a cheesemonger's, and a hosier's shop. How is it that tradesmen cannot understand that custom is to be had only by selling good tea, and cheese, and cloth, and that people come to them for their honesty, and their readiness, and their right wares, and not because they have Greek cornices over their windows, or their names in large gilt letters over their house-fronts? How pleasurable it would be to have the power of going through London, pulling down those brackets and friezes and large names, restoring to the tradesmen the capitals they spent in architecture, and putting them on honest equal terms, each with his name in black letters over his door, not shouted down the street from the upper stories, and each with a plain wooden shop-casement with small panes in it, that people would not think of breaking in order to be sent to prison! How much better for them would it be, how much happier, how much wiser, to put their trust upon their own truth and industry, and not on the idiocy of their customers. It is curious, and says little for our national probity, on the one hand, or prudence on the other, to see the whole system of our street decoration based on the idea that people must be baited to a shop as moths to a candle. * * * Another of the strange and evil tendencies of the present day is to the decoration of the railway stations. Now, if there be any place in the world in which people are deprived of that portion of temper and discretion which are necessary to the contemplation of beauty, it is there. It is the very temple of discomfort, and the only charity the builder can extend to us is to shew us, plainly as may be, how soonest to escape from it. The whole system of railroad travelling is addressed to people who, being in a hurry, are for the time being miserable. No one would travel in that manner who could help it—who had time to go leisurely over hills and between hedges, instead of through tunnels and between banks; at least those who would, have no sense of beauty so acute as that we need consult it at the station. The railroad is, in all its relations, a matter of earnest business, to be got through as soon as possible. It transmutes a man from a traveller into a living parcel. For the time he has parted with the noblest characteristics of humanity, for the sake of a planetary power of locomotion. Do not ask him to admire anything, you might as well ask the wind. Carry him safely, dismiss him soon; he will thank you for nothing else. All attempts to please him in any other way are mere mockery and insult to the things by which you endeavour to do so. There never was more flagrant nor impertinent folly than the smallest portion of ornament in anything concerned with railroads, or near them. Keep them out of the way, take them through the ugliest country you can find, confess them the miserable things they are, and

spend nothing upon them but for safety and speed. Give large salaries to efficient servants, large prices to good manufacturers, large wages to able workmen. Let the iron be tough, the brickwork solid, and the carriages strong. The time is perhaps not far distant when these just measures will not be easily met; and to increase expense in any other direction is madness. Better bury gold in the embankments than put it in ornaments in the stations. Will a single traveller be willing to pay an increased fare on the South Western, because the columns of the terminus are covered with patterns from Nineveh? he will only care the less for the Ninevite ivories in the British Museum;—or on the North Western, because there are old English looking spandrels to the roof of the station at Crewe? he will only have less pleasure in their prototypes at Crewe House. Railroad architecture has, or would have, a dignity of its own, if it were only left to its work. You would not put rings on the finger of a smith at his anvil."

We cannot pretend to do full justice to this remarkable book. Its very fault, however, of unscientific style, must give it that kind and extent of circulation which will render any general account of the work by us unnecessary.

From the series of works upon which it appears that Mr. Ruskin is now engaged, we can scarcely hope too much for Art. We could wish, however, that the title of his forthcoming Essay had been one of more immediate practical promise than "The Stones of Venice." At a time when miles of new streets are being annually added to the English metropolis and to our great provincial cities, "The Bricks of London" would have been a more attractive title. All architectures, hitherto, except the "Elizabethan," have assumed a stone material, and the consequence is that house-builders are induced to imitate stone in miserable plaster, instead of dealing boldly and honestly with the humble baked clay which is the substructure of all their cheap finery. That bricks are not insusceptible of a peculiar and characteristic architectural treatment has been proved in the "Elizabethan style." This style, however, is only very partially fitted for modern use. Schinkel of Berlin has tried his wit at a new brick architecture, but he has failed for want of a sufficiently bold abandonment of the principles of stone construction. Mr. Ruskin might confer a vast benefit upon our cities by shewing us what are the essential and peculiar artistical capabilities of brick architecture.

ART. III.—1. *Esame Critico degli Atti e Documenti relativi alla Favola della Papessa Giovanna*. Di A. BIANCHI-GIOVINI. Milano, 1845. 1 vol. 12mo, pp. 250.

2. *A Critical Examination of the Facts and Documents relative to the Fable of Pope Joan*.

SIGNOR BIANCHI-GIOVINI has placed, in the above quoted title-page of his very curious and able little work, a word which possibly might have with propriety appeared on its colophon, but which certainly has no business to occupy the position it does. The crier of a court of justice does not call on the trial of "Richard Roe, *guilty* of felony," &c. The "*guilty*" or "*not guilty*" is to be the *result* of the trial. And the "*critical examination*" of Signor Bianchi-Giovini is instituted by him expressly to investigate whether the strange accounts of a female Pope, found in the medieval historians, be or be not "*fabulous*." The foregone conclusion therefore involved in terming the whole matter "*a fable*" in the title-page should have been avoided. The author, it may be replied, had of course concluded his own investigations, and made up his mind on the question at issue, before he sat down to write his book. But he should have conducted scrupulously the mind of the reader along the path which his own had followed, without showing him beforehand the conclusion he was about to arrive at. This should have been so managed with as much care as a novel writer uses to prevent his reader from penetrating too soon the secret of the *dénouement* on which his interest depends. For as this concealment is essential to the amusement of the novel-reader, so would the analogous reserve which we have been recommending have been useful in imparting to the historical student the full appreciation of the most important part of the instruction this curious examination is calculated to afford.

What this lesson is in our opinion, we will point out presently. For the moment, we will endeavour to do by our reader as we have said our author ought to have done by his. We will endeavour to lay the case unprejudged before him, and leave him to form his own conclusions as he goes. The only further prefatory remark we shall make is, that the reader may truly look on the question under examination as still undecided, notwithstanding the conclusion to which our author has come, has been disclosed to him. For if Signor Bianchi-Giovini deems the story of the Popess to be a fable, such men as Lenfant, Spanheim, and in a great degree, Basnage, believed it to be true history.

We will now relate, as succinctly as may be, the history of

Pope Joan, as found in many historians of the Middle Ages. Some variations may be observed in many of these writers, it is true. We will not, however, trouble the reader with these immaterial discrepancies, but will give the story as told in the main by most of them.

Pope Leo the Fourth died in the year 855; and Benedict the Third stands in the catalogue of popes as his successor. But between these two, the throne of St. Peter was occupied for more than two years by a woman. She does not appear in the list of popes, because it was wished by the Church and its historians to throw the veil of oblivion over so great a sacrilege and scandal. The fact, however, was, that on the death of Leo the Fourth, the clergy and people of Rome met to elect his successor, when their choice fell on a young priest, a stranger in Rome, who during the period of his stay there had acquired an immense reputation for learning and virtue, and who became Pope, with the title of John the Eighth. This supposed priest was, however, in reality a female; and her previous history was as follows:—An English missionary priest was travelling in Saxony with his wife, who at Ingelheim was brought to bed, and gave birth to a daughter. The missionary, with his family thus increased, travelled onwards on his vocation; and after a while, established himself permanently at Fulda. There he found time, amid the occupations occasioned by his newly-formed congregation, to bestow much care and labour on the education of his daughter. She rewarded his pains by the most remarkable progress in all the learning of that day. Nor was she less richly endowed in person than in intellect; and at twelve years old, she was a prodigy of beauty and of learning.

At this early age, a monk of the convent at Fulda having chanced to become acquainted with her, fell violently in love with her. The beautiful Giovanna was, it would seem, less remarkable for virtue and prudence than for other high qualities; for she appears to have made little or no difficulty in returning the monk's passion. A guilty commerce commenced between them, and was for a while carried on by stealth beneath her father's roof. The meetings, however, which they were thus able to contrive, were too few and far between, and attended with too great risk to satisfy the lovers. In order therefore to be wholly and securely together, it was determined between them, that Giovanna should secretly leave her father's house, should assume male attire, and thus introduced by her lover, should desire of the Abbot admission into his convent. This scheme was put into execution accordingly; and the Abbot, charmed with the learning and talent of the young postulant, readily received her among his flock. And so well did she maintain the part she

had assumed, and so cautious were the lovers in their conduct, that during her stay in the convent no suspicion was ever raised of the real state of the case.

However, be the cause what it might, they soon became tired of their convent life, and concerted a plan of flight. They got safe out of the monastery, changed their conventual dresses for lay costumes, and thus escaped to England, of which country the monk also was a native. Having tarried there awhile, they passed thence into France; from France into Italy, and from Italy to Greece. During all these wanderings, they halted wherever they found learned men and learning. Thus gathering erudition from all the most celebrated seats of learning in Europe, they became profoundly versed in all the science of their age. In Greece, they fixed their quarters at Athens, that being the best residence for the purpose of studying the Grecian language. There, however, the wanderings of the lover monk were brought to a conclusion; for he was seized with a sudden malady, which at the end of a few days caused his death.

Giovanna thus left alone, determined on quitting Greece and returning to Italy. She started accordingly, still dressed as ever in male attire, and arrived safely at Rome. There the reputation of her learning, and the fame of her virtue—for she now led a most exemplary life—were soon spread over the whole city. She immediately commenced a course of public lectures, and disputations after the manner of that day, which instantly attracted an immense crowd of hearers. All the students in Rome flocked to her school, and even the most celebrated professors were seen on the benches. At the same time, her exemplary piety won as much admiration as her matchless learning.

At this conjuncture Leo the Fourth died, and the people and the clergy forthwith assembled to choose his successor. On whom could their choice more worthily fall than on this stranger, with whose varied excellencies all Rome was ringing? There was, as contemporary historians assure us, no lack of men remarkable for their virtue, wisdom, and learning at Rome in those days. So pre-eminent, however, was the merit of Giovanna above all others, that she was unanimously chosen Pope, and enthroned as John the Eighth. In her new position Giovanna attracted no less admiration and praise from all men, than she had previously done in her more humble station. The weighty cares of government were borne by her with surprising wisdom and judgment. It was not long, however, before she fell into the same sin that had before ensnared her. An old historian attributes this fall to her, "*aver cominciato a mangiare cibi troppo delicatichè non aveva costumato prima di allora.*" However this might be, Giovanna fell, and the result of her back-

sliding was, ere long, a Pope in the family way! Some of the chroniclers relate, that while in this condition she, on one occasion, undertook to exorcise a person possessed of an evil spirit; and that on her demanding of the devil when he would go out from the possessed person's body, the evil one replied in the following verses:—

“Papa pater patrum papiasæ pandito partum
Et tibi tunc edam, quando de corpore cedam.”

That is to say,—“Oh, Pope, thou father of the fathers, declare the time of the Popess's parturition, and I will then tell you when I will go out from this body.”

No suspicion was, however, raised in the minds of the bystanders by this sally of the foul fiend. They thought that if it meant anything more than mere devilish impudence, it signified that the devil refused *ever* to yield. And so Giovanna approached the critical period without any suspicion of the truth being yet awakened. At length it came to the time of the Rogation days, a period of much solemn processioning in Rome. And it came to pass, that the Pope, not aware how near she was to her time, and unwilling to appear remiss in her religious duties, left the church of the Vatican, at the head of all her clergy, to walk in procession to the Lateran. The solemn pageant proceeded with all due ceremony and decorum, till it arrived at that spot in its road which lies between the church of St. Clement and the Coliseum. When suddenly seized with the pains of labour, there in the open street, amid all the astounded cardinals and clergy, to the confusion of herself, to the horror of all the assembled multitude, and the sad disgrace of the entire Church, the infallible head thereof gave birth to a child! The circumstances, however, of such an accouchement were fatal to both mother and child. As a mark of the horror felt by the Church for so dreadful a sacrilege, it was determined that the Pontiff in procession should never again pass by that desecrated spot. A statue was raised there to perpetuate the infamy of the fact; and a ceremony, minutely described by successive historians, was ordained to be observed at the consecration of all future Popes, for the purpose of preventing the possibility of a recurrence of a similar scandal. Theodore of Niem, who lived long at Rome in the position of secretary to two Popes, testifies to the existence of a statue of the female Pope. And Mabillon, in his “*Iter Italicum*,” tells us of the portrait of Pope Joan, occupying its place between those of Leo the Fourth and Benedict the Third, in the cathedral of Siena.

Such is the story of the female Pope,—a history related and handed down during a period of six hundred years by more than

two hundred writers, among whom are to be found popes, cardinals, bishops, theologians, inquisitors, priests, friars, laymen, historians, moralists, orthodox catholics, and heretics. "Is it possible," asks Signor Bianchi-Giovini, "for a tradition to be better supported?" The nature of the subject, too, is such as to exclude effectually, we would think, all possibility of mistake or falsification. The main facts of the story took place in a spot then the very centre of the civilized world—in a city which was not, as most other cities at that day were, isolated in a great degree from the rest of Europe, but which was in constant relation with all Christendom. The catastrophe is represented to have happened under the eyes of a vast multitude, including all the most instructed and pen-handling men in Rome. The principal personage of the extraordinary scene, too, was that one of all the human beings in the world most certain of being minutely and carefully chronicled. Of interest to all Europe, the Pope was especially interesting to that class who alone were capable of recording facts, and who were in the habit of registering all such as appeared to them important. Any mistake or falsification respecting such an event, happening under such a combination of circumstances, does most assuredly appear impossible.

Many of the other tests usually adopted by critics in determining the value of historical evidence will, if applied to the narration in question, still farther tend to the conviction, that, however strange it may appear that such a story should be true, it would be far stranger, nay incredible, that it should be false. In the first place, what would be the natural bias of those who have recorded the facts? Can we discover any motive which might have led them to invent such a story? The contrary is most palpably and notoriously the case. The chroniclers who have recorded and perpetuated this story were telling that which all their prejudices, interests, feelings, and desires would have naturally led them to wish suppressed, hidden, and forgotten for ever. They were putting arms into the hands of their enemies. It is most evident that they wrote such things only because they deemed them too true and too well known to be suppressed.

Again, is it a story likely to have been invented as falling in with any popular delusion or superstition, or hope or fear, of that day? Have we other instances of similar fictions? Were any of the circumstances of those times calculated to generate such an invention in the imagination? Nothing of the sort. Nothing can appear more improbable than the first conception of such a fable. Indeed, it may be thought that the first inventor and publisher of such a scandalous story, supposing it to be an invention, would have been in imminent danger from the indignation of his ecclesiastical superiors, and of the Church in general.

Then, again, consider the circumstantial minuteness of the narration. Even supposing that in some inconceivable manner a strange unfounded idea had been generated, that a female had once upon a time occupied the chair of St. Peter, would not the most credulous chronicler, or the most audacious fabler, have contented himself with recording or inventing that one naked circumstance? Do we not invariably find that the fables, which have had their origin amid the darkness of antehistorical times, and have foisted themselves, amid truths and half truths, into the page of history, are mere vague statements of isolated facts, the skeletons of a story rather than the true body of one clothed with its flesh and blood of circumstance, and due sequence of antecedent and result? Is it to be supposed, that if the story had been absolutely void of foundation we should have had recorded the birth and parentage of the false Popess—a complete and intelligible account of all her previous adventures—an entire and consistent biography in short?—a biography, too, in which all the facts are consistent not only with themselves but with the history and condition of the times when they are supposed to have taken place. And, truly, the story of Giovanna is nothing less than all this. The married Romanist English missionary travelling in Saxony, learned in the learning of those times—the immoral and unprincipled, yet studious and learning-loving lover monk—the thronging Roman scholars, eager after the teaching of the newly arrived stranger doctor from foreign countries, are all “*dramatis personæ*” true to the history of the period, genuine excerpts from the real world of that day. Then the itinerant pursuit of erudition, and of the fame thereof, the suddenly acquired reputation, &c., are all in true keeping. Can we refuse to admit all these facts to be strong presumptions in favour of the story? Must we not confess that many of the usual and well-known characteristics of fabulous narration are wanting here?

Does it appear credible, we ask, that such a story, so related, and so long received by those who had most interest to reject it, should be absolutely and entirely false? Does it not seem impossible? Yet, in one word, such is the case. Few of those who have ever examined the question will, at the present day, we believe, be inclined to impugn our assertion, if we pronounce unhesitatingly the entire story to be a pure and unmixed fabrication! This is the curiosity of the thing; and herein lies the instruction to be drawn from the story, and from Signor Bianchi-Giovini's very able investigation of it.

Before, however, pointing out more specially the lessons it affords, and the rules it illustrates in that science which teaches the weighing and due estimation of historical evidence, it will not

be uninteresting to sketch very briefly the rise and progress of the tradition, as we find it recorded in the pages of a long series of chroniclers.

The first writer, in point of date, who mentions the Popess, is Marianus Scotus, who was born in 1028, became a monk in 1052, went from Scotland to Germany in 1058, remained several years in the monastery of Fulda, wrote an Universal Chronicle, which comes down to 1083, and died at Mayence in 1086. In this monk's Chronicle it stands written :—"Leo the Pope died on the 1st of August. To him succeeded John, who was a woman, and sat for two years, five months, and four days." And this is all. Not a word of her parents, her loves, her peregrinations, or the circumstances of her death. It appears, therefore, that this strange history did not rise perfect from the brain of its inventor, like Minerva from that of Jove, but that it was, as we shall further see presently, the produce of a long and gradual growth, and due to the genius of a lengthy series of inventive historians. There is another important remark, however, to be made, before quitting Marianus, on a circumstance which meets us thus at the outset of our path, and which continually recurs during its whole course. It is the gross and disgraceful dishonesty and ill faith of writers on both sides, as soon as Church interests and polemical feelings are involved in the matter, and the *odium theologicum* is aroused. Old Marianus lived in days which were not controversial, and he, no doubt, tells the matter as he heard it. But it so happens that the editor of his Chronicle, when it was printed for the first time at Bâle, in 1559, was John Herold, a Calvinist. Consequently, in printing the above passage respecting the she Pope, he quietly leaves out the words "*ut asseritur*," which stand in the MS., and thus alters the old monk's hearsay to a direct and positive assertion.

Pass we on, however, to the builders on this promising foundation.

Leaving on one side one or two authors, who merely mention the fact that a female Pope was said to have succeeded Leo IV., and a few of whom it is doubtful whether they speak of her at all, we come to an anonymous unedited Chronicle in the library of St. Paul, at Leipsic, which comes down to 1261. The writer of this, under the year 900, after saying that Sergius III. was, for his vices, by some considered a pseudo-Pope, goes on thus :—"There was another false Pope, the name and date of whom are unknown; since she was a woman, as the Romans confess, of great beauty and of great learning, but who always concealed her sex under a male costume, till she was elected Pope. She became with child in her papacy, and the demon, in a consistory, made the fact known to all, by crying out to the Pope, '*Papa*

pater patrum Papissæ pandito partum.'” Here we have the fact of her bearing a child, and the circumstances of her beauty and learning, in addition to the more naked notice of the earlier writer.

As we come down the stream of time, however, but a few years further, we come to an author who appears to have contributed a handsome addition to our fabric. This is Martinus Polaccus, who was a friar-penitentiary of Pope Nicholas III., archbishop of Cosenza, and author of a Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors, which comes down to 1277. He writes as follows :—

“ After this Leo sat John of England, by nation of Mayence, by some writers said to be Benedict III. He sat two years, five months, and four days : and the Pontificate was vacant a month. He died at Rome. It is said that this Pope was a woman, and that having been taken in her youth to Athens, in male attire, by one who was her lover, she acquired such proficiency in various sciences that her equal was not to be found. And having afterwards come to Rome to teach the Trivium,* she had among her hearers many very learned men, and having gained for herself in that city a great reputation for purity of life and learning, was unanimously elected Pope. But in her papacy she became with child by one of her servants ; and being ignorant of the time when the birth should be, she was overtaken by the pains of childbirth as she was going from the church of St. Peter to that of the Lateran, and gave birth to a child between the Coliseum and the church of St. Clement. It is said that she was buried there. And as our lord the Pope does not pass by that road, it is thought by some that he avoids it from detestation of that event. She is not placed in the Catalogue of Holy Pontiffs, both because of her sex and because of the atrocity of the circumstances.”

Such is the narration of the worthy Archbishop of Cosenza, who, as a sometime resident at Rome, ought to have had ample means of inquiring into the foundation and authenticity of the tradition. It will be observed that many fresh particularities are here met with for the first time, though the lady's biography is not yet complete. In later days, when the question of Popess or no Popess became a debated matter between Romanists and Protestants, and a common tilting ground for polemical champions of either faith, and every circumstance of the story was contested, and each fragment of authority sifted with unsparing erudition, it was attempted to be shewn that the above passage was spuriously introduced into the work of Martinus Polaccus. Some manuscripts, it was shewn, do not contain it. But as Signor Bianchi-Giovini truly and candidly remarks, this fact would prove nothing ; for it is just as likely that it should have been designedly omitted from those which have it not as inserted in

* The Trivium, as is well known, comprised grammar, rhetoric, and logic. The Quadrivium consisted of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy.

those which contain it. Moreover, it is proved, that the copies of the archbishop's Chronicle, which circulated in Italy shortly after his own time, contained the passage in question, from the circumstance of Fra Tolomeo, a Dominican of Lucca, having remarked in a work of his that he had met with no author who spoke of the Popess except Martinus.

As we advance into the fourteenth century, the number of writers who speak of Giovanna rapidly increase. The legend is evidently consolidating quickly into history. At all events, the belief that such a thing had happened is by that time evidently very general, though still perhaps somewhat vague and unsettled. The tradition, still partially in the embryo state, is not yet fully incarnate in its consistent flesh and blood, body of circumstances and life-like particulars. The work, however, now goes rapidly on.

Siegfried, the priest, who finished his "Epitomes" in 1306, contributes his quota of new matter, adding to what we have already, that "at Rome in a certain spot of the city is still shewn her statue in pontifical dress, together with the image of her child, cut in marble in a wall." Thanks! good Siegfried! "the smallest contributions being thankfully received," as truly they seem to have been by each successive compiler, the entire edifice will soon be completed.

Amalric di Angier, Prior of the Augustins, who wrote in 1362, contributes the new circumstance, that Giovanna taught three years in Rome previous to her election. We are also indebted to him for originating the suggestion as to the high feeding being the primary cause of her backsliding.

We have now arrived at the age of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Of the first, Signor Bianchi-Giovini writes in words which we quote, as containing a curious notice of the estimation in which Petrarch is held at the present day among his countrymen, thus:—"The singer of Monna Laura, whose verses—the delight of our fathers—are so wearisome to us, Francesca Petrarca, writing about 1370, repeats the story of Martinus Polaccus." He says nothing, however, about the pregnancy, merely remarking that the sex was discovered afterwards.

Not so the gentle Ser Giovanni da Certaldo. The story was too good a one for him to refrain from making the most of in his book of "celebrated women." Here, as elsewhere, our good Boccaccio shews himself more fitted as well as more inclined to hold the pen of a novelist, than that of an historian. And in truth he wields the former so frankly as to dispense an historical investigator from the necessity of examining his account of the matter very strictly. His account, moreover, is too long, as well as here and there too highly coloured to adapt it for citation in

our pages. We may remark, however, that he is the first to assert that her original real name was not known, but that some thought that it was Gilberta.

Hermann Körner, a German Domenican, author of a chronicle which comes down to 1435, speaks at length of the Popess, and adds the new facts, that the line of procession adopted by the Popes in passing from the Vatican to the Lateran, was changed by the decree of a Council; and that a usage was thereafter established to verify the sex of the Popes at the time of their election.

Contemporary with Körner was the French poet Martin Franc, who speaks at length of Giovanna in a poem in the form of a dialogue between a champion of women and an accuser of them. We will quote two or three stanzas as an interesting specimen of the poetry of that day, and of the feeling then prevalent anent the Popess. The verses are, as may be supposed, a part of the pleading of the woman-hater.

“ Tu scais qu'elle scent tant des lettres
Que pour son sens on la crea
Papesse et prestresse des prestres.
O ! comme bien estudia !
O grand loüange si a !
Femme se dissimula homme,
Et sa nature renia
Pour devenir Pape de Rome.

“ O benoist Dieu ! comme osa femme
Vestir chasuble et chanter messe !
O femme oultrageuse et infame !
Comment eust elle la hardiesse
De se faire Pape et Papesse ?
Comment endura Dieu, comment
Que femme ribaulde et prestresse
Eust l'eglise en gouvernement ?”

The defender afterwards making the best he can of so bad a case, concludes :—

“ Or laissons les pechez, disans
Qu'elle estait clergesse lettrée,
Quand devant le plus souffisans
De Rome eut l'issue et l'entré.
Encor te peut estre monstrée
Mainte préface que dicta
Bien et saintement accoustrée
Ou en la foi point n'hésita.”

Thus it seems that Martin Franc believed that there were writings of her extant, of which the orthodoxy was irreproachable.

But a poet's authority must not pass for more than it is worth ; and no other writer speaks on this subject.

In the middle of the fifteenth century Felix Hammerlein, a canon of Constance, relates at full length the story as it then stood, and adds, that the manner of her death was that she had chosen for herself for the remission of her sins. This alludes to a legend which seems to have been current at that period—for it is mentioned at length by other writers of the latter half of the fifteenth century—that an angel appeared to Pope Giovanna, and proposed to her this choice ; either to carry on and finish her papacy with glory, and be punished eternally, or to die disgraced publicly as she did, and be pardoned.

Nearly about the same time the English author of two centuries of "*Scriptores Majoris Britanniae*," whom Signor Bianchi-Giovini styles "*Giovanni Baleo di Suffolk*," writes at length of the female Pope, and pretty well completes the tale ; adding, moreover, that she ordained bishops, priests, deacons, and abbots, consecrated altars and churches, administered sacraments, and gave the monastic tonsure to the Emperor Lothaire. Thus our countryman John Bayley may be deemed to have put the last stone to this most extraordinary edifice, which it has therefore taken six hundred years to rear,—that being about the space of time which elapsed from the date assigned to Giovanna to that of our countryman John Bayley.

But if this worthy may be considered the last of the framers of the story, with his name begins a new phase in the history of the tradition. Hitherto we have had a succession of writers more or less credulous, more or less conscientious in examining the authorities for the facts they related, more or less scrupulous in eking out meagre information with guesses, supposed probabilities or pure invention. But they cannot be supposed to have had any other motive for falsifying history than such as arose from such defects as these. They were mere chroniclers relating their stories without passion or bias. Henceforward this is no longer the case. Our relators now are no longer chroniclers but controversialists ; no longer quiet annalists copying each other in peaceful succession, but polemical champions tilting at each other with all the hatred of rival Churches, and availing themselves of every vantage ground which a subtle quibble or an opponent's oversight might afford.

The first doubt cast upon the story seems to have been by the celebrated Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, who became Pope, with the name of Pius the Second. In a conference which he held with the Taborites of Bohemia in 1451, their spokesman urged the history of the Popess as a proof of the fallibility of the Church. The Pope replied, that this proved no error in faith or doctrine, but

merely ignorance of fact ;—besides, that the story was a doubtful one.

The heretics begin to avail themselves of the story as an argument against their mighty enemy. Mother Church then, for the first time, finds the story of sufficient importance to be worth a denial.

Now, worthy John Bayley was first Bishop of Ossory ; then became Protestant, retired into Germany, and there wrote his work. Hence his anxiety to make out—which he does in the shortest manner, by simply asserting the fact—that the false pope *had created bishops, &c.*, and thenceforward the literary history of the legend and its fortunes is the history of one long battle. It is not our intention to inflict upon our readers a detailed account of all the alternate successes and defeats in this long war, with the prowess of the successive champions, or even the “names, weights, and colours of the writers.” “*Summa sequamur fastigia rerum.*”

After one or two Romanist skirmishers, who appear not to have excited much attention, the French Jesuit, Richeome, published, first in Latin, then in French, under the name of “Florimond Raymond, Councillor of the Parliament of Bourdeaux,” a volume of considerable power and acuteness of argument, against Bayley and his predecessors. This was published in 1587, and seems to have been rather a stunning blow ; for we have to go on till 1598 before we meet with any reply, and then one William Perkins fires off a quarto in favour of the Popess. But what could a poor William Perkins do against the three gigantic champions who then came forth and threatened to crush her out of sight for ever beneath the colossal folios of their erudition—Baronius, Binius, and Bellarmine ! a doughty trio !

The reputation, learning, and burning zeal of these mighty pillars of Mother Church, however, served but to awake the counter zeal and vigilance of a host of adversaries. One German writes an “*Assertio veritatis Historiæ de Papa Johanne VIII., quod fuit mulier, et puerpera,*” published at Oppenheim in 1612 ; and another in 1616, puts forth at the same place, “*Papissa Johanna toto orbi Manifestata.*” More remarkable for erudition, and for the assistance they contributed to the establishment of Pope Joan in the general belief, were the works of an Englishman and a Dutchman, who advanced into the lists much about the same time—Alexander Cooke, the one, and Egbert Grim, the other. Mighty was the list of authorities—portentous the bulk of citations amassed by these worthies in their corpulent quartos—a show of evidence which seems to have produced no inconsiderable effect on the minds of the literary world of

that day. And yet truly all their learned labour produced *a show* of evidence only ; for of what value as testimony are the assertions of whole catalogues of authors, were they yet twenty times more numerous than they are, if it so be that they but copy each other ? What more conclusive proof do they afford of the truth of the statement in question, than that by which it is sought to establish the doubted existence of an individual from a great variety of portraits of him, all—as Archbishop Whately so well says, in his admirable “Historic doubts concerning Napoleon Bonaparte,”—all striking likenesses of each other.

Messieurs Cooke and Grim, however, produced so strong an impression in favour of the Popess, that Urban the Eighth thought it necessary to commission the Domenican monk, Leone Allacci, to controvert them. In addition to the arguments adduced by his predecessors, he endeavoured to show the great presumption against the truth of any such story, arising from the silence of the Greek writers of the period, who from the hostile feelings of rivalry existing between the Churches, would have been only too glad to have got hold of such a scandal, and from the presence of Grecians at Rome at that period, would have been sure to hear of it.

Allacci thus did good service ; and so did the celebrated Sorbonist Launoy, who broke a spear in the same quarrel. But the most damaging enemy that Giovanna had yet had to contend against was the Protestant minister, David Blondel. Hitherto her adversaries had all been Catholics. Her defenders, since the beginning of the controversy, all Protestants. But it was now a case of—*et tu Brute !* And the Protestant’s blow was, not only from this cause, but intrinsically in itself the heaviest of all. With a clearness of logic, and a just appreciation of the real nature of historical evidence, which seems to have been greatly wanting to his predecessors, he demonstrates the absence of all good *foundation* for the story, the utter weakness of its *early* years, the suspicions which stand around its cradle ; and instead of disputing how far Pope Joan was believed or generally recognised in this or that century, shews that by her own *contemporaries* she was never heard of at all.

Blondel was an honest man, to whom truth was more dear than any Plato ; and who was moreover a sufficiently good Protestant to know, that the good cause needed no such dubious assistance as the tradition in question could afford. The exceeding anxiety of Protestant writers to maintain the existence of this scandal would lead to the inference, that they thought all the huge mass of undoubted abominations with which the papacy is chargeable, were not sufficient to call for, and in God’s good time to ensure its overthrow. And accordingly good David Blon-

del met with the fate of all those who prefer truth to the claims of party. He was bitterly abused by all sections of the reformed Church. Some accused him of wishing to obtain a benefice from the Pope; some that he had sold himself for a pension to the French monarch; while the most moderate blamed him for having banished from history a story favourable to the Protestants, instead of leaving it to the Catholics to rid themselves of it as best they might. So low was in those days the standard of morality, even among the religious world, that it was possible for a man to be openly and avowedly blamed for admitting a truth unfavourable to his party!

Blondel's book called forth a crowd of writers in defence of the Popess, of whom the principal was the celebrated Protestant minister, Samuel Des Marets, better known perhaps under his Latinized name, Maresius. His labours, however, served but to call forward a more powerful champion than he, on the other side; and his "*Joanna Pappissa Restituta*," was answered by the Jesuit Labbe's "*Cenotaphium Papissæ Joannæ*." The celebrity of Labbe's name drew forth a fresh crowd of writers in support of the tradition, among whom the only name of sufficient note to be worth mentioning is Frederick Spanheim, who brought a vast mass of ill-ordered erudition to bear upon the subject. Lenfant produced a more readable French work out of Spanheim's Latin materials; and once more the tide of public opinion seemed to run in favour of the existence of a Popess. But shortly afterwards another Protestant, undeterred by the abuse lavished upon Blondel, gave her what may be deemed the *coup de grâce*. This was the acute and learned Bayle, who with his rigid and judicial impartiality sums up the essence of all that had been advanced on either side, and shows most victoriously the altogether insufficient grounds on which the entire story rests. Two other strong polemical athletes, moreover, were at hand, to finish her if any signs of life yet were seen to remain. These were Leibnitz and Eckhardt; and with their works the long controversy may be said to conclude, and Pope Joan to be finally convicted of being an impostor, or rather a nonentity.

We pointed out, in an earlier part of this Article, the strange amount of probability that might be adduced in favour of this extraordinary legend, from the consenting opinion of a vast number of believers in it, and from the apparent impossibility that fiction should usurp the place of truth on such a subject. We will now very briefly set before the reader the reasons that must compel every competent judge of historical evidence to reject the entire story, despite all the seemingly strong case that may be made out on the other side.

In the *first* place, from the year 855, the date assigned to the

supposed Popess, to the time when Marianus Scotus, who *first* mentioned such a tradition, wrote, there is a lapse of 200 years. This alone is very strong against the tale. But the case becomes much stronger as we proceed with our examination. There were at that time, 855, at Rome, four individuals who afterwards became successively Pope, under the names of Benedict the III., Nicholas the I., Adrian the II., and John the VIII. These persons were all either priests or deacons of the Roman Church during the Papacy of Giovanna. They must have taken part in her election, and in all probability have been present at her extraordinary death. Now of all these four Popes we have remaining many and various writings; but not a word or a hint of the Popess. On the contrary, all represent Benedict the III. to have succeeded to Leo the IV.

But it is urged that these writers all agreed in purposely suppressing any allusion to the facts of the female Pope, in obedience to a decree, (supposed, for none such is extant,) consigning Giovanna, and all concerning her, to silence and oblivion. It would be easy to adduce many instances of the violent exertion of authority to enforce absolute secrecy respecting events of which it was wished that no memory should survive—and ever in vain, and that in matters of far less necessarily public notoriety than the accession, reign, and death of a Pope. It is extravagant to suppose that such a suppression could have been attained, even by all the power and influence of the Church. But even if we admit that the Church accomplished then an object, which she evidently could not accomplish 200 years later, when her despotic power was far more consolidated and complete,—even if we grant that all Romanists for 200 years avoided all allusion to the Popess, because the subject was a prohibited one, it will still remain to be shewn, why others, to whom this reason for silence did not extend, were equally mute. The Greek writers would only have been too glad to have propagated such a tale of scandal against their rival. Polemical controversy and hostile feeling ran high at that time between the western and eastern Churches. A paper war raged between Pope Nicholas the I. and Photius the Patriarch of Constantinople. There were plenty of Greeks at Rome at the time assigned for the reign of the Popess, learned Greeks too, and exceedingly hostile to the Church of Rome and the pretensions of her Pontiffs. Yet not only do we find no allusion to any such history in any Greek writer till more than 400 years afterwards, but we *do* find in Photius himself no less than three positive assertions in different parts of his writings, that Benedict the III. succeeded Leo the IV.

Ado, Archbishop of Vienne in France, who was at Rome in

the year 866,—about ten years, that is, after the reign of the supposed Popess, has left us a chronicle, in which he says, that Benedict succeeded immediately to Leo. Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes, living at the same time, testifies the same thing. The Council of Toul, held in the year 859, in a letter to the Bishops of Brittany, speaks of Leo, and his successor Benedict. Lupo, Abbot of Ferrières, in a letter to Pope Benedict, says that he, the Abbot, had been kindly received at Rome by his predecessor Leo the IV. In a Council held at Rome in the year 863, under the presidency of Pope Nicholas the I., that Pontiff speaks of his predecessors Leo and Benedict. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, writing to Nicholas the I., says that certain messengers whom he had sent to Pope Leo the IV., had been met on their journey by the news of that Pontiff's death, and had on their arrival in Rome found Benedict on the throne. And Signor Bianchi-Giovini cites no less than ten other contemporary writers, who all testify to the same immediate succession, and afford not the slightest hint of any story or tradition that can throw the least light on that of the female Pope.

Must we then conclude that the long believed story which has exercised the critical acumen of so many scholars, had absolutely *no* foundation—that Pope Joan was in truth an exception to the immutable “*ex nihilo nihil fit*,”—that here at least was a case of a very large body of smoke where there was no fire? Not so! doubtless there was *some* origin for the story. And several conjectures have been advanced upon the subject; among them, that which Signor Bianchi-Giovini prefers, seems to us also so very much the most probable, as to leave very little doubt upon the subject.

Pope John the X., elected in 914, was raised to the Papal throne, entirely by the power and influence of his mistress,—that well-known Theodora, whose beauty, talents, and unscrupulous intrigues made her well-nigh absolute mistress of Rome in the beginning of the tenth century. As Pontiff he was little more than an instrument in her hands. In 931, the equally celebrated daughter of Theodora, Marozia, caused her son, by Pope Sergius the III., to be placed in the chair of St. Peter, with the title of John the XI.; and this Pope was yet more a mere puppet in the hands of his mother, than John the X. had been in those of his mistress. Again, in 956, a grandson of the same Marozia, the son of her son Alberic, by her first husband, Guido Marquis of Tuscany, was raised to the Papacy, with the title of John the XII. This Pope had many concubines, and was much governed by some among them, especially by one Raineria, of whom a contemporary chronicler tells us, that he was so blindly enamoured, that he made over to her the government of several

cities, and gave her the gold vessels and ornaments belonging to the Church of St. Peter.

Now, it seems exceedingly probable, that it may have been satirically said by the Romans of one or all three of these Popes John, that Rome had a Popess instead of a Pope—that the chair of St. Peter was (virtually) occupied by a female. And it is very easy to conceive, how such things, repeated from mouth to mouth, with a variety probably of bitter and irreverent scoffs and sneers, and jocose addition of buffoonery and ribald circumstances, might have been received as matter of fact assertions by German strangers in Rome, ignorant, credulous, and well disposed to carry back to their own country any marvellous tale respecting that far city, to which all men's eyes were turned with awe and interest. For it must be observed, that it is quite clear that the tale was first manufactured into history in Germany; that no such story was believed or known in Italy till after it had found a place in the works of German chroniclers. It is also to be remarked, that even thus the absurdity was too monstrous to pass into *contemporary* history even in a distant country. The wandering monks or soldiers who first brought back the tale, spread it gradually among the people, among whom it, in the course of time, assumed the form of a substantial and accredited tradition. Thus a small spring bubbles up unseen among the turf, first spreads itself abroad over the low ground of the neighbouring meadow, and *then* finds for itself a channel and becomes a visible stream, noted by geographers, and furnished with a name.

Observe, too, that the stream is sure to find material of increase as it pursues its course onwards. The first small nucleus of the story of the Popess, made its earliest appearance in history as the naked fact, that a female had sat in St. Peter's chair. And the gradual agglomeration of circumstances around this nucleus, is perhaps the most curious part of the whole matter. No portion of Signor Bianchi-Giovini's work is more able and ingenious, than his examination of each of these added circumstances successively, and the conjectures he offers to account for the origin of each new invention. He is so happy in most of these as to leave small doubt on the mind of his reader, that the fable really did grow in the manner, and from the causes, which he suggests. It would, however, take a much larger space than we can spare to the subject, to transfer this mass of curious historical speculation at all adequately to our pages. We can only advise those who are curious to investigate the growth of falsehood,—to catch it in the process of transforming itself into apparent truth,—to read for themselves Signor Bianchi-Giovini's unpretending little duodecimo of 250 pages.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*. Edited by his Son, The Rev. CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY, M.A. Vol. 1. 1849.
2. *Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late William Taylor of Norwich*. By J. W. ROBBERTS. 1843.
3. *Early Recollections*. By JOSEPH COTTLE. 1837.

FOR a period of more than fifty years the writings of Southey were among those which, in England, most contributed to create or to modify public opinion. His first published poem was written in the year 1791; and from the date of its publication till the close of his life, there was not, we believe, a year in which he did not hold communication with the minds of others, in almost every form which a retired student can employ. Literature was not alone his one absorbing passion, but it was also his professional occupation. Southey, when speaking of Spenser, describes him as

“ Sweetest bard, yet not more sweet
Than pure was he, and not more pure than wise;
High-priest of all the Muses’ mysteries.”

At the same altar, and with the same purity of heart, and with the same wisdom, he too served. It may seem to be regretted, that they who serve the altar have to live by the altar; but to the necessity in which he found himself, of working out a livelihood by unwearied industry in the occupations to which the higher instincts of his nature called him, we no doubt owe much of what is most genial in the works of this true poet. To this alone—such at least seems the probability—was it owing that he became a prose writer at all, for none of his prose writings have that unity of purpose and design which distinguishes the works of pure imagination; and yet there can be no doubt that, as a prose writer, he is one of the most graceful in our language. It is, however, as a poet that we think Southey must be most remembered. It is not depreciating Goldsmith’s unequalled prose works, to say, that it is as a poet he takes highest rank. Had he not been a poet, he could not have written those prose works, and so with Southey. Dispose, however, of this question as the reader may, the earlier portion of his biography with which we have to deal will compel us rather to think of him in that character in which he first appeared before the public. Through both his poems and his prose works, his individual character so distinctly appears, that it would be scarce possible to mistake a page of his writing for that of any other man. He has not avoided imitation. On the contrary, his early poems are too often echoes

of Cowper and Akenside : and the quaintnesses which appear more conspicuously in his prose works, are in kind identical with those of Fuller and Sir Thomas Browne. We feel that he is writing in the midst of his books ; and that his essays on topics of present interest are always affected by his throwing his mind into the way of thinking of an age that has passed away. Still there is everywhere a definiteness and decision of purpose, which is that which constitutes true originality ; and *his* thoughts it is which are expressed in a dialect which he feels to be common property, and of which he as little remembers how each particular phrase or cadence has been formed, as we can determine how we have learned the words of the language we speak. Everywhere, even in his earliest writings, his own mind makes itself distinctly felt. Of this the strongest evidence is, that where its expression is not subdued by the higher tones of elevated poetry, we have always an under-current of quiet humour that exhibits a man happy himself, or, if unhappiness comes, who feels himself blameless for what he cannot avert, and who is disposed at all times to view surrounding things in a spirit of kindliness.

How such a mind was originally formed, and how it was not spoiled by the wear and tear of life—how the purity and single-mindedness of childhood was preserved through manhood and to age, and this by a man frequently writing on the most exciting political topics, is surely a subject well worth studying, with such aids as we can find.

Among those aids we find a series of letters written by Southey in the forty-sixth or forty-seventh year of his age, in which he relates all he can remember of the first fifteen years of his life. With these letters, his "*Life and Correspondence*, edited by his son, the Reverend Cuthbert Southey," opens. They were addressed to Mr. May, an old friend. Their publication at some future time was no doubt contemplated by the writer. About half a volume of the work is filled by this autobiography. A selection of such of his letters as could be recovered, connected, and elucidated by some interspersed narrative, carries us on to the poet's twenty-fifth year, and concludes the first volume of the work—the only part yet published. The "*Life of William Taylor of Norwich*" supplies us with another very interesting series of his letters, which, it so happens, commencing just where the other closes, enables us to trace the progress of the poet for seventeen years more—and those the years in which his greatest works were written. This part of Southey's correspondence was published with his own sanction, by Mr. Robberds, the biographer of Taylor. The *Reminiscences of Mr. Cottle of Bristol*, give us some further help in bringing Southey distinctly before the mind at the period of early manhood. We

feel, therefore, that while to ourselves it would be pleasant to forbear writing on the subject till the completion of Mr. Cuthbert Southey's book, there is no reasonable ground for such delay.

Of Southey's paternal ancestors we are told, in the autobiography, that the Southeys were a numerous tribe in Somersetshire, one of whom, the sixth in the ascending line from the poet, a great clothier in Wellington, had eleven sons, who peopled that part of the country with Southeys. The poet infers from their having armorial bearings, that they were of gentle birth. "I should like," says he, when describing the chevron and crosslets on his paternal shield, "to believe, that one of my ancestors had served in the crusades, or made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem."

If such fancy were founded in fact, the fact has escaped the chroniclers. Few persons were so well read in the class of books where it would be likely to be found as the poet; and he says he never met the name in a printed book. Family tradition represented one of them as a great soldier. "In the great rebellion, I guess, it must have been, but I neither know his name nor on which side he fought." Another was *out* with Monmouth: his sword was preserved till the time of Southey's father. An uncle of Southey's grandfather was an attorney at Taunton, and was registrar of the Archdeaconry. He married an heiress, and Southey's grandfather settled on the estate in the parish of Lydiard St. Lawrence, about ten miles from Taunton, under the Quantock hills. What is family tradition? Of his grandfather, Southey can find no record, except that he was a subscriber for "*Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*," from which he infers that he had some regard for books, and was of a right way of thinking. A maiden sister lived in her brother's house. She had a small estate held on lives. Two dropped, and the last, when he knew the old lady's means of livelihood depended on his continuing to live, determined never to work more, but extort his support from her. Southey says the story is worth insertion in a treatise on English tenures. Cases have occurred in Ireland where murders have been committed to terminate estates so held. Cases have also occurred where a juror has refused to concur in a conviction, because the criminal's life was one on which a lease depended. We have known an incident not unlike that mentioned by Southey:—A profligate fellow proposed to a gentleman who had some property depending on his life, that he should share the property with him, or in the event of that not being acceded to, that he would go abroad and never more be heard of. He kept his word. For a few years, in spite of his efforts for concealment, traces of him sufficient for the purposes of those whose estate depended on his life were found.

At last he succeeded so far in baffling all inquiry, that it was thought more desirable to abandon the property than continue to occupy it on such a tenure.

Southey's grandfather had been a dissenter, but his residence in a lonely hamlet brought him away from the hotbeds of dissent. If dissent, however, did him no other harm than that which the poet records, we think he is not warranted in speaking as he does of the "essential acid of Puritanism." "Aunt Hannah frequently chastised her niece, Mary, for going into the fields with her playmates of a Sunday. She, and her brothers and sisters, she said, had never been suffered to go out of the house on the Sabbath, except to meetings."

His grandfather's children were three sons, John, Robert, and Thomas, and two daughters. John, the eldest son, became an attorney, at Taunton. Robert, the father of the poet, found himself behind the counter of a grocer in London. His heart was in the country, however, and in the rural sports in which his boyhood had been past. His attachment to field sports was an absolute passion. Seeing a porter one day with a hare in his hand, he could not help shedding tears at the sight. His master died, and he was removed to Bristol, and placed there with a linen-draper. An acquaintanceship with a young man of the name of Tyler, introduced him to Tyler's connexions. There is danger of losing our way in the wilderness of first cousins, and uncles and half-uncles, to whom we are now presented, and we shall get out of the jungle as fast as we can. Among the persons to whom Tyler introduced his friend, was Mrs. Margaret Hill. Bradford was her maiden name. She had been first married to a brother of Tyler's, and afterwards to Edward Hill of Bedminster. She was now again a widow, and living in the same house with her were Tylers and Hills, collaterals or descendants. Of the Tylers, uncle William was a fool,* or something not unlike it; and uncle Edward was not a very wise man. From the Tylers the poet passes on to the Hills. But we must hasten on to his mother. Bedminster was but a half-hour's walk from Bristol. Edward Tyler and his friend were constant visitors, and the latter who had, in partnership with a brother, opened a shop in Bristol in the year 1772, married Miss Hill. Signs were then common over shops, and true to his old sports-

* This is too harshly said. Southey speaks of this uncle with great affection, both in his Autobiography and in *The Doctor*. "It is common with the country people when they speak of such persons, to point significantly to the head, and say, 'tis not all there,—words denoting a sense of the mysteriousness of our nature, which perhaps they feel more deeply on this than on any other occasion. * * * William's was not a case of fatuity;—though all was not there, there was a great deal. He was what is called *half saved*."—*The Doctor*, vol. i. p. 115.

man instincts, Southey ornamented his window with a hare as his device. The poet was the second child of this marriage, and born on the 12th of August 1774.

We return to the Tylers. Miss Tyler, the half-sister of Southey's mother, passed the earlier part of her life at Shobdon in Herefordshire, residing in the house of a maternal uncle. Bradford was in orders, and resided on a curacy;—he had, however, some private property. He appears to have been a generous man, for from him Southey's uncle, Hill, derived the means of support at Oxford. On his death he gave the greater part of his property to Miss Tyler, who then began to "live at large, and frequent watering-places." A fashionable physician ordered her to Lisbon. She went, taking with her her half-brother, Herbert Hill, who had lately gone into orders. From this accidental visit arose Hill's connexion with Lisbon, as chaplain of the British factory, and Southey's own in after years. But of this hereafter.

She past but a year in Lisbon, and on her return settled in the neighbourhood of Bath.

"The house was in Walcot parish, in which five-and-forty years ago were the skirts of the city. It stood alone in a walled garden, and the entrance was from a lane. The situation was thought a bad one, because of the approach, and because the nearest houses were of a mean description; in other respects it was a very desirable residence. The house had been quite in the country when it was built. One of its fronts looked into the garden, the other into a lower garden and over other garden grounds to the river, Bathwick Fields, which are now covered with streets, and Claverton Hill, with a grove of firs along its brow, and a sham castle in the midst of their long dark line. I have not a stronger desire to see the pyramids than I had to visit that sham castle during the first years of my life. There was a sort of rural freshness about the place. The dead wall of a dwelling-house (the front of which was in Walcot-street) formed one side of the garden enclosure, and was covered with fine fruit-trees; the way from the garden door to the house was between that long house wall and a row of espaliers, behind which was a grass plat, interspersed with standard trees and flower beds, and having one of those green rotatory garden seats shaped like a tub, where the contemplative person within may, like Diogenes, be as much in the sun as he likes.

"There was a descent by a few steps to another garden, which was chiefly filled with fragrant herbs, and with a long bed of lilies of the valley. Ground-rent had been of little value when the house was built. The kitchen looked into the garden, and opened into it; and near the kitchen door was a pipe supplied from one of the fine springs with which the country about Bath abounds, and a little stone cistern beneath. The parlour door also opened into the garden; it

was bowered with jessamine, and there I often took my seat upon the stone steps.

“ My aunt, who had an unlucky taste for such things, fitted up the house at a much greater expense than she was well able to afford. She threw two small rooms into one, and thus made a good parlour, and built a drawing-room over the kitchen. The walls of that drawing-room were covered with a plain green paper, the floor with a Turkey carpet: there hung her own portrait by Gainsborough, with a curtain to preserve the frame from the flies, and the colours from the sun: and there stood one of the most beautiful pieces of old furniture I ever saw,—a cabinet of ivory, ebony, and tortoise-shell, in an ebony frame. It had been left her by a lady of the Spenser family, and was said to have belonged to the great Marlborough. I may mention as part of the parlour furniture, a square screen with a foot-board and a little shelf, because I have always had one of the same fashion myself, for its convenience; a French writing-table, because of its peculiar shape, which was that of a cajou-nut, or a kidney,—the writer sat in the concave, and had a drawer on each side; an arm-chair made of fine cherry wood, which had been Mr. Bradford's, and in which she always sat,—mentionable, because if any visitor who was not in her especial favour sat therein, the leathern cushion was always sent into the garden to be aired, before she would use it again; a mezzotinto print of Pope's Eloisa, in an oval black frame, because of its supposed likeness to herself; two prints in the same kind of engraving, from pictures by Angelica Kauffman; one of Hector and Andromache; the other of Telemachus at the court of Menelaus; these I notice, because they were in frames of Brazilian wood; and the great print of Pombal, o grande Marquez, in a similar frame, because this was the first portrait of an illustrious man with which I became familiar. The establishment consisted of an old man-servant and a maid-servant, both from Shobdon. The old man used every night to feed the crickets. He died at Bath in her service.”—*Life of Southey*, vol. i. pp. 32-34.

Here Southey chiefly lived from the age of two years till six, with many indulgences, but more privations. The privations were such as do a child most mischief. The maiden aunt was above all things afraid of his soiling his clothes, and healthy exercise and play were out of the question. The child slept with his aunt, and as her hour of rising was late, the poor little fellow was obliged to lie in bed till she chose to be broad awake, afraid to stir lest she should be disturbed. Here he lay fancying combinations of figures in the folds of the curtains, watching from daybreak the increasing gleams of light from the window-shutters, and perhaps already creating the habit of thought which distinguishes the poet from other men.

Her acquaintances were numerous; a friend of hers was married to Francis Newberry, son of the Newberry who published Goody Two-Shoes and Giles Gingerbread. Goody Two-

Shoes has acquired a new interest since Mr. Godwin's conjecture of its having been written by Goldsmith,—a conjecture, to the truth of which Mr. Foster, the highest authority on any subject connected with Goldsmith, is disposed to assent. The flowered Dutch paper and gilding in which the little books were issued had for the child a greater charm than any author's name could give. Newberry gave him, as soon as he could read, a set of these books, more than twenty in number. To this rich present Southey traces his love of books, and decided determination to literature. We are glad the incident is recorded; but we do not attach much value to the poet's speculation on its effect. Had the present never been made, to some other circumstance equally accidental would have been given the credit of creating the bias. It is in vain to look for outward accidents to explain what must ultimately be resolved into the original constitution of the mind. It is quite as likely, that the circumstances which Southey regards as injurious—his being a lonely boy without playfellows, or proper companionship, may have had more to do with the early awakening of his powers than Mr. Newberry's sixpenny books. Injurious, no doubt, all this must have been to his general health; but in unhealthy childhood disease seems a sort of hotbed in which talents are often almost preternaturally developed.

It was fortunate for the health of the boy that he was by other circumstances compelled to look to the world without. Miss Tyler was acquainted with the proprietors of the Bristol and Bath theatres, and had tickets of free admission. At four years old the child was a constant play-goer. He soon acquired a keen relish for the stage; but his heart was in the fields; and a walk beyond his usual bounds was his greatest luxury. There were three points he had most desire of reaching,—the sham castle on Claverton Hill,—a summer-house on Beechen Cliffs,—and the grave of a young man who had been killed in a duel. His aunt's fears, however, predominated. The points to which his imagination was directed were, she thought, too far for a walk, and it was a long while before he had the opportunity of experiencing, what we all sooner or later experience, how different the Yarrow of reality is from that of imagination. Poor child, his aunt's habits kept him an uneasy prisoner when with her, and he delighted in the occasional release which a summons to his father's house at Bristol gave. He there had some liberty. Though the house was among crowded streets, he got more often into the fields than when with his aunt. His grandmother was still living; and he was much at Bedminster. Kingsdown, Brandon Hill, and Clifton, were among his more frequent walks.

An important era is approaching; he is now actually in

breeches; a young man six years of age. In nothing has the fashion of dress been so much improved even since our boyhood as in boy's clothing; but the present dress of boys, compared with that of Southey's time, seems absolutely to change the identity of the young animal, so utterly grotesque was the one, so graceful is the other. At six years old we find the young poet "in a fantastic tunic of nankeen for high days and holidays, trimmed with green fringe,—it was called a vest and tunic, or a jam;" and this he now changed for a coat, waistcoat, and breeches, of forester's green. No intermediate dress had been yet invented for the juvenile world. If it was not for the colour, the little man, in spite of his long attenuated limbs, might be taken for a Dutchman. He is sent to school—a day-school in Bristol.

"Knee breeches are ta'en down to whip the scholar."

At this school he tells us that he learned little, owing to his master's severity—his master dies when he has been about a year there—the establishment passes into better hands, but for some reason or other his father now placed him at a boarding-school. His new abode was in the neighbourhood of Corston, a village about nine miles from Bristol. Southey's school recollections were accompanied with painful feelings. In his *Hymn to the Penates*, he tells us of his removal to school.

" ———— When a child (for still I love
To dwell with fondness on my childish years)
When first a little one I left my home,
I can remember the first grief I felt,
And the first painful smile that clothed my front
With feelings not its own—sadly at night
I sate me down beside a stranger's hearth,
And when the lingering hour of rest was come,
First wet with tears my pillow."

In the *Retrospect*, another of his youthful poems, the place itself is described in lines cast more in the manner of Goldsmith and Rogers, than any other of Southey's poems. The poet was at the time of its composition in his nineteenth or twentieth year. There is no peculiar poetic power indicated in any part of this little copy of verses, but at no period of his life did Southey produce anything more graceful, or anything of which the sober colouring so perfectly suited the subject. A letter of Southey's describes the place. It was the old manorial residence of some decayed family, and retained vestiges of what it had been—walled gardens, gate pillars, surmounted with huge stone balls—everything indicated former opulence; within doors a black oaken staircase leading from the hall was distinctly re-

membered by the poet, and the school-room—such it now became—hung with faded tapestry, “behind which we used to hide our hoard of crabs.”

“Yet is remembrance sweet, though well I know
 The days of childhood are but days of wo;
 Some rude restraint, some petty tyrant sours
 What else should be our sweetest blythest hours,
 Yet is it sweet to call those hours to mind,
 Those easy hours for ever left behind,
 Ere care began the spirit to oppress,
 When ignorance itself was happiness.
 Such was my state in these remember'd years,
 When two small acres bounded all my fears,
 And therefore still with pleasure I recall
 The tapestried school, the bright brown-boarded hall,
 The walnuts where when favour would allow,
 Full oft I went to search each well-stript bough;
 The crab tree which supplied a secret hoard
 With roasted crabs to deck the wintry board.
 These trifling objects then my heart possess,
 These trifling objects still remain impressed.
 So when with unskilled hand some idle hind
 Carves his rude name within a sapling's rind,
 In after years the peasant lives to see
 The expanding letters grow as grows the tree;
 Though every winter's desolating sway
 Shake the hoarse grove and sweep the leaves away;
 That rude inscription uneffaced will last,
 Unaltered by the storm or wintry blast.”*

At this school he passed a year learning little. The master was a man of some mathematical talents and acquirements, who always looked as if he felt the business of teaching an interruption of his own studies. The school was one for the children of people in business, and writing and arithmetic was all that Mr. Flower professed to teach. A Frenchman came three times a week from Bristol, to instruct in Latin a few of the boys, of whom Southey was one. Duplanier was his name. He returned to France at the commencement of the Revolution; and it was devoutly believed by all who believed in the Bristol newspapers, that he it was who was afterwards known as General Menou. At this school there were spelling-matches, and unless the printers of the beautiful volume of Southey's *Life* are themselves to blame for a misprint, victory seems to have inclined once at least to the wrong side. One of the “longtailed words in *osity* and *ation*,” which won Southey an ovation of which he

* The Retrospect; written at Oxford 1794.—SOUTHEY'S *Minor Poems*.
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tells exultingly was *chrysalization*—so spelled. The plan of spelling-matches was not a bad one. It saved the master trouble, and the boys learned to spell better by this game of skill than they could in any other way. Flower also made the elder boys instruct the younger ones, and in this way Southey learned Latin by teaching it. The school when he entered was already declining. The elder Flower was a good-natured indolent man, who, had he found a proper position in life, might have lived happily and usefully. For the management of a school he was wholly unfit; he was about fifty, had lost his first wife, and was now married to a drunken slatternly servant-maid. Boys and servants were allowed to do very much what they pleased, and all was going fast down the road to ruin. Personal cleanliness was neglected to an extent scarcely credible, and the food of the boys was dressed filthily. What a change from the purity, propriety, and precision of Miss Tyler's establishment, or even from his father's, must this have been to the poor boy now eight years old! He had a cocked hat for Sundays, but this during the week-days had also its uses. He kept in it sugar and such good things as he had brought from home or bought from the servants. At last the *itch* broke out in the school. The boys contrived to make their parents acquainted with the fact by means of letters, conveyed through Duplanier. Flower and his son actually came to blows, each blaming the other for the destruction of the school. Southey, to his great delight, returned to his father's after a year passed at Corston.

This was in the year 1782. Some change of circumstances arising from the death of Southey's grandmother, which now occurred, made Miss Tyler a resident at Bedminster for a part of the year, and the poet describes with delight the house in which some of the happy days of his childhood had been past. It is impossible by any abridgment to give our readers a conception of the skill with which everything connected with the place in the way either of association or of picture is brought out in Southey's description. Each distinct feature is dwelt on singly, and yet in such a way as that all seems co-present, and each not alone contributes to the general effect, but almost seems that to which the whole effect is owing. Never certainly was there a more perfect painter in words than Southey. This power manifested in a very high degree in his poetry, is yet more so in his prose. In prose he had the advantage of a wider and more varied vocabulary. It was not till he advanced in life that his perfect mastery over language was fully attained, and at that time it was exercised only in prose, or in the less ambitious forms of verse. We must make room for part of his description.

"I have so many vivid feelings connected with this house at Bedminster, that if it had not been in a vile neighbourhood, I believe my heart would have been set upon purchasing it, and fixing my abode there, where the happiest days of my childhood were spent. My grandfather built it, (about the year 1740 I suppose,) and had made it what was then thought a thoroughly commodious and good house for one in his rank of life. It stood in a lane, some two or three hundred yards from the great western road. You ascended by several semicircular steps into what was called the fore-court, but was in fact a flower-garden, with a broad pavement from the gate to the porch. That porch was in a great part lined as well as covered with white jessamines, and many a time have I sat there with my poor sisters, threading the fallen blossoms upon grass stalks. It opened into a little hall, paved with diamond-shaped flags. On the right hand was the parlour, which had a brown or black-boarded floor, covered with a Lisbon mat, and a handsome time-piece over the fire-place: on the left was the best kitchen, in which the family lived. The best kitchen is an apartment that belongs to other days, and is now no longer to be seen, except in houses which having remained unaltered for the last half century, are inhabited by persons a degree lower in society than their former possessors. The one which I am now calling to mind after an interval of more than forty years, was a cheerful room, with an air of such country comfort about it that my little heart was always gladdened when I entered it during my grandmother's life. It had a stone floor, which I believe was the chief distinction between a best kitchen and a parlour. The furniture consisted of a clock, a large oval oak table with two flaps, (over which two or three fowling-pieces had their place,) a round tea-table of cherry wood, Windsor chairs of the same, and two large arm ones of that easy make, (of all makes it is the easiest,) in one of which my grandmother always sat. On one side of the fire-place the china was displayed in a buffet—that is, a cupboard with glass-doors; on the other were closets for articles less ornamental, but more in use. The room was wainscotted and ornamented with some old maps, and with a long looking-glass over the chimney-piece, and a tall one between the windows, both in white frames. The windows opened into the fore-court, and were as cheerful and fragrant in the season of flowers, as roses and jessamine, which grew luxuriantly without, could make them. There was a passage between this apartment and the kitchen, long enough to admit a large airy pantry, and a larder on the left hand, the windows of both opening into the barton, as did those of the kitchen; on the right hand was a door into the back-court. There was a rack in the kitchen, well garnished with bacon, and a mistletoe bush always suspended from the ceiling."

His delight was in the garden, in the flowers, and in observing insects. Luckily no botanist or entomologist was in the neighbourhood, or a poet might have been led astray. Wordsworth, Southey takes occasion to tell us, is without the sense of smell.

"Once, and once only in his life, the dormant power was awakened; it was by a bed of stocks in full bloom, at a house which he inhabited in Dorsetshire some five-and-twenty years ago; and he says it was like a vision of paradise to him, but it lasted only a few minutes, and the faculty has continued torpid from that time. I, on the contrary," adds Southey, "possess the sense in such acuteness, that I can remember an odour, and call up the ghost of one that is departed." Through life three flowers reminded Southey of Bedminster,—the Roman jessamine, the everlasting pea, and the evening primrose. "My grandmother loved to watch the opening of this singularly delicate flower—a flower, indeed, which in purity and delicacy seems to me to exceed all others. She called it Mortality, because these beauties pass away so soon, and because in the briefness of its continuance, (living only for a night,) it reminded her of human life."

The interval between Southey's leaving Corston and being placed as a day pupil at a school in Bristol, was passed chiefly at Bedminster. That school was kept by a Welshman of the name of Williams. This school like the last was for the education of boys intended for mercantile life, and Latin was a luxury enjoyed but by few. Southey, however, had more of it than at Corston, as he had a lesson every day. He remained at the school four or five years, and managed to get through Cornelius Nepos and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. He did not please his writing master, yet somehow or other he contrived to write a good hand in after life. As to dancing, his dancing master pronounced him an incorrigible dunce.

"Alas! poor Bruin! how he foots the pole,
And waddles round it with unwieldy steps,
Swaying from side to side. The dancing master
Hath had as profitless a pupil in him,
As when he would have tortured my poor toes
To minuet grace, and made them move like clockwork,
In musical obedience. Bruin! Bruin!
Thou art but a clumsy biped!"*

The house at Bedminster, meanwhile, had become the property of a stranger, and its inmates of the Tyler dynasty dispersed. Miss Tyler became a resident at Bristol in the house of Mrs. Bartlett and Miss Palmer, whose property was vested in the Bath and Bristol theatres; and thus Southey, at this susceptible age, had the opportunity of frequent visits to the theatre. He was too old to be put to bed before the play began, and was

* Minor Poems.—The Dancing Bear, 1799.

taken to the theatre as something better than being left to the servants.

"It is impossible to describe the thorough delight which I felt from this habitual indulgence. No after enjoyment could equal or approach it. I was sensible of no defects either in the dramas or the representation: better acting, indeed, could nowhere have been found. Mrs. Siddons was the heroine; Dimond and Murray would have done credit to any stage; and among the comic actors were Edwin and Blanchard—and Blisset, who, though never known to a London audience, was, of all comic actors whom I have ever seen, the most perfect. But I was happily insensible to that difference between good and bad acting which, in riper years, takes off so much from the pleasure of dramatic representation; every thing answered the height of my expectations and desires. And I saw it in perfect comfort, in a small theatre, from the front row of a box, not too far from the centre. The Bath theatre was said to be the most comfortable in England; and no expense was spared in the scenery and decorations."

Miss Tyler was regarded as a patroness of the theatre, and was acquainted with all the stars. It was something to a schoolboy to be intimate with people whose names were in everybody's mouth—with people who personated kings and queens,—as Crabbe says, "'twas feeling like a king." But it was soon found that the actors themselves, superior as they were to ordinary mortals, were of an inferior class to authors. Many a work which, had Southey's intimacies been with any other set of people, would never have been heard of by him, was the subject of perpetual conversation during its day of notoriety. The ephemeral in literature had here its one bright day of glittering life. Southey had already begun to write verses; and now that the passion of authorship was awakened by the players, it is no marvel that he began to write dramas. Whatever he read for awhile was sure to represent itself in a dramatic shape. The *Continence of Scipio* was his first attempt. The characters were planned to suit the actors and actresses on the Bath stage. How this was managed we are not told. The *Wife of Bath*—had our young dramatist been a reader of Chaucer—would have done better for some of the ladies. When he went to school he endeavoured to persuade more than one of his school-fellows to write tragedies, and could not understand how, subject and situation being supplied, there could be any difficulty in finding dialogue.

The peculiarities of Miss Tyler's temper were trying to her friends, and Miss Palmer adopted sullenness in self-defence, and used to sit for days with an apron over her face, "'You will injure your eyes by this, 'Miss Palmer,' said I; 'you know that every thing gets out of order if it is not used; a book, if it is not

opened, becomes damp and mouldy; and a key, if never turned in the lock, gets rusty.' My aunt entered the room. 'Do you know what this child has been saying?' said Miss Palmer. 'He has been comparing my eyes to a rusty key and a mouldy book.' Miss Palmer seems to have engaged the young poet's imagination in a very remarkable degree: the earliest night-dream he could in after years bring to his memory related to her.

"I thought I was sitting with her in her drawing-room, (chairs, carpet, and every thing are now visibly present to my mind's eye,) when the devil was introduced as a morning visitor. Such an appearance, for he was in full costume of horns, black bat-wings, tail, and cloven feet, put me in ghostly and bodily fear; but she received him with perfect politeness, called him dear Mr. Devil, desired the servant to give him a chair, and expressed her delight at being favoured with a call."

There is no author in whose works, both prose and verse, we have the devil so often portrayed. The pious Painter, and the Old Women of Berkeley, and the Devil's Walk, are in the memory of half our readers; but in some dozens of ballads, less known, and in every form of allusion through his prose works, Southey has again and again worked the hoofs and horns into rhyme or rant, and described the tail curling like the tendrils of the vine, or wagging like a dog's. His devil is the old nursery devil, not the Satan of Milton, or the Mephistopheles of Goethe; and we suspect that his aunt and Miss Palmer sometimes rose up in his mind when he was describing his witches, whom "power had made haughty," and the feebler natures which could not resist their sorceries. This would imply no want of proper respect and affection for either lady, for his witches and their slaves are manifestly favourites with him. In the last edition of the Devil's Walk, we find something to confirm this notion.

"A lady drove by in her pride,
In whose face an expression he [the devil] spied,
For which he could have kissed her;
Such a flourishing fine clever creature was she,
With an eye as wicked as wicked could be,
I should take her for my aunt says he,
If my dam had had a sister."

His holidays were sometimes past at Weymouth. Here he first saw the sea, and here he first read Tasso in Hoole's version, and here he became acquainted with the Fairy Queen. In a year or two after, he met with Mickle's *Lusiad* and Pope's *Homer*. His playgoing habits had led him at an earlier day to read Beaumont and Fletcher, and Shakespear. Chatterton's story was then fresh in the recollection of every one in Bristol; and the Rowley poems were among Southey's early

studies. A circulating library gave him Hoole's Ariosto, and then his epic ambition awoke. It would be tedious to tell of all the heroes he meant to immortalize—in blank verse, chosen, "not because it was easier than rhyme, for rhyme was easy enough, but because I felt in it a greater freedom and range of language." The passion for fame was strong enough to give character and colour to his dreams. In a dream he once saw the great epic poets assembled—Fame came hurrying by, with her arm full of laurels, which he reached at, and in the act of grasping awoke.

One of his juvenile efforts was a drama on the Trojan war. The scene was in Elysium, and the spirits of the heroes related their adventures on earth. He tells of others of his heroic poems. He was now thirteen years of age. One of his manuscripts had, on some accidental visit, been found by a visitor of his aunt's, and read. This incident set him upon inventing a cipher for the purpose of concealing what he might write. At school he had no opportunity of continuing to practise the use of his cabalistical characters, and finding a difficulty in deciphering what he had written, he burned his manuscripts in vexation.

He tells us that at this period he had no conception of the arrangement of plot or purpose in these narrative poems. Incidents rose up unexpectedly, and without any forethought or consideration of their effect with reference to any general plan; and his impression is, that in the Italian romantic poems the same defect of constructive talent is observable, and that many of their most ambitious works were composed with as little premeditation as the dream-poems of a schoolboy's childhood. In the Spanish and Portuguese poets he speaks of the same defect. It would be rash on a subject of this kind to express a difference of opinion with Southey, but we think that through the Orlando Furioso as distinct a thread of purpose can be traced connecting the several adventures as in the Iliad or Odyssey, though the suddenness with which the heroes and heroines reappear, at times when they are least expected, produces an effect on the reader's mind as if the author was moving capriciously, or as if his course was varied by every breath of accident, while further examination of the poem shows in every particular subdivision of it a design never absent from the writer's mind. The length of these poems has prevented their being the subject of study, except in fragments, and this has led to what we regard as Southey's mistake. With the Italian poets, anxious as was their execution of details, and exquisitely wrought out as these details are, the general conception of the story, and the adjustment of its parts in symmetrical relation to each other and to the whole, was felt to be the poet's most important work. The constructive talent was

that which distinguished the poet more than all else. So much was this the case, that in all these poems the class of incidents—the temptations which the hero resisted or to which he yielded—were almost common property. The originality of the poet was much more shown in the structure of his poem than in the details. In the classical models, the lucid arrangement of incident, and the apparent simplicity of the design, was the chief grace aimed at. The successive adventures of a single hero in removing the obstacles to some pre-appointed purpose are exhibited by the classic poet. This is the unity at which he aims. The contemporaneous adventures of many heroes whose adventures are connected by their relation to some common object, form, for the most part, the theme of the romantic poet. The fact of contemporaneity could scarcely be exhibited, except by those sudden surprises and abruptnesses which disturb the inexperienced reader of the Italian poets; and as each hero is consciously, or unconsciously, to contribute his share to the final event, the poet can scarcely allow any of the streams of narrative to be seen approaching its destined termination till he is prepared to take the spectator to a point of view in which he can contemplate all as they flow to one central point, towards which, through their whole course, they have been tending. The most patient reader will, however, at times, refuse to be the slave of the romancer. He will cease to follow, and then, of course, all that he has read of such a poem will appear purposeless and accidental—an abuse of perverted power.

The constructive talent which Southey tells us he knew nothing of at first, was afterwards that which most distinguished him. He was proud of it, and he well might, for he certainly possessed it in a very eminent degree.

“The progress of my own mind towards attaining it (so far as I may be thought to have attained it) I am able to trace distinctly, not merely by the works themselves, and by my own recollections of the views with which they were undertaken and composed, but by the various sketches and memoranda for four long narrative poems, made during their progress from the first conception of each till its completion. At present the facility and pleasure with which I can plan an heroic poem, a drama, or biographical and historical work, however comprehensive, is even a temptation to me. It seems as if I caught the bearings of a subject at first sight, just as Telford sees from an eminence with a glance in which direction his road must be carried. But it was long before I acquired this power—not fairly, indeed, till I was about five or six-and-thirty; and it was gained by practice, in the course of which I learnt to perceive wherein I was deficient.”

The notes to Southey's poems show with what diligence he laboured to acquire whatever information could be had from any

source within his reach that might be of service to his purposes ; and tastes that otherwise would have only led to an indulgence in desultory reading—the most vicious and debilitating mischief to which young men of talents expose themselves, from not having any perception of its danger—this became, when directed to a particular object, the means of invigorating the mind. Everything that Southey in any way learned was, in some shape or other, reproduced in his verses, and the necessity of studying all that bore on a particular subject gave a fixed direction to what would otherwise have been the sport of every idle accident.

The next change in Southey's life is his being placed at Westminster school ; but before we accompany him thither we must let our readers see more of Miss Tyler, the aunt under whose especial care he appears to have been till then.

The first appearance of Miss Tyler occurs in the antenatal portion of the biography. It was then the visit to Lisbon occurred which we have before described. At the time of the poet's birth Miss Tyler was thirty-four. "She was remarkably beautiful, as far as any face can be called beautiful in which the indications of a violent temper are strongly marked." We have already seen her at Bedminster and at Weymouth. When she finally fixed at Bristol "she brought with her a proud contempt of Bristol society." She declined all acquaintanceships except with the occasional visitors of Clifton and the theatrical folk. When any strangers dined with her, or when she went out, Miss Tyler's manners and appearance were those of a woman accustomed to the best society. Caught by a visitor in her ordinary apparel she was as confused "as Diana when Actæon came on her bathing-place," and with almost as much reason, for she was always in a bed-gown, and in rags. She wore her old clothes till they seemed to be a part of herself, but she was scrupulously clean in them. The whole business of her household was keeping the house clean. Dust was what above all things she abhorred. Her eccentricities made her very troublesome to everybody. The only thing about her that was allied to good was this abhorrence of dust, but her scrupulosity on the subject was not unlike insanity.

"The discomfort which Miss Tyler's passion for cleanliness produced to herself as well as to her little household was truly curious ; to herself, indeed, it was a perpetual torment ; to the two servants a perpetual vexation,—and so it would have been to me if nature had not blessed me with an innate hilarity of spirit which nothing but real affliction can overcome. That the better rooms might be kept clean she took possession of the kitchen, sending the servants to one which was under ground ; and in this little, dark, confined place, with a rough stone floor and a sky-light, (for it must not be supposed that it

was a best kitchen, which was always, as it was intended to be, a comfortable sitting-room—this was more like a scullery,) we always took our meals, and generally lived. The best room was never opened but for company, except now and then on a fine day to be aired and dusted, if dust could be detected there. In the other parlour I was allowed sometimes to read, and she wrote her letters there, for she had many correspondents; and we sat there sometimes in summer, when a fire was not needed, for fire produced ashes, and ashes occasioned dust, and dust, visible or invisible, was the plague of her life. I have seen her order the tea-kettle to be emptied and refilled because some one had passed across the hearth while it was on the fire preparing for her breakfast. She had indulged these humours till she had formed for herself notions of uncleanness almost as irrational and inconvenient as those of the Hindoos. She had a cup once buried for six weeks, to purify it from the lips of one whom she accounted unclean; all who were not her favourites were included in that class. A chair in which an unclean person had sat was put out in the garden to be aired; and I never saw her more annoyed than on one occasion when a man, who called upon business, seated himself in her own chair: how the cushion was ever again to be rendered fit for her use, she knew not! On such occasions, her fine features assumed a character either fierce or tragic; her expressions were vehement even to irreverence; and her gesticulations those of the deepest and wildest distress,—hands and eyes uplifted, as if she was in hopeless misery, or in a paroxysm of mental anguish."

Never was there a more ill-regulated mind than that of this haughty spinster. Her temper was violent. To her servants she was capriciously indulgent and tyrannical. They did not dislike her, nor do such persons in general dislike passionate masters and mistresses. Faults of this kind in their superiors assist servants in the process of self-justification in which the half-educated moral being is for ever occupied. They were disposed to bear a great deal too from their mistress, because she often let them go to the play—being able to do so for nothing—and because her perpetual altercations with them were more palatable than the stately reserve which would seem to deny servants the rights of a common nature with their masters. She herself had a theory not very uncommon, that "a bad temper was connected with a good understanding and a commanding mind," and so she was on very good terms with herself. She was parsimonious at the same time that she lived beyond her means. Her nephew, from whom we have this account of her oddities, seems to remember her in spite of them with affection. The elastic spirit of childhood resisted the worst effects of this strange tyranny; but Miss Tyler had in Miss Palmer, and in Southey's mother, passive natures, which dared not to give battle. Miss Tyler, fortunately for the peace of the rest of the family, fell out with

a brother of Southey's, and so she never entered the door of Southey's father. Southey, who lived with his aunt, was under her control, and could only get to his father's in short and hurried visits. Her horror at the thought of his soiling his clothes prevented him from having any proper play-fellow. In these circumstances, he and his aunt's servant boy were constant companions. They worked together in the garden, flew kites, went into the country to look for flowers, and—greatest work of all—actually constructed a theatre for puppets. At last, Southey goes to Westminster. We looked with anxiety to the letters which describe his recollections of Westminster school. They are in every respect unimportant. He remained too short a time there to have his stay produce much effect in one way or other. His passion for early authorship was encouraged by the remuneration of which Cowper speaks:

“ At Westminster, where little poets strive
To set a distich upon six and five;
Where discipline helps opening buds of sense,
And makes his pupils proud with silver pence,—
I was a poet too.”

It would have been well if Southey had been contented, like Cowper, “with seeing his exercise sent from form to form for the admiration of all who were able to understand it;” but Southey was born in a later day, and this description of publication was not sufficient for the spreading ambition of the ardent boy. He would be an author on a larger scale, and so he published some numbers of a periodical called the *Flagellant*, in which the masters feared to see themselves flagellated, and so they commenced actions of libel against the publishers, and compelled Southey, who acknowledged himself the writer of a paper on corporal punishment, which gave them offence, to leave the school. At this time the affairs of his father were so involved that bankruptcy became inevitable. Southey went to Oxford, was refused admission at Christ Church on account of the *Flagellant* affair, and was admitted at Balliol.

Of his college life the records are few and unimportant. The letters preserved of this period are described by his son as “exercises in composition.” There is not much evidence of his having pursued the prescribed studies of his college, nor any of irregularities or rebellion against discipline. He would wear his hair in flowing ringlets, in proud opposition to the paste and pomatum which the fashion of the day required; and in spite of academic regulations which forbade boots, he appears to have worn them. It was in 1793 that he entered college, and he past the August of that year at Brixton Causeway, four miles on the

Surrey side of London, with his friend Grosvenor Bedford,—the friend to whom, some thirty years afterwards, his “*Roderick*” was dedicated. Before this visit he had commenced the poem of *Joan of Arc*; and here, on the day on which he entered his twentieth year, he resumed, and in six weeks completed the work.

“*My progress*,” says Southey,* “would not have been so rapid, had it not been for the opportunity of retirement which I enjoyed there, and the encouragement I received. In those days, London had not extended in that direction farther than Kennington, beyond which place the scene suddenly changed, and there was an air and appearance of country which might now be sought in vain at a far greater distance from town. There was nothing indeed to remind one that London was so near, except the smoke which overhung it.

“*Mr. Bedford's residence* was situated upon the edge of a common, on which shady lanes opened leading to neighbouring villages, (for such they were then,) Camberwell, Dulwich, and Clapham, and to Norwood. The view in front was bounded by the Surrey hills. Its size and structure showed it to be one of those good houses built in the early part of the last century, by persons who, having realized a respectable fortune in trade, were wise enough to be contented with it, and retire to pass the evening of their lives in the enjoyment of leisure and tranquillity.

“*Tranquil indeed the place was*, for the neighbourhood did not extend beyond half-a-dozen families, and the London style and habits of visiting had not obtained among them. Uncle Toby himself might have enjoyed his rood and a half of ground there, and not have it known. A fore-court separated the house from the footpath and the road in front, behind there was a large and well-stocked garden with other spacious premises, in which utility and ornament were in some degree combined. At the extremity of the garden, and under the shade of four linden trees, was a summer-house looking on an ornamented grass-plot, and fitted up as a conveniently habitable room,—that summer-house was allotted to me, and there my mornings were passed at the desk. Whether it exists now or not I am ignorant. The property has long since passed into other hands. The common is enclosed and divided by rectangular hedges and palings; rows of brick houses have supplanted the shade of oaks and elms; the brows of the Surrey hills bear a parapet of modern villas, and the face of the whole district is changed.”

In Southey's letters of 1793, we find strong expressions of sympathy with republican feelings. But the fervour is that of a boy inspired by his classics rather than by the newspapers of the day. Of modern books, Glover's *Leonidas* was now his favourite; and the contrast of Greece in the days of old and its then degradation—“*What a republic!—What a province!*”

* Southey's *Collected Works*, vol. i.—Preface to *Joan of Arc*.

—awakes a wish strongly expressed, perhaps ardently conceived.

"If this world did but contain 10,000 people of both sexes, visionary as myself, how delightfully would we repeople Greece and turn out the Moslem. I would turn crusader, and make a pilgrimage to Parnassus at the head of my republicans, and there reinstate the Muses in their original splendour. We would build a temple to Eleutherian Jove from the quarries of Paros, replant the grove of Academus—ay, and the garden of Epicurus, where your brother and I would commence teachers."

But in all Southey's visions of the future, domestic comfort finds its place, and we have him, at the close of his letter to Horace Bedford, from which we are quoting, building his house in the prettiest Doric style—planting his garden, and managing his family group,—

"when here comes a rascal, crying, 'hare skins and rabbit skins,' and my poor house, which was built in the air, falls to pieces and leaves me like most visionary projectors staring at disappointment. * * * It was the favourite intention of Cowley to retire with books to a cottage in America, and seek that happiness in solitude which he could not find in society. My asylum there would be sought for different reasons, (and no prospect in life gives me half the pleasure this visionary one affords.) I should be pleased to reside in a country where men's abilities would ensure respect; where society was on a proper footing, and man was considered more valuable than money; and where I could till the earth and provide by honest industry the meat which my wife would dress with pleasing care."*

In another letter (December 14, 1793) he says,—

"The wants of man are so very few, that they must be attainable somewhere, and whether here or in America matters little. I have long learnt to look on the world as my country. Now, if you are in the mood for a reverie, fancy me only in America: imagine my ground uncultivated since the creation, and see me wielding the axe, now to cut down the tree, and now the snakes that nestled in it. Then see me grubbing up the roots, and building a nice snug little dairy with them: three rooms in my cottage, and my only companion some poor negro whom I have bought on purpose to emancipate. After a hard day's toil, see me sleep upon rushes; and in very bad weather take out my cassette, and write to you; for you shall positively write to me in America. Do not imagine that I shall leave rhyming or philosophizing; so thus your friend will realize the romance of Cowley, and even outdo the seclusion of Rousseau; till at last comes an ill-looking Indian with a tomahawk, and scalps me."

* November 13, 1793.

In another letter of the same year, he says,—

"The more I see of this strange world, the more I am convinced that society requires desperate remedies. The friends I have (and you know me to be cautious in choosing them) are many of them struggling with obstacles which never could happen were man what nature intended him. A torrent of ideas bursts into my mind when I reflect on this subject. In the hours of sanguine expectation, these reveries are agreeable, but more frequently the visions are dark and gloomy, and the only ray that enlivens the scene beams on America."

On religious subjects, Southey's notions were confused. It is scarcely just to designate opinions so vague as his, by classing him with any sect, but it became impossible for him to continue to entertain the thought of taking orders in the Church of England, and thus the object with which he came to Oxford was altogether frustrated. In devising means of support, some clerkship in one of the Government offices occurred to him, and he wrote to a friend on the subject; but here his Republicanism was an insuperable bar. He attended a few lectures on chemistry and anatomy, and soon found that medicine was not the thing for him. At this time he became acquainted with Coleridge.

Coleridge was a student at Jesus College, Cambridge. In his first year he obtained the distinction of a gold medal for a Greek ode on the slave-trade. He is described by his contemporaries as desirous of college honours; but his strength was in classics; and the condition of being even examined for classical honours, was having attained some knowledge of mathematics; and this Coleridge never attained. While Middleton, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, was at college, he and Coleridge appear to have studied together. Middleton belonged to Pembroke College, and Coleridge read at Middleton's rooms. They had been at Christ's Hospital together; and Middleton, the elder boy, was both at school and afterwards at the university—to use Coleridge's own language—his "patron and protector." Middleton failed in obtaining a Fellowship at Pembroke, and left the place. With him went all Coleridge's industry and college hopes. "Coleridge was," we are told, "very studious; but his reading was desultory and capricious. He took little exercise; was always ready to unbend his mind in conversation; and for the sake of this, his room (the ground-floor room on the right hand of the staircase facing the great gate) was a constant rendezvous of conversation-loving friends. I will not call them loungers," says the writer from whom we quote, "for they did not call to kill time, but to enjoy it. What evenings have I spent in those rooms! What little suppers, or sizings as

they were called, have I enjoyed.”* These were the days of political trials, and the French revolution, and Burke’s pamphlets, and Coleridge night and day declaimed on all. This could not but have ended in distraction and debt. In a state of mind bordering on madness, he left Cambridge for London, and listed in a dragoon regiment. He was popular among his fellow-soldiers; and if he could not clean his horse, he could be of use in writing letters; so he wrote the love-letters of the regiment, and his brothers-in-arms did most of his duties. He had changed his name, and his friends for some five or six months knew nothing of him. At last he was recognised, and his discharge obtained through their friendly intervention. He returned to Cambridge. A minute account of this passage in Coleridge’s life is given by Mr. Bowles, who adds to his narrative,—“It should be mentioned, that by far the most correct, sublime, chaste, and beautiful of his poems, *meo judicio*, the ‘Religious Musings’ were written *non inter sylvas Academi*, but in the tap-room at Reading; a fine subject for a painting by Wilkie.” There is some confusion of dates in the account of this poem; Coleridge’s own date of the poem is Christmas, 1794. Mr. Cottle refers its production to the June of the following year. Bowles’s account of its having been written while he was serving in Elliot’s dragoons is irreconcilable with either Coleridge’s or Cottle’s account. The date of Coleridge’s enlistment was December 3, 1793, and of his discharge 10th of April 1794.†

Coleridge’s stay at Cambridge was not long. In June 1794, he went to Oxford on a visit to an old school-fellow, and there became acquainted with Southey. They were each attracted by the other; and their participation in the same views of society, and very much, too, of religion, became a strong bond of union. Southey, we have seen, had already determined against taking orders; and Coleridge must, we think, be regarded as having little hope of doing any thing through his college. To neither did the sacrifice appear a severe one, of leaving their respective universities without waiting for degrees. England did not seem to promise them means of support; and emigration to America, which had been, as we have seen, long before Southey’s mind as an object, became the subject of their thoughts and conversation;—of their conversation, rather than their thoughts, if we are to judge of the matter by the account which Mr. Gill-

* We transcribe from a letter in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for December 1834, signed CERGIEL, i.e., LE GRICE.—Gillman describes the author as a first-form boy with Coleridge at Christ’s Hospital; his statement we may therefore assume to be accurate, as Middleton and Coleridge were his school-fellows, and also his fellow-students at the University.

† From the War-Office Books.—Gillman’s *Life of Coleridge*, p. 61.

man gives in his *Life of Coleridge*; but in this account, we think, he underrates the feelings by which Coleridge and the young friend whom he chiefly influenced, were actuated. "Much," says Gillman, "has been written on the proposed scheme of settling in the wilds of America; the spot chosen was Susquehanah;—this spot, Coleridge has often said, was selected on account of the name being pretty and metrical; indeed he could never forbear a smile when relating the story. This day-dream was a subject in which it is doubtful whether he or Mr. Southey were really in earnest at the time it was planned." We think the evidence decisive of their having been perfectly in earnest.

"Their plan," says Cuthbert Southey, "was to collect as many brother adventurers as they could, and to establish a community in the New World on the most thoroughly social basis. Land was to be purchased by their common contributions, and to be cultivated by their common labour. Each was to have his portion of work assigned him; and they calculated that a large part of their time would still remain for social converse and literary pursuits. The females of the party,—for all were to be married men,—were to work and perform all domestic offices; and having gone so far as to plan the architecture of their cottages and the form of their settlement, they had pictured as pleasant an Utopia as ever entered an ardent mind. To this scheme of emigration they gave the euphonious name of *Pantisocracy*."

Coleridge, in his published works, now and then speaks of the plan—never as one that he and his friends did not do what they could to realize at the time it was contemplated—and to it and the speculations on government, which the administration of the projected colony suggested, he regarded himself as owing his "clearest insight into the nature of individual man"—his views of "social relations—of the true uses of trade and commerce, and how far the *wealth* and relative *power* of nations promote or impede their *welfare* and inherent *strength*." In imagination they were the rulers of an empire—an empire in which they too were the sole labourers. Coleridge had a theme for perpetual argumentation, and it is not improbable that the discipline of defending their project against all assailants, gave him some readiness in the use of language as an instrument. Coleridge left Oxford for Wales, and in the winter of that year we find him and Southey at Bristol.

From Mr. Cottle we have an account of their Bristol life and plans. Cottle was established as a bookseller in Bristol—an accomplished and an amiable man, the author of some very pleasing poems. Some time towards the close of the year 1794, Robert Lovel, a young Quaker, who had lately married a Bris-

tol young lady, called on Cottle—told him of the plan of emigration proposed by Southey and Coleridge. Their project, he said, was to have entire community of property. None were to be admitted into the proposed colony but persons of incorruptible virtue. Some two hours of labour would be sufficient for each to produce his share of the common store. Ample time would thus remain for study and the production of literary works. It might not be possible to remove from the first generation—the settlers from Europe—all the evils attending their vicious education; but in the second generation, children born in the colony, who could only hear of “war and crime in Transatlantic story,” would combine the “innocence of the patriarchal age with the knowledge and genuine refinements of European culture.” Was it a real knowledge of Cottle’s kindness of nature that made them propose to him to become one of the founders of the new society? or was it that the “sires of empire yet to be” did after all think of themselves as communicating with the world around and beyond them chiefly through their literary productions, and imagined the new colony could not do without its bookseller? Was Cottle to be introduced into their paradise in the character of the cormorant sitting on the tree of knowledge?*

Cottle was lost in amazement; the splendour of the plan, as well as its simplicity, left him for a while without a word—at last he asks the young Quaker, “How do you go?”—“We freight a ship, carrying with us ploughs and all other implements of husbandry.” At this time Lovell and three others had joined in the adventure—Coleridge from Cambridge, Southey and Burnetts from Oxford.

Lovell was a poet; his verses, like those of Southey and Cottle, were an echo of Cowper and Hurdis. They were not unpleasant—but he came as the herald of Coleridge and Southey, and delighted the young and ardent bookseller by quotations from the poems of his friends. A live poet was then something to look at,—and in a short time after Lovell came again, bringing Southey with him. “Never,” says Cottle, “will the impression be effaced. Tall, dignified, possessing great suavity of manners, an eye piercing, with a countenance full of genius, kindness, and intelligence, I gave him at once the right hand of friendship, and to the present moment never has it been withdrawn.”

In a few days after, Coleridge rose in the eye of the delighted

* “The devil peeped into a publisher’s shop,
Quoth he, we are both of one college,
For I sate myself like a cormorant once
Upon the tree of Knowledge.”—*Devil’s Walk*.

bookseller. Cottle formed parties where Pantisocracy was discussed, objections started, objections obviated, and quarto volumes announced as forthcoming to advance arguments too recondite for conversation. Still no ship was engaged—no preparation made for the actual voyage; Cottle had a prophetic misgiving that the scheme was about to be abandoned. He was unable, to be sure, to interpose a word in the torrents of argument that for ever flowed from the eloquent lips of the future patriarchs, but he found himself at night sleepless with anxiety at men of such genius throwing themselves away in pursuit of what he regarded as a delusion. Of their pecuniary means he as yet knew nothing, nor till he was asked for the loan of a few pounds to discharge their lodging-bill, had he any notion of there being difficulties of that kind in their way. Cottle was a generous man, and gave Southey and Coleridge thirty guineas each for the copyright of their poems. Coleridge had in vain tried to sell his in London. To Southey also he gave fifty guineas for *Joan of Arc*, and gave him fifty copies for himself. "It can rarely happen," says Southey, in a preface to a late reprint of the poem, "that a young author should meet with a bookseller as inexperienced and as ardent as himself, and it would be still more extraordinary if such mutual indiscretion did not bring with it cause of regret to both. But this transaction was the commencement of an intimacy which has continued without the slightest shade of displeasure at any time on either side to the present day." The expedition to America was not yet abandoned in thought by the adventurous poets, and Coleridge and Southey delivered lectures in Bristol, in order to raise the necessary funds. Southey's lectures were on history: they were greatly admired. Cottle tells us of the graceful self-possession of the lecturer.

The subject of emigration for awhile continues to occupy Southey's letters. In one to his brother Thomas Southey, he tells of two new associates, Favell and Le Grice—and quotes a poem of Favell's, on the subject of the intended colony.

" No more my visionary soul shall dwell
On joys that were; no more endure to weigh
The shame and anguish of the evil day,
Wisely forgetful—o'er the ocean-swell
Sublime of hope I seek the cottaged dell,
Where virtue calm with careless step may stray;
And dancing to the moonlight roundelay,
The wizard passion wears a holy spell.
Eyes that have ached with anguish! ye shall weep
Tears of doubt-mingled joy, as those who start
From precipices of distemper'd sleep,
On which the fierce-eyed fiends their revel keep,

And see the rising sun, and find it dart
New rays of pleasure trembling to the heart."

"This is," says Southey, "a very beautiful piece of poetry; and we may form a very fair opinion of Favell from it." With respect to this sonnet, there is somehow or other a mistake, as the first eight lines are printed as his own in Coleridge's monody on the death of Chatterton. Could Southey have made some mistake? and is the poem Coleridge's? In the monody on the death of Chatterton, the eighth line is—

"The wizard passions weave a holy spell,"

which is no doubt the true reading, though something of meaning can be also forced out of the other.

Of Southey's lectures, we regret that his son has been unable to find any trace. Ardent and enthusiastic as he was, and hoping too much from change in the institutions of society, we have no doubt that they would altogether disprove the charges made against him of wishing to disturb rights of property, or to effect any changes whatever by violence. A single sentence of Southey's lectures we have met, and this proves what he thought must be the inevitable result of successful violence—"The temple of despotism, like that of the Mexican god, would be re-built with human skulls, and more firmly, though in a different order of architecture." In a letter to Grosvenor Bedford (*February 8, 1795*) he writes of himself, and his prospects, and his opinions—surely anything but revolutionary in the sense imputed to him:—

"There is the strangest mixture of cloud and of sunshine! an out-cast in the world! an adventurer! living by his wits! yet happy in the full conviction of rectitude, in integrity, and in the affection of a mild and lovely woman; at once the object of hatred and admiration; wondered at by all; hated by the aristocrats; the very oracle of my own party. Bedford! Bedford! mine are the principles of peace and non-resistance; you cannot burst our bonds of affection. Do not grieve that circumstances have made me thus; you ought to rejoice that your friend acts up to his principles, though you think them wrong. * * * I am in treaty with the Telegraph, and hope to be their correspondent. Hireling to a newspaper! 'Sdeath! 'tis an ugly title; but, *n'importe*, I shall write truth and only truth. You will be melancholy at all this, Bedford. I am so at times; but what can I do? I could not enter the Church, nor had I finances to study physic; for public offices I am too notorious. I have not the gift of making shoes, nor the happy art of mending them. Education has unfitted me for trade, and I must perforce enter the muster roll of authors. * * * If Coleridge and I can get £150 a-year between us, we purpose marrying, and retiring into the country, as our literary business can be carried on there, and practising agriculture, till we can raise money for America—still the grand object in view."

The next letter, from which we shall make an extract, is dated May 27, 1795. His marriage is now determined on:—

"I asked the question. Grosvenor, you will love your sister, Edith. I look forward with feelings of delight that dim my eyes to the day she will expect you as her brother to visit us. Brown bread, wild Welsh raspberries; heigh, ho! * * * Poetry softens the heart, Grosvenor. No man ever tagged rhyme, without being the better for it. I write but little. The task of correcting Joan [of Arc] is a very great one; but as the plan is fundamentally bad, it is necessary that the poetry should be good. If I could be with you another eight weeks, I believe I should write another poem, so essential is it to be happily situated. I shall copy out what I have done of Madoc, and send you ere long. You will find more simplicity in it than in any of my pieces, and of course it is the best. I shall study three works to write it—the Bible, Homer, and Ossian."

The plan of Pantisocracy was now formally abandoned. Southey was the first to awake from the wild dream; and some temporary estrangement arose between the friends on this occasion. Southey's giving up the project, "disturbed and excited Mr. Coleridge. He manifested, by the vehemence of his language, that he must have felt at the time no common disappointment."

Southey's mind was gradually working itself clear of the errors and mistakes of his boyhood. To the effect of Bowles's poems, and to the constant company of Coleridge, he ascribes "the amelioration of his poetical taste." He says of Godwin,—"I read, and all but worshipped. I have since seen his fundamental error—that he theorizes for another state, not for the rule of conduct in the present. * * * For religion, I can confute the atheist, and baffle him with his own weapons; and can at least teach the deist, that the arguments in favour of Christianity are not to be despised. Metaphysics I know enough to use them as defensive armour, and to deem them otherwise difficult trifles."

His uncle, Mr. Hill, now returned from Lisbon. Southey dreaded a meeting with this affectionate man, all whose plans for his nephew's advancement or even support in life had been so strangely and unexpectedly frustrated. His separation from college—his determination not to enter the Church—his political misbeliefs—his projected marriage—his apparently desperate hope of supporting a family by writing for newspapers and magazines, and lecturing to such audiences as could be collected in places of commercial resort—all might well try the temper of a man who looked upon him with love and with hope, but who saw only ruin in every one of the plans on which his nephew's heart seemed fixed. To break the bonds between him and his political associates, and if possible to interrupt the marriage project, his uncle determined on getting him out of England. The

gods granted half the uncle's wishes ; the political bondage was snapped asunder, when the vessel, which conveyed him and his nephew to Lisbon, left the English shore. Before sailing, however, and on the very day of the commencement of his voyage, Southey was married to Edith Fricker—one of whose sisters had been married to Lovell, and another to Coleridge. "Immediately after the ceremony," says Cuthbert Southey, "they parted. My mother wore her wedding ring hung round her neck, and preserved her maiden name until the report of her marriage had spread abroad."

In the next letter, we find Southey in Cornwall, and telling Bedford—"This is a foul country; the tinmen inhabit the most agreeable part of it, for they live under ground. Above it is most dreary, desolate. My *sans-culotte*, like Johnson's in Scotland, becomes a valuable piece of timber, and I a most dull and sullenly silent fellow; such effects has place." Cuthbert Southey tells us that the *sans-culotte* was a walking stick; but thanks to kind-hearted Joseph Cottle, and his book of Recollections, we can tell our readers something more of it:—

"At the instant Mr. Southey was about to set off on his travels, I observed he had no stick, and lent him a stout holly of my own. In the next year, on his return to Bristol, 'here,' said Mr. S., exciting great surprise, 'here is the holly you were kind enough to lend me!' I have since then looked with additional respect on my old ligneous traveller, and remitted a portion of his accustomed labour. It was a source of some amusement, when in November of the past year 1836, Mr. Southey, in his Journey to the West, to my great gratification spent a few days with me; and in talking of Spain and Portugal, I showed him his companion, the old holly! Though somewhat bent with age, the servant (after an interval of forty years) was immediately recognised by his master; and with additional interest, as this stick he thought on one occasion had been the means of saving his purse, if not his life, from the sight of so efficient an instrument of defence having intimidated a Spanish robber."—*Cottle's Early Recollections*, vol. ii. p. 2.

Of Southey's rambles in Portugal and Spain we have little mention in his son's work. It is probable that the letters he wrote from abroad were recalled by him, and formed the substance of his travels published within the next year. He returned after a visit of six months, and with his wife fixed himself for a while in lodgings in Bristol. Lovell his brother-in-law had died during his absence, and his first letters on his return exhibit him devising plans for the widow's support. "She," says Cuthbert Southey, "who during my father's life found a home with him, and who now, at an advanced age, is a member of my household, is the sole survivor of those whose eager hopes once centered in

Southey's first volume relates, the most important is "Joan of Arc;" and we think it would be desirable, in some future edition of that poem, to note the variations which it underwent since it was first placed before the public. In the first edition a considerable portion of the second book of the poem was supplied by Coleridge. This part was afterwards separated from Southey's poem, and, with very considerable additions, was printed by Mr. Coleridge under the title of "The Destiny of Nations."

In the poem, as originally conceived, there was a sort of miraculous interference of guardian angels, and epic machinery of the old accredited character. All this was removed in the new editions,—and with Coleridge's part of the work much of Southey's own also went. It is seldom wise to vary the original structure of a poem, and we are averse even to changes of words. The precise state of feeling in which a passage has been written cannot be recalled, and additions made at a different time of life seldom entirely harmonize with the colour of the original texture. Readers who have admired a poem in its first form are but ill satisfied with an author who impliedly tells them their admiration was misplaced. Scott was, we think, wise, who, when a poem was once given to the world, left it to its fate.

The first and second editions of "Joan of Arc" are before us, and also the edition of 1837, with his final corrections. In the remarkable scene where the Maid proves her divine mission by the grave rendering up to her the consecrated sword, we are prepared for miracle. In the first edition we have the scene described :

"A trophied tomb

Close to the altar rear'd its antique bulk ;
Two pointless javelins, and a broken sword,
Time-mouldering now, proclaim'd some warrior slept
The sleep of death beneath. A massy stone,
And rude ensculptur'd effigy o'erlaid
The sepulchre. Above stood VICTORY,
With lifted arm and trump, as she would blow
The blast of Fame ; but on her outstretch'd arm
DEATH laid his ebon rod.

The maid approach'd—

DEATH dropp'd his ebon rod—the lifted trump
Pour'd forth a blast, whose sound miraculous
Burst the rude tomb. Within the arms appear'd,
The crested helm, the massy bauldrick's strength,
The oval shield, the magic-temper'd blade.

* * * *

She spoke, and lo ! again the magic trump
Breath'd forth the notes of conquest."

In the second edition, the "pointless javelins and the broken sword," distinguishing the fallen warrior's tomb, remain ; but Victory with the trump, and Death with the ebon rod, are re-

moved. In the final edition, the pointless javelins and broken sword, and all that in the emblem either pointed to the warrior who slept beneath, or to the delegated maiden, disappear. The grave does not open miraculously at the appointed hour to the blast of, as it would seem, an angelic trumpet; but instead of the legend, which it is not unlikely was popularly believed, and which, at all events, does not make any unreasonable demand on the spirit of willing credulity in which poetry is read, we have a picture, no doubt, much more consistent with every-day experience, but, if we do not greatly mistake, much less so with the probabilities which the occasion requires. The assumed fact of the divine mission of the Maid of Orleans is that by which everything else is to be measured; and while perhaps the VICTORY and DEATH have not been conceived in a very elevated style of fiction, yet surely they were better than what is substituted—

“ In silent wonderment,
The expectant multitude, with eager eye,
Gaze listening, as the mattock's heavy stroke
Invades the tomb's repose,” &c.

In the first book of “Joan of Arc,” are passages which Southey never in after life exceeded—never indeed we think quite equalled. Of these passages the germ existed in the first edition; but, perhaps, the necessity of finding, in the influences of human passion excited to the highest state of feeling, a substitute for the miraculous guidance under which he had at first represented his heroine as acting, rendered it desirable to dwell upon the passages which described her communion with outward nature, and the intense enthusiasm which, in the language of Saint Teresa, “suspends the Soul in such a sort that she seems to be wholly out of herself.” The inspiration of the Maid of Orleans is, in Southey's conception of the character, produced by strong feelings of natural religion, influenced and coloured by the legendary tales and traditions of Lorraine. With the enthusiasm of the Maid of Arc the poet's mind seems more entirely identified than with the passions ascribed to any other of his heroes and heroines. We find in one of his letters to Taylor something like this said. He has been speaking of Thalaba with at least a parent's love. “The poem compares more fairly with ‘Vathek’ than with any existing work, and I think may stand by its side for invention. There are parts of the poetry which I cannot hope to surpass. Yet I look with more pride to the truth and the soul that animates ‘Joan of Arc.’ There is the individual Robert Southey there, and only his imagination in the enchanted fabric.” Indeed to us the individual Robert Southey is present more in “Joan of Arc” than in any of his after poems. Of Southey's larger poems it has been truly said, by an English commentator on Goethe,

that "the object is to exhibit the position of man in a world which, if considered by itself, is insufficient for him. Freedom and happiness, broken and interrupted by surrounding circumstances, are represented as at last secured. 'The last best friend is Death.' In Southey the triumph is everywhere anticipated;—of the life, which is to be for immortality, the birth has already commenced; the poet expresses his own faith not alone in the ultimate predominance of Good—for this who can disbelieve?—but in its present predominance; so that the disturbing mysteries of sin and pain, and all that haunts and disquiets us in the contemplation and the experience of life, while they still remain unexplained, seem as if their very existence was but some strange delusion—a something to pass away. The witchcraft of *Thalaba* is a dream—the faith of the hero is an enduring thing; the thrones of penal fire in *Kehama* are felt to be but unsubstantial pageantry; but is there not a life permanent, enduring, eternal, for the constancy of *Ladurlad* and the love of *Kailyal*? In all there is the same struggle for life in an element felt not to be the natural one; in all Death comes as the reconciling angel—to every one of his heroes is the same support given—in every one of his poems is the same lesson taught."*

So similar in conception are his poems, that we are not surprised that he was simultaneously engaged with all. All except "*Roderick*" are mentioned as subjects with which he was occupied in his correspondence with Taylor; and the story of Count Julian's daughter, on which he afterwards framed his poem of *Roderick*, is the subject of an early monodrama. In a letter of 1805 to Mr. Wynn, we have the subject of "*Roderick*" announced as occupying his thoughts, and an outline of the poem communicated. Of "*Madoc*," the conception, he tells us, was formed in his fourteenth year, though the poem was not published for nineteen years afterwards. He writes to his friend Bedford, whose life appears to have been clouded with ennui, and whom Southey was always endeavouring to excite to exertion of some kind:—"The want of a favourite pursuit is your greatest source of discomfort and discontent. It is the pleasure of *pursuit* that makes everyman happy; whether the merchant, or the sportsman, or the collector, the philobibl, or the *reader-o-bibl*, and maker-o-bibl, like me. Pursuit at once supplies employment and hope. This is that I have often preached to you; but perhaps I have never told you what benefit I have derived from resolute employment. When Joan of Arc was in the press, I had as many legitimate causes of unhappiness as any man need have—uncertainty for the future, and immediate want, in the literal and plain meaning of the word. I often walked the streets at

* *Faustas*.—A dramatic Mystery from Goethe. Longman, 1835.

dinner-time for want of a dinner, when I had not eighteenpence for the ordinary, nor bread and cheese at my lodgings. But do not suppose that I thought of my dinner when I was walking—my head was full of what I was composing. When I lay down at night, I was planning my poem; and when I rose in the morning, the poem was the first thought to which I was awake. The scanty profits of that poem I was then anticipating in my lodging-house bills for tea, bread, and butter, and those little *et ceteras*, which amount to a formidable sum when a man has no resources; but that poem, faulty as it is, has given me a Baxter's shove into my right place in the world." Never, perhaps, before was there an instance of a man whose profession was literature having past the whole of life in carrying out into distinct realization the projects of his early boyhood. He somewhere speaks of an intention formed while yet at school, of writing an epic poem on each of the great religious systems that have obtained on earth—and something like this he has done with respect to Mahommedanism, to the Hindoo mythology, and to the forms of Christianity that prevailed on the Continent, and in Spain, at the periods of Joan of Arc, and of Roderick. Thalaba, he tells William Taylor, "was meant to embody the more poetical parts of Islam. * * * By the blessing of God you will see my hippogryff touch at Hindostan, fly back to Scandinavia, and then carry me among the fire-worshippers of Istakhar; you will see him take a peep at the Jews, a flight to Japan, and an excursion among the saints and martyrs of Catholicism. Only let me live long enough, and earn leisure enough, and I will do for each of these mythologies what I have done for the Mohammedan." In Southey's mind there does not appear to have been the growth which one would anticipate. We see little difference of power, except as far as mere readiness of hand and mechanical execution is concerned, in the works of his early manhood, and in those of his mature age. There is no wider range of thought—no more clear insight into principle—scarcely any increased power of illustration. As against, however, any unfavourable inference that may be deduced from this, we must remember that high powers they were which were so early developed—that the works of few men were equal to those of his boyhood, and that in some classes of poetry, and those of a character in which his originality is undoubted—we speak of such poems as "The Holly Tree," "The Spider," "The Cata-ract of Lodore"—he has never been surpassed by either man or boy:—we should also remember, if we miss in his poetry the exquisiteness of finish which we find in Coleridge and Landor, the unceasing occupations of Southey, which left no time for touching and retouching. This realization in after life, of what was happily imagined in boyhood, is to us the most beau-

tiful thing in Southey's life. He himself is fonder of telling us of having preserved the gaiety of childhood to advanced life.

"Time that matures the intellectual part,
Hath tinged my hairs with grey, but left untouched my heart.

* * *
Scoff ye who will ! but let me, gracious Heaven,
Preserve this boyish heart till life's last day ;
For so that inward light by nature given,
Shall still direct and guide me on my way,
And brightening as the shades of age descend,
Shine forth with heavenly radiance at the end.

This was the morning light vouchsafed, which led
My favoured footsteps to the Muses' hill,
Whose arduous steeps I have not ceased to tread."

Southey's life reminds us, in some respects, of Wordsworth's conception of the Happy Warrior.

"Who is the Happy Warrior ? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be ?
It is the generous spirit *who when brought
Among the tasks of real life hath wrought
Upon the plan that pleased his infant thought :*
Whose high endeavours are an inward light
That makes the path before him always bright :
Who with a natural instinct to discern
What knowledge can perform, is diligent to learn ;
Abides by this resolve, and stops not there,
But makes his moral being his prime care ;
Who doomed to go in company with Pain,
And Fear, and Bloodshed, (miserable train,)
Turns his necessity to glorious gain.
In face of those does exercise a power
Which is our human nature's highest dower ;
Controls them and subdues, transmutes, bereaves
Of their bad influence, and their good receives :
By objects which might force the soul to abate
Her feeling, rendered more compassionate.
Is placable, because occasions rise
So often that demand such sacrifice.
More skilful in self-knowledge, even more pure
As tempted more ; more able to endure,
As more exposed to suffering and distress ;
Hence also more alive to tenderness.
'Tis he—
Whose powers shed round him in the common strife
Or mild concerns of ordinary life—
A constant influence, a peculiar grace."

In his poetry was Southey's great refuge from everything

that distressed or afflicted him. Poetry was to him at first a religion; "one overwhelming propensity," he says, "has formed my destiny and marred all prospects of rank or wealth, but it has made me happy, and will make me immortal." Madoc was completed on the 12th of July 1799, at Kingsdown, Bristol. "In those days," says Southey, "I was an early riser. The time so gained was employed in carrying on the poem which I had in hand; and when Charles Danvers"—Southey was on a visit with him—"came down to breakfast on the morning after Madoc was completed, I had the first hundred lines of *Thalaba* to shew him fresh from the mint." During this period Southey's means of support were derived almost entirely from the payment which he received for his contributions to *Reviews* and *Magazines*. From the house of Longman he also obtained some occasional employment in translating from the French. His health broke down under the continual task-work, and Beddoes ordered him to the south of Europe. He was detained by contrary winds at Falmouth:—"Six days we watched the weather-cock and sighed for north-easters. I walked on the beach, caught soldier-crabs, admired the sea-anemones in their ever-varying shapes of beauty—read *Gebir*, and wrote half a book of *Thalaba*." Southey quotes this passage from an old letter of his in his preface to the last edition of *Thalaba*, because he had introduced the sea-anemones into the part of *Thalaba* then written, and because he wished to record the fact that he "was sensible of having derived great improvement from the frequent perusal of *Gebir* at this time." In a letter to Taylor, (October 22, 1799,) he asks him, "Have you seen a poem called *Gebir*? It appears to me the miraculous work of a madman. Its intelligible passages are flashes of lightning at midnight, like a picture in whose obscure colouring no plan is discoverable, but in every distinct touch you see the master hand." Writing to Coleridge immediately before his voyage, he says, "I take with me for the voyage your poems, the *Lyrics*, the *Lyrical Ballads*, and *Gebir*; and, except a few books designed for presents, these make all my library. I like *Gebir* more and more. If you ever meet the author tell him I took it with me on a voyage."

In July 1800 we have him at Cintra, riding jack-asses, "a fine lazy way of travelling, you have even a boy to beat old Dapple when he is slow. I eat oranges, figs, and delicious pears—drink Colares wine, a sort of half-way excellence between port and claret—read all I can lay my hands on—dream of poem after poem, play after play—take a siesta of two hours, and am as happy as if life were an everlasting to-day, and that to-morrow was not to be provided for." In about a year he returned restored in health and strength, and found a letter from Coleridge awaiting his arrival. For a sentence from that letter we

must make room, as "it describes briefly yet very faithfully," says Mr. Cuthbert Southey, "the place destined to be my father's abode for the longest portion of his life—the birthplace of all his children save one, and the place of his final rest."

"Our house," says Coleridge, "stands on a low hill, the whole front of which is one field, and an enormous garden, nine-tenths of which is a nursery garden. Behind the house is an orchard, and a small wood on a steep slope, at the foot of which flows the river Greta, which winds round, and catches the evening lights in the front of the house. In front we have a giant's camp—an encamped army of tent-like mountains, which, by an inverted arch, gives a view of another vale. On our right the lovely vale, and the wedge-shaped lake of Bassenthwaite, and on our left, Derwentwater and Lodore full in view, and the fantastic mountains of Borrowdale. Behind us the massy Skiddaw, smooth, green, high, with two chasms, and a tent-like ridge in the larger. A fairer scene you have not seen in all your wanderings: without going from our own grounds, we have all that can please a human being. As to books, my landlord, who dwells next door, has a respectable library, which he has put with mine—histories, encyclopædias, and all the modern gentry. But then I can have, when I choose, free access to the princely library of Sir Guilford Lawson, which contains the noblest collection of travels and natural history, or perhaps any private library in England: besides this, there is the cathedral library of Carlisle, from which I can have any books sent me that I wish; in short, I can truly say that I command all the libraries in the county."

Southey still wished for a warm climate. Portugal would be the place which he himself would have chosen, but there seemed to have been some facilities for obtaining for him the office of secretary to an Italian legation, and in expectation of this he exulted;—why, think you? Let his letter to Grosvenor Bedford answer. "It is unfortunate that you cannot come to the sacrifice of my one law book, my whole proper stock, whom I design to take to the top of mount *Ætna*, for the purpose of throwing him down straight to the devil—huzza! Grosvenor, I was once afraid I should have a deadly deal of law to forget whenever I had done with it, but my brains, God bless them! never received any, and I am as ignorant as heart could wish. The tares would not grow." Southey did not go to mount *Ætna* to visit the devil, but to Ireland. FIRE, FAMINE, and SLAUGHTER, had been there a year or two before, and, indeed, every year, for the last five hundred, and it seemed no bad place to go to for the purpose of burning his law books. Well, away he goes. "I saw," says he, "the sun set behind Anglesea, and the mountains of Caernarvonshire rose so beautifully before us, that though at sea, it was delightful—the sun-rise was magnificent." Then comes a storm. At last they land at Balbriggan.

Mr. Corry was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland, and

Southey was appointed his private secretary, with a salary of £400 a-year. But before Southey reached Dublin, whom did he meet? "A man whose name is as widely known as that of any human being, except, perhaps, Bonaparte. He is not above five feet, but notwithstanding his figure, he soon became the most important personage of the party. 'Sir,' said he, as soon as he set foot in the vessel, 'I am a unique; I go anywhere, just as the whim takes me; this morning, Sir, I had no idea whatever of going to Dublin; I did not think of it when I left home, my wife and family knew nothing of the trip. I have only one shirt with me, besides what I have on; my nephew here, Sir, has not another shirt to his back; but money, Sir, money—anything may be had in Dublin.' Who the devil is this fellow, thought I. We talked of rum—he had just bought a hundred puncheons, the weakest drop fifteen above proof—of the west of England, and out he pulls an Exeter newspaper from his pocket—of bank paper, his pocket-book was stuffed full of notes, Scotch, Irish, and English; and I really am obliged to him for some clues to discover forged paper. Talk, talk, everlasting; he could draw for money on any town in the United Kingdom—aye, or America. At last he was made known for Dr. Solomon. At night I set upon the doctor, talking of disease in general, beginning with the Liverpool flux—which remedy had proved most effectual—nothing like the cordial balm of Gilead. At last I ventured to touch upon a tender subject—did he conceive Dr. Brodum's medicine to be analogous to his own? 'Not in the least, Sir—colour, smell, all totally different; as for Dr. Brodum, Sir, all the world knows it, it is manifest to everybody, that his advertisements are all stolen, *verbatim et literatim*, from mine. Sir, I don't think it worth while to notice such a fellow.' But enough of Solomon and his nephew, and successor that is to be—the Rehoboam of Gilead—a cub in training."

On their route from Balbriggan to Dublin they saw no trees, all had been cut down for pike-handles.

On being installed in his office, Southey found he had but little to do in what he regarded as his proper business, as secretary, but Corry expected him to act as private tutor to his children, and this did not answer the poet's purposes; so they parted company, and Southey took up his tent at Greta Hall. Coleridge went to Malta, as secretary to Sir Alexander Ball. "Mr. Smith says, 'Coleridge is making a fortune in his present situation, or at least, that any one but a poet would make one in it.' How amusing, that the author of 'Fire, Famine, and Slaughter,' should be a commissary fattening under war and Pitt!"*

* Taylor to Southey, Oct. 1805.

Southey speaks with impatience of his weary, weary work of criticism :—

Solemn as lead,
Judge of the dead,
Stern foe to witticism,
By men called Criticism !

" This vile reviewing still bird-limes me. I do it slower than anything else, yawning over tiresome work ;" yet, in the midst of the rubbish which he had to clear away, as he best could, amid all his dreary journey-work, he never lost sight of the better purposes for which his nature fitted him ; and he was wise enough also in his dealings with the booksellers, to reserve some share to himself of the future copyright in most of what he published. In 1807 we find him mentioning his history of Brazil, and his determination to print it at his own risk, rather than part with the copyright, for which he says he might obtain five hundred guineas ; " but I will not sell the chance of greater eventual profit. This work will supply a chasm in history. *This is not all—I cannot do one thing at a time ;* so sure as I attempt it, my health suffers. The business of the day haunts me in the night, and though a sound sleeper otherwise, my dreams partake so much of it as to harass and disturb me. I must always, therefore, have one train of thoughts for the morning, another for the evening, and a book not relating to either, for half-an-hour after supper, and thus neutralizing one set of associations by another, and having (God be thanked !) a heart at ease, I continue to keep in order a set of nerves as much disposed to get out of order as any man's can be."*

Of Mr. Cuthbert Southey's work, enough has not been published to enable us to form any very decided opinion. It is written in an unaffected, unambitious tone, and in great kindness of spirit to every one mentioned in it. Indeed, we think that in some cases, at this distance of time, there could scarcely have been occasion for the asterisks and blank lines which we now and then meet, filling up the places of omitted names. The passages should be left out or the names given.

The great admiration with which Southey regarded Coleridge is often expressed in his letters. Of Lamb, too, and Wordsworth, we have frequent mention, and always in language of the strongest affection. It is really wonderful how with his mind engaged in so many projects of his own, he could so fully appreciate the claims of others, and have his heart always awake to their interests. " My father," says Cuthbert Southey, " has yet to be *fully known*, and this I have a good hope will be accomplished by the publication of these volumes."

* Southey to Taylor, April 13, 1807.

We conclude with extracts from two poems of Southey's, describing himself, one in a playful, the other in a serious spirit.

" Robert the rhymer who lives at the Lakes,
Describes himself thus to prevent mistakes.

* * * *

He is lean of body and lank of limb;
The man must walk fast who would overtake him.
His eyes are not yet much the worse for the wear,
And Time has not thinn'd or straighten'd his hair,
Notwithstanding that now he is more than half-way
On the road from Grizzle to Gray.
He hath a long nose with a bending ridge,
It might be worth notice on Strasburg bridge.

* * * *

A man he is by nature merry,
Somewhat Tom-foolish, and comical, very;
Who has gone through the world not mindful of pelf,
Upon easy terms, thank Heaven, with himself;
Along by-paths and in pleasant ways,
Caring as little for censure as praise."

* * * *

" My days among the Dead are past;
Around me I behold
Where'er these casual eyes are cast,
The mighty minds of old;
My never-failing friends are they
With whom I converse night and day.

" With them I take delight in weal,
And seek relief in wo;
And while I understand and feel
How much to them I owe,
My cheeks have often been bedew'd
With tears of thoughtful gratitude.

" My thoughts are with the Dead! With them
I live in long past years,
Their virtues love, their faults condemn,
Partake their hopes and fears;
And from their lessons seek and find
Instruction with an humble mind.

" My hopes are with the Dead! anon
My place with them will be;
And I with them shall travel on
Through all futurity;
Yet leaving here a name I trust
That will not perish in the dust."

ART. V.—1. *Die Christliche Lehre von der Sünde*: von JULIUS MÜLLER. Breslau, 1844.

2. *Studien und Kritiken*. DE WETTE. Bemerkungen über die Lehre von der Sünde mit Rücksicht auf das Werk von JULIUS MÜLLER. Pp. 539-578. 1849.

THE name of Julius Müller is probably not known beyond the limited circle of our readers who interest themselves in the present movements of German theological literature. In his own country his name is a host; but in ours it is little more as yet than a shadow. He belongs to the same class with Schelling and Hegel among the philosophers, and Schleiermacher among the theologians, whom a British public has punished for the alleged sin of loving the darkness rather than the light by neglecting to translate, and of whose works, except in snatches and fragments, it may still be said,

“ Longa premuntur
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.”

Dr. Beard of Manchester has, we believe, translated his admirable recension of Strauss' “*Leben Jesu*,” in the “*Studien und Kritiken*,” perhaps the most solid, in a brief compass, of the innumerable replies which that notorious work called forth from all sections of the Church, orthodox and heterodox, in Germany. But nothing else as yet has received an English dress. His sermons on the Christian life, the most pleasant specimens we know of Scotch-like preaching in a country where it is very rare, have not made their way to a country which would appreciate them; and his celebrated Treatise on Sin, of which the title stands at the head of this Article, is, so far as translation or even occasional reference is concerned, all but unknown. It must be admitted that the book is thoroughly German in its plan of investigation and cast of style, a little too dark perhaps, and a little too long, and that it takes for granted some familiarity with the last fifty years' struggles of philosophy and theology, in that most revolutionary half century. The author is clad in the panoply of the schools, and is familiar with all their weapons. He is no holiday theologian, to whom religion is but a jousting-field. He displays quite visibly “the dinted shield and helmet beat;” and the scars which speculation often leaves are all upon him, though they are not unhealed. Had the book been entirely relative to one-sided and ephemeral German theories, the very earnestness of Christian feeling which pervades it would have redeemed its transcendentalism; but it is far from needing any apology for

its logic with serious thinkers of any country. It goes deep into the heart of universal humanity, and the grand problems of the moral world which are the same for all ages; and though it works its way through a large surface of dry sand and gravel, like the bore of an Artesian well, it opens up fresh fountains in the depths below.

Julius Müller, it may perhaps be necessary to state, is a living author, not much, if anything past his meridian; he is a Silesian by birth, and was educated at Berlin, while yet it shone with the full lustre of the two great orbs Hegel and Schleiermacher, and of a third who has rayed out far less darkness than either, and whose soft and penetrating beams seem to have left upon him a much more genial impression, Neander. After a brief occupation of a country parish, he became University preacher in Göttingen in 1831, which office he combined the following year with a chair in that ancient and still celebrated University. In 1835, he exchanged this sphere for a professorship in Marburg, one of the lesser German seminaries; and for the last seven or eight years he has filled the chair of Dogmatic Theology in Halle, and has divided or more than divided with Tholuck, its well merited fame as a school of divinity. He was, we believe, also a Consistorial Councillor in the ecclesiastical department of the Prussian administration, and mixed up in most of the later attempts of the vacillating Monarch of Prussia at Church union and reform, till the March Revolution came with its sweeping remedy of the separation of Church and State, and sent the whole motley group of kings, consistorial councillors, and knights of the Red Eagle, like the kings, bishops, and knights of an upturned chess-board a-sprawling on the floor.

It is not easy to give a mere English reader more than a glimmering idea of the place which such a writer and Church-leader as Julius Müller holds in the entangled and interlaced movements of German theology and Church government. We shall attempt it, though at the risk of failure. We would divide, then, the whole of the German theologians of our day, including those lately deceased, into three classes, which we may call the Left, the Middle, and the Right. Among the Left we rank the *Deistic* rationalists, whose leaders were such theologians as Bretschneider and Paulus, now becoming rare and uninfluential, and supplanted by popular chiefs such as Uhlich and other champions of the Friends of Light and the German Catholics; and the new school of *Pantheistic* rationalists, whose principal support is in the Hegelian philosophy, still widely diffused through all Germany, though long past its zenith; whose literary stronghold is the University of Tübingen, the seat of Baur, the Coryphæus of the party, and the *alma mater* of Strauss, its

finished type, in all but hypocrisy; and whose boast is to exalt Christianity to the sublimity of speculation, as that of the deistic rationalism is to bring it down to the level of vulgar-comprehension. Of both these modifications of doctrine, rationalism is the proper name, since reason, the lower and the higher, is all-in-all; and the Bible is at once its product and its subject of criticism.

At the opposite extremity from this party stands the Right, whose watchword is adherence to the symbolical books, for the most part the Lutheran, (for it is a curious fact that orthodoxy has preserved itself better in the Lutheran than in the Reformed section of Protestantism,) and who, after a dreary night, and the breaking of a cloudy and dark day, if indeed the day be come, are again laying open to view the Augsburg formularies, and demanding unconditional subscription to them as the law of the Church. The literary strength of this party is considerable. The late lamented Olshausen might be regarded as coming nearer it than any other; Hävernicks was also a prominent name; and its great living ornament and pillar is Hengstenberg, a man of European reputation, though fully more as a scholar than as a thinker, and whom his antagonists not only hate but fear. With this party the orthodox in this country have of course most sympathy, and it deserves all honour for its intrepid protest for the common faith. But it is not without its faults, among which may be mentioned an undue exaltation of Lutheran peculiarities, so as even to imperil the union with the Reformed in Prussia; a certain sectarian harshness which refuses to look genially upon the manifold Christian phenomena beyond its own camp; an unwillingness to conform in tone, if not in doctrine, to the prevailing style of philosophy, and thus to become all things to all men; and what is not the least lamentable, a blind Church and King conservatism, which has exposed it to the merciless blasts of democratic fury in the late commotions.

We next turn to the great Middle party, which, like all composite formations, is most difficult to describe. The other schools have each one principle—the one, Reason—the other, the Bible. This has two, the Bible and Christian consciousness. This great body may be said to owe its foundation to the extraordinary though erratic genius and fervent piety of Schleiermacher. He had no sympathy with dogmatic Christianity in its confessional form, and was willing to surrender much of it to the lower rationalists; on the other hand, he wanted to retain what he considered its essence, the personal glory of Christ as the Word made flesh, and his office as the Redeemer of the world; and despairing of reaching this with the higher rationalists by speculative deduction, he made it an immediate datum of Christian consciousness, furnished and guaranteed by pious feeling, and

that feeling again awakened by Christ in the Word, and Christ in the Church. He thus equally refused to accept the moral religion of Kant and Fichte, and to excogitate for himself a logical religion like Hegel; but took his stand upon traditional Christianity as a fact, with liberty, however, to deal with its most sacred documents according to critical rules; and to mould and fashion all its doctrines in accordance with the above-named central principle,—the validity, importance, and mutual relations of all to each and of each to all, being decided upon by that inward oracle, Christian consciousness. We say nothing here of the results of this method as developed by Schleiermacher himself. We could say little in praise of them, for his finished system by a curious infelicity misses out the holiness of God, the Fall, the proper divinity of Jesus, the true idea of Atonement, the personality and work of the Holy Ghost, and escapes from the self-created difficulties of a Spinozistic fatalism, by the unscriptural expedient of a universal restoration. It is not so much, however, the positive system of this remarkable person, as his method, that has enchained Germany. And its two great laws, of license to the understanding in dealing with the Bible, and assent to its central revelation with the heart, belong more or less to the great school which gathered in spite of himself around his person while living, and cleaves to his memory when dead. To this self-called school of believing theology (*theologia pectoris*,) we may count Twisten, the successor of Schleiermacher in his chair in Berlin, and the author of an important work on Dogmatics; Nitzsch, the author of a still more celebrated system, lately, we rejoice to say, called to the same University; Ullmann of Heidelberg, the writer of the beautiful monograph on the "Sinlessness of Jesus," with his colleague Umbreit, the Old Testament commentator, and also most of the writers in their periodical, the "Studien und Kritiken;" Lücke also, of Göttingen, one of the most influential adherents of this great section, and the author of the famous commentary on John, perhaps the crowning work of German exegesis. It would be endless to recite the younger men of rising name who more or less cleave to this party, such as Dorner, Hundeshagen, Sartorius, and a host of others. But we must add that the greatest religious thinker in Germany still living, (and long may he live!) Neander, though more than all his contemporaries, independent of foreign influence, has not escaped this, and that his towering pennon has visibly wavered, and still wavers before this mighty blast. Almost every one of these distinguished men has improved upon the creed of Schleiermacher, emending it where wrong, and supplementing it where wanting; and this school at the present day has assumed altogether a more Biblical attitude, as well as

a more conciliatory tone towards the dogmas of the Confessions. But the license of Christian consciousness, though restrained, is not abjured, and this principle of subjectivity still waits a mightier influence to purge it out of the system.

There are two groups of theologians still to be provided for; and we cannot do better than adjust them to the meridian of Schleiermacher thus ascertained. The first is intermediate between the Left and the Middle party, though with a greater approach to the latter, and contains such names as Hase, De Wette, Ewald, and others, who adhere in the main to the theology of feeling, but with even less positive and satisfactory results than Schleiermacher himself—not to speak of his more progressive disciples. The second lies somewhere between the Middle party and the Right, though with a greater leaning to the Right. On them the influence of Schleiermacher is visible, though it is not predominant, and is even opposed and overmastered by powerful sympathies that link them to the orthodox Church system. It is somewhere in this quarter that we fix such names as Harless, the author of “Christian Ethics,” and of the “Commentary on the Ephesians;” Tholuck, who is of living German theologians the best known and most influential in this country; and with more confidence than either, because a more decided and intrepid thinker, do we assign to this place Julius Müller. In him we see the more speculative element, which in spite of its professions to the contrary, has always appeared in the believing theology, tending to reconcile itself with the dogmatic products of past ages, and to build up out of the data of Bible interpretation, no longer overruled, but only counter-checked by Christian consciousness, a system which may harmonize with the philosophic spirit of the present day. It is a most laudable enterprise, to which we heartily wish success; and we rejoice to see German speculation, after having, as it were, completed its cycle of deviation, returning to the point whence it started, and embracing the essential articles of the Christianity of all ages, with the ardour of a first love and the mastery of a recovered possession.

Few can be more competent than this author to restore the fair form of Christian truth from its torso-like mutilation and defacement. There breathes in his writings a most profound and spiritual piety. He has much of the intuition of genius into the mysteries of human nature. He is at home in every department of Bible interpretation, as is apparent from his skilful efforts in the work before us; and is not only sober-minded, but reverent. He is familiar with the patristic, mediæval, reformation, and more recent theology, and quotes Augustine, Aquinas, and the Lutheran divines of the 17th century, not in the

prevailing German style of commonplace-book erudition, but with the intimacy of one who has sifted the chaff in them from the wheat. He is versed also in the systems of philosophy, and while not unacquainted with the ancient, seems to have given most time to the modern, from Spinoza and Leibnitz downwards. Nor does classical literature come amiss to him; few works so grave are more enlivened by choice apothegms; and many happy sentiments and allusions from Goethe, Jean Paul, and other writers of his own country, diversify the course of his investigations. If he is less original than Schleiermacher, it is because he gives up originality for faith. If his dialectics are less brilliant, they are more effective, as the passes of the short Roman sword were more than a match for the flourishes of the Greek; and if his eloquence is more rare and less fascinating, it burns when it does burn with a steadier flame, and never "leads to bewilder, nor dazzles to blind."

This contrast with Schleiermacher comes unsought. For the work of Müller on Sin, though not without traces of his influence, may be regarded as an instance of strong reaction against the philosophical postulates of his system. He is said, while hearing the lectures of this teacher in the zenith of his fame, to have gone home and sketched a polemic against them, wherever he could find occasion, and much of his book seems only this polemic expanded and fortified. In opposition to Schleiermacher's celebrated definition of religion, as the feeling of absolute dependence on God, this work is a continued defence of human liberty; and there breathes through it a profound sense of the personality of God, like the prolonged and deepened echoes of the protest uttered in the soul of the youthful student against the depreciation of this doctrine by Schleiermacher, not less than its repudiation by Hegel.

The *Treatise on Sin* appeared first in 1838; and the second edition, which is under review, and which is almost a new work, in 1844. It thus tallies in point of time, as in more essential respects, with the admirable writings of Vinet. Both of these writers, though on a very different soil, and in relation to a very different public, have inculcated the same great doctrine—the vital importance of individualism in religion as rested on the personality of God. The same deep appreciation of Christianity has led them to the moral foundations on which alone it can be based; and both deserve the best thanks of the European commonwealth. May we hope that the great Ruler will bless them as the means of staying the course of scepticism and communism in France and Switzerland, and of that pantheism, which is only their ethereal and vaporous form in the more cloudy region of Germany!

We are thus brought to the threshold of our plan, which is to give some brief abstract of this work, interspersed with a few selections and comments on its doctrines. We are not acquainted with any of the German criticisms on it which have appeared, with the exception of the slight one by De Wette; referred to at the head of this Article. Our work must thus partake of what a German would call *Orientirung*, and our notice must be very cursory, since the book is in two volumes; and contains 1000 pages. It surely ought to be translated, for we hope our English tongue is not to be employed only like Charon's boat to bring across the middle-passage the shivering ghosts of scepticism and disembodied atheism; nor do we fear any such result from transporting living Christian flesh and blood as bēfel the pious Æneas—

“Gemu't sub pondere cymba
Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.”

We need such works not only as counteractives to imported German errors, but also to the epidemic thoughtlessness and obduracy of human nature. Every individual and every country must pass through what our old divines called a law-work before grace is realized. Mankind still learn their nakedness by eating this tree of the knowledge of evil. The fountains of this great deep must be broken up, and sweep over the gay scene of moral carelessness, before the rainbow of peace can extend its arch in the sky. The reader will bear to have this repeated in our author's preface:—

“It has been the immovable conviction of the author, ever since he sat at the feet of his beloved and revered teacher, Neander, that Christianity, from first to last, is a *practical* system, in the highest and most intimate sense; that everything about it relates to the great contrast between sin and redemption, and that it is impossible to understand aright the doctrine of redemption, which is its very essence, till we have gained a thorough knowledge of sin. Christian theology here, if anywhere, wages war, *pro aris et focis*, in repelling deistical attempts to extenuate its evil, and pantheistical attempts to attenuate its essence.”—P. vi.

After a tolerably luminous introduction, in which the author attempts to distinguish his plan from the mere history of doctrine respecting sin, on the one hand, and the mere collection and generalization of Biblical propositions respecting it, on the other, and claims the privilege of uniting Bible doctrine with ethical theory according to the principles of scientific method, he proceeds to his first Book, which treats of sin as a fact of human experience, under the title, “The Reality of Sin.” And here he investigates first its *nature*, and then its *guilt*.

Sin is considered in this fundamental discussion in three aspects—as transgression of law—as disobedience to God—as the manifestation of an inner principle of self-seeking. On all these points this treatise, though frequently vague, is solid and instructive. As transgression of law, sin is moral evil; our whole being has a standard or law, departure from which is regarded as disorder, and attended with suffering. But it is to the domain of will that moral disorder belongs, and this is excited by opposition to the moral law. That law is a part of human consciousness, not as Kant teaches, a categorical or unexplained imperative, but *good* in the form of an imperative; not as others teach, a law without, but a law with specific precepts. Into the nature of the moral law at this stage, our author enters no farther than just to affirm, that it is revealed to all men by “a kind of higher rational instinct.” The question of the psychological character of our moral states, as states of perception or sentiment, or both, Dr. Müller nowhere discusses, and indeed seems to attach little importance to what have been the principal matters of debate in our British ethics. On the other hand, he here vindicates the authority of law over the whole field of our voluntary nature, in opposition to Schleiermacher, who restricted it to actions, and the theologians of the Romish Church, who apply the idea of law only to the lower stages of holiness and virtue, and not to the higher, in which lie their works of supererogation. It does not seem perfectly consistent with this, when our author immediately afterwards contends for a difference between opposition to law, and non-conformity to law, the former of which is always sinful, the latter not so, if found in a moral being upright, but not yet perfect. This seems to us to be just re-
 admitting the Romish doctrine in another form; the perfect work being that of supererogation—the upright that of ordinary virtue. Our author asserts that this distinction is necessary to the idea of moral development in angels, and in the incarnate Saviour—else we must affirm that they were not at every point perfect. But this is a mere ambiguity of language; for perfection lies not in the mass of being, but in the proportion between it at every stage and the moral principle; and this proportion in all holy beings, notwithstanding their development, is ever the same. This false distinction between sinlessness and perfection has led our author to reject what we regard a just principle, viz., that in sinless beings there is no consciousness of law as distinct from their highest motive, the law being only drawn forth from its identity with the will by transgression. Dr. Müller cites Baader, Steffens, and other deep thinkers of Schelling's school, as holding this principle. It has been held by many others, among whom is Isaac Taylor, if we remember rightly, in his preface to Edwards.

But moral evil is not *sin* till it is viewed in relation to God; and this relation Dr. Müller establishes in the strictest sense. He is victorious over Kant, who regards any reference to God as inconsistent with the autonomy of the will; whose whole system is an exaltation of morals at the expense of religion; and who, in fact, though Müller does not charge him with this, has no other use for God than as a *Deus ex machina*, to rectify the disorder arising from the suffering of the good and the prosperity of the bad, and administer a kind of poetical justice at the end of the world-tragedy.

Our author finds the existence of God implied in the very existence of personal beings. Personality is self-consciousness united to self-determination. A limited consciousness is inconceivable without an unlimited, and so of a finite self-determination. The idea of God lies thus at the root of all thought and volition. He must be the infinite self-consciousness and the infinite will in one; and it is in the latter respect that he is intuitively known as the moral lawgiver. We do not stay at present to criticise this deduction on the ground of natural theology. We might object to it in some points, though we agree in thinking that God is intuitively known, and have long ceased to value either *à priori* or *à posteriori* arguments, save as dealing with the materials by which the native idea of God is called forth from the darkness into the light; but we rather call attention to one great merit and advantage of this procedure, that it supersedes the awkward and circuitous attempts to rise to the moral nature of God solely from his moral works, which the argument from causality involves, and brings us face to face with God to hear him testify of himself by his law. On the ground of this immediate revelation of God in the moral law, Dr. Müller, in accommodation to the phraseology of Kant, calls the government under which we live, and in respect of which sin is disobedience, neither *autonomy*, nor *heteronomy*, but *theonomy*. The relation of the moral law to God is thus given with its own existence; and sin is thus a revolt against the "divinity that stirs within us."

It would open a wide door for discussion were we to show how much this vital union of religion and morality has been ignored or discountenanced in our British ethics. We are only beginning to return to the true estimate of conscience, as a law proceeding not from the arbitrary, but the reasonable will of God, and implying a self-revelation of God to his moral creatures. The deep and solemn expressions of our earlier moralists, to the effect that conscience was God's vicegerent, or oracle, or image, written with his own finger on human nature, are again making themselves heard, after long and wearisome debates on the fitness, the utility, the beauty, the sympathetic nature of virtue; and the living God as vindicating to himself the first

writing of his own name in hieratic characters on that palimpsest which has long been scrawled over with the profane.

The inner principle of obedience to such a law thus given from God is *love to God*, and thus subjective and objective virtue fall together, and both coincide with religion as a practical system. If the law of God be the self-revelation of God, and if God be love, then it is plain that the only spring of obedience must be the appreciation of this character; in other words, answering love. On this subject Dr. Müller is everywhere profound and eloquent; and we know not where to look for finer thinking and writing on this delightful subject. The extract which follows will convince every competent reader that this is no extravagant eulogy.

"Love exists only where a being which might be all in all to itself chooses not to be so, but comes out of itself to live in and for another. Hence love can only realize itself in the sphere of personal beings, which have an independent centre of their separate existence in themselves, and that only as the absolute negation of an absolute isolation; and just because this union of personal beings in love presupposes the most distinct and perfect separation—the antithesis of *I* and *thou*—does it manifest itself as the highest form of unity. Whatever resembles love in the sphere of animal nature, where the impulse that unites two creatures acts as instinct and physical necessity, is only its far-off shadow and pregnant omen, standing in connexion with that wonderful gleam of a twilight form of personality and self-consciousness which appears everywhere in this lower department, but it would be too much to call it love; and not only in this limited sphere, but throughout all nature, we find such types and shadows: we pursue these traces of the reigning law of love from the metamorphosis of the smallest plants up to the widest cosmical relations of the heavenly bodies; we see how all life and all order springs out of the union and co-operation of separate forces—a principle to which the myths even of the early theogony of Hesiod bears witness, since it represents Eros, the healer of discords, as the world-fashioning power. What unconscious nature, fraught with this deep meaning by Divine arrangement, can only prophesy afar off, becomes first exalted into the region of consciousness and perfect reality, in the world of personality, as the fundamental law of the moral system.

"Even here love, in its beginnings, is hidden from itself: it first appears in another and apparently strange shape. The awakening of the sense of justice in human intercourse, even when it demands self-denial at our hands, what is this but an entrance of other persons and their interests into the region of our own personality? The recognition of the moral necessity which exists to limit the pretension of self, and subject it to the law of the whole community, is not this the first escape of man from that selfish isolation in which he is to himself the sole object of regard? The spirit of all order *as such* is thus nothing else than love; and reverence for law, and subjection to

higher authority, the sacred powers which control the life of man, and assign fixed and impassable boundaries to his activity, are nothing but love in disguise, and hold the same place in the life of the individual which they did in the history of the human race under the Old Testament dispensation, viz., to be *παυδαγγοι* for the kingdom of manifested love. It is only in the soil of moral reverence that love can strike its roots deep; only from the narrow shell of self-denial and subordination that true freedom can spring to light; and yet it is not till love has cast off this disguise, and stood revealed in its own character, that it can become the creative principle of a higher life. This takes place when love becomes conscious of God, its highest object, and of all other beings in their relation to him. Then the heavenly magnet is found which has virtue not only during transient moods of enthusiastic impulse, but for ever to raise human life above those dark depths into which the powers of the abyss, and its own gravitation downwards, tend incessantly to precipitate it."—Vol. i. pp. 112-115.

As the inner principle of obedience is love to God, so that of disobedience is alienation from God; and since life cannot be governed by negations, *self* takes the place of a divinity. Self-seeking becomes the universal root of sin, and all its modifications may be traced to this principle. Some difficulties in the way of this theory will probably strike most of our readers; as, for example, that self-love is a principle sanctioned by Christianity, and that it is dangerous to make the difference between good and evil, self-love and self-seeking, merely one of degree; that this view would oppose the doctrine of universal depravity, since benevolence is an integral part even of our fallen nature; and that sin may spring from the misdirection of our benevolent feelings, as well as from the prevalence of self-regard. The first of these difficulties is well met by our author; who shows that self, in relation to God, is the only object of Christian self-love, and that every other species is immoral. The second difficulty, we regard as evaded by him rather than met; and think he makes far too light of those phenomena of disinterested affection, which have vindicated for themselves a place in every English system of ethics since Hobbes.* And the third difficulty, he almost, in so many words, admits to be fatal, since he does not deny that evil actions spring from preference of other objects, both to self and to the Creator, but regards these as too subordinate materially to affect his deduction. We think differently; but at the same time, cannot but acknowledge the skill and depth with which so much of our particular sinfulness, if not the whole, is traced up to self-assertion. This is easily seen to be the case with the *love of the world*, in both its positive form of sensuality or intemper-

* The first sin on the part of Adam did not spring from self-seeking but mistaken benevolence towards Eve.

ance, and its more negative form of passive ease and sloth. Thus also *falsehood* is but another form of self-assertion. It is a lie in relation to God ; and this leads to deception and hypocrisy in relation to man, which is the more inevitable that, in a self-seeking world, every individual must mask his own ends. Again, *pride* is but self-isolation, on the ground of fancied superiority ; and its kindred evils—caprice, tyranny, obstinacy—are but forms in which self asserts its power. *Hatred* is but the reaction of thwarted self-will and disappointed self-assertion ; and this manifests itself in anger, revenge, envy, malice, cruelty. This last fruit of the selfish principle rises even to hatred of the law, the person, and the very idea of God, which are all so many checks on the infinitude of self. Our author here sternly reprehends the theo-philanthropy of the day, which denies this to be possible ; and more mildly than it deserves, the paradoxical assertion of Schelling, that all being, even the highest, next to God, must be covered with a deep melancholy, as overshadowed with a feeling of absolute limitation and dependence upon him. The prevalence of self appears also in our distempered moods of feeling, gloom, despondency, poco-curantism, and other reactions of disappointed desire. The sphere of knowledge is not exempt from its influence ; all moral truth being darkened by this exhalation from below, and our estimate of the highest ends, and the best means being one continued display of folly and imprudence. Whatever may be thought of the universality of this deduction, it contains the substance of many beautiful moral essays, and shows a rare knowledge of human nature. What can be finer than this answer to the question, whether there be such a thing as disinterested hatred ?—

“ We will not here appeal to the observation of the acute Rochefoucault, which Kant appears to sanction, that we find something not altogether displeasing in the misfortunes of our best friends ; for even granting that this were universally true, the phenomenon would be ambiguous, and might be accounted for on higher principles ; as, for example, from an obscure feeling of joy that an opportunity was given us of binding our friends to us by fresh ties of love and service. But who can banish from daily life the countless manifestations of envy and malicious joy—or from history, the frightful outbreaks of murderous passion and cruelty, which had no other aim than to feast themselves with the tortures of their victims, the horrors of the thirty years' war, or the campaigns of Tamerlane, or such expressions as that of Caligula, ‘ Utinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet.’ Alas, it cannot be denied, that as there is an inspiration of holy love, so is there an inspiration of hatred or frantic pleasure with which men surrender themselves to the impulses of destructiveness ; and when the popular language speaks of possessions of Satan, of incarnate devils, there lies at the bottom of this the grave truth, that men by continued sinning may pass the ordinary limit between human and

diabolic depravity, and lay open in themselves a deep abyss of hatred, which without any mixture of self-interest, finds its gratification in devastation and wo."—Vol. i. p. 193.

Little did Dr. Müller dream of another crisis, which was to open up afresh this horrid pit of Tartarus, and overspread the continent with the monuments of a reckless barbarity, both on the side of the revolution and the counter-revolution, which afford too just a comment on his mournful description!

Our author's remarks on the *guilt* of sin need not detain us long. He protests most justly against the Grecian view of it, as little more than a feeling of disturbed harmony; remarking the two grand distinctions between the beautiful and the holy, that every man must be holy, and that in all things; while only the gifted can reach the beautiful, and that only in one department. Dr. Müller does not deny the æsthetic element in the working of conscience, of which Shaftesbury and Hutcheson in our country have made so much. But he places the essence of the consciousness of guilt in two things—an entire attribution of the sin to self as its cause, and a condemnatory judgment, asserting the loss of God's favour and exposure to punishment. Our English moralists include both under the sense of personal demerit; but Dr. Müller, as his manner is, takes a more theological view of the subject, and asserts what needs very much to be insisted on, the existence of a doom as absolute under the government of God, as the original demand of the law itself. The connexion of guilty men with God is thus strikingly expressed:—

"Evil conscience is the divine bond that links the created spirit, even in deep apostasy, to its original. In the consciousness of guilt, there is revealed, though the revelation is not comprehended till something higher is added, the essential relation of our spirit to God, *γένος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, Acts xvii. 28. The trouble and anguish which the remonstrances of conscience excite; the inward discomposure which sometimes seizes on the slave of sin, is a proof that he has not yet broken quite loose from God. If sin be a struggle of the creature to tear itself from God, this struggle is not only for ever outwardly fruitless, but inwardly it has failed of its aim, so long as the sense of guilt is not utterly extinguished."—Vol. i. pp. 242, 243.

Our author next vindicates the objective validity of our consciousness of guilt against the apologies of a superficial theology, which denies its co-existence with the very principle of created being, (*viz.*) dependence upon God. Deism and pantheism effect no reconciliation of sin with God's power, wisdom, and love, or do so only by abolishing the phenomenon they seek to explain. The consciousness of guilt is a delusion, or at best a transition-mood ordained by God, as a means of development necessary to our extrication from that state of imperfection, otherwise called sin,

which is also of his appointment. We commend the following passage to the notice of Mr. Bailey, and the admirers of the theology of his "Festus," in its cardinal doctrine, "evil and good are God's right hand and left!"—

"What an outlet is this! A dark demon-like power, which leaves the poor sinner first to become guilty, and then to be reproached for being so; which has ordained selfishness, lies, and even hatred as the departing, and yet never departed shadow of good, and which has laid on man the burden of responsibility in his conscience for this phantom, and added to the calamity of sin the weight of remorse. Such a power may have a certain admissibility into systems of polytheism and pantheism; but it is utterly irreconcilable with the first principles of Christian theism, since it not merely denies the truth and holiness of God, and undermines all confidence in his revelations, but places also in the room of his love a despotic cruelty towards his creatures."—Vol. i. pp. 250-252.

Our author effects but little, on the ground of metaphysics, in his solution of the great problem of the harmony of God's holy omnipotence with the existence of a real, and not a shadowy evil. He sums it up himself in the scholastic formula—"Deus concurrat ad *materiale*, non ad *formale* actionis malæ,"—which whosoever can may derive light and comfort from. His defence of the Bible doctrine, from any countenance given to the theory of evil, as ordained and wrought by God, is much more successful. The few passages of the Old Testament which refer sin apparently to God, are satisfactorily accounted for by its general tone being proved inconsistent with a wrong use of them; and the arguments from the New Testament, for the entire exclusion of God from sinful actions, are handled in an admirable manner, by showing how any other view cuts up both the doctrines of Judgment and of Redemption by the roots. We do not recite the errors not yet imported into this country, against which the very idea of judgment needs to be defended. It is enough to give the result, "*Peccati ultor non est peccati auctor.*" The Christian doctrine of redemption is even more decisive. Take away sin, as the act of a relatively independent being, and grace is no more grace; redemption becomes a debt left unpaid from creation; the forgiveness of sins is a nullity; and the atonement of Christ, in relation to sin, becomes a mere show. Thus ends the harmonizing attempt of those who talk of redemption as the true theodicee, and balance the universal disease of man by such a remedy. The very ideas of disease and remedy are destroyed; and the cross of Christ, which is designed to make sin exceeding sinful, would rather tend to give it the pleasant interest of an obstacle overcome—"Haec olim meminisse juvabit." Justly does Dr. Müller add his testimony to that of the ancient Church, "that

the cross is not less a revelation of the wrath, than of the highest love and grace of God:" though this be in the teeth of Schleiermacher, who expressly says, that the ministers of the gospel have nothing to teach man respecting the wrath of God. And in equal antagonism to the almost fanatical contempt of the latter for the Old Testament, does he set down the admirable words:—

"The conscious separation of Israel from God is often now-a-days given out as a proof of the untrue character of the Old Testament religion. But on the contrary, so long as the consciousness of reconciliation by atonement was unrealized, in this lay its deepest truth. It was the fundamental error of heathenism, especially of the Greek religion, to recognise this severance from God, not as an all-pervading evil, but only in certain incidental and external points of view; so that it emboldened men to approach the divinity with an unholy confidence, even with all their sins upon them. Judaism, on the contrary, required a mediator; and there holds still good, in a spiritual sense, the rule which the early Church for a time enforced in a literal, that the royal road from all heathenism to Christianity leads through Judaism."—P. 296.

Thus far our author has dealt with sin as a fact of human experience—equally real and formidable; and before proceeding to lay down his own theory of its origin, he introduces a lengthened critique of the most celebrated systems that have grappled with this mighty problem. This occupies his second Book, and is a most valuable product of well-digested reading and critical judgment. Indeed, we are inclined to regard this as the most successful part of the whole work—another among many proofs how much greater the human mind is in criticism than in creation. Had these speculators succeeded as well in reducing the difficulty, as Dr. Müller in overcoming them, this bow of Ulysses had long ago been bent by every suitor of ethical wisdom. A passing notice is all we can give of this masterly analysis; which we regret the more, as this department in the ethics and theology of our own country has long been almost a blank.

The *first* great theory considered is that of *privation*, which derives evil from the metaphysical imperfection of mankind. Evil is only good not attained; and the native tendency of all created being to good is simply hindered by the limitation of its powers. Moral evil arises from the inadequacy of the moral conceptions, by which the will of a finite creature is determined, and through which the less is preferred to the greater good. Evil thus needs a positive origin no more than darkness, cold, inertia; but is a mere privation of good, and that resting on the necessary difference between the Creator and all creatures. This theory owns Leibnitz for its greatest and most influential advocate in any age or country. Dr. Müller justly remarks the great indecision in his "*Theodicee*," whether it is meant to explain the

necessity, or only the possibility of evil. The former supposition would issue in the horrid consequence of making God the author of sin, and would besides diffuse sin as widely, and continue it as long as created existence. All creatures would thus, to use Leibnitz's own expression, be asymptotes of the Deity, and that not only in the sense of deficient endowment, but of moral distance. From this interpretation of his system, however, Leibnitz is entitled to be spared, on the ground of the stress which he lays on the free-will of the creature; though it must be acknowledged that it is difficult to see how this can break the fatal circle drawn by the optimism and determinism of his whole theory.

Giving him however the benefit of the doubt, this privative theory is inconsistent with the facts of moral consciousness. The free-will of the creature could not have produced evil merely as a reflex of finitude, a negation of perfect goodness; for this is not evil. Evil is not weakness, but perversion. It is not pitied as ignorance of man's highest good, but loathed as the wilful choice of known error; and it can enlist as much of energy on its side, as is ever evoked by its opposite. To use an illustration borrowed from Leibnitz's favourite science, evil is as much a quantity as good: only it is a negative quantity; it is not a *vis inertiae*, but an elastic centre of repulsion. It need hardly be added, that sin considered in the light of this theory, cannot well be the object of Divine displeasure; nor can a foundation be laid for that dualism of God and Satan, Christ and Belial, that intensely polemical character, in short, which even Schleiermacher in one of his lucid intervals acknowledges to belong to Christianity.

Dr. Müller farther charges on Leibnitz the error of confounding *moral* with *metaphysical* good and evil, which latter is neither more nor less than the rise of a being's existence above, or its fall below the zero point. He justly reprehends the false subtlety of those who find some good thing in the bare existence of a being thoroughly depraved. Strange to say, in this metaphysical mist Augustine and Jonathan Edwards lose their way, and stumble on the first principle of Spinoza, that virtue lies in *being*, in power, in quantity of existence—a principle of which practised ears will easily find the echo in Goethe and Carlyle. Moral evil lies in a quite different region. It is not the defect of being; but the alienation of being from God.

It is curious, as our author notices, that the system of St. Augustine at first sight seems identical with that of Leibnitz; and that from him the wide spread view of sin as privative has found its way into all systems of theology. But Dr. Müller acutely remarks, that the idea of Leibnitz is more passive, that of Augustine more active, since the latter insists on sin being a tendency

to non-existence—a force of destruction, a principle of negation or privation, like devouring fire in relation to its object. Whatever defects are in this view, it certainly comes nearer the standard of Christian feeling, and preserves better the antithesis between sin and holiness.

Before leaving this subject, it is but just to add, that many of our English divines have held this theory of Leibnitz with a much more evangelical creed than that great speculator. Edwards, like Augustine, escapes its evil consequences by the depth of his personal religion; and it is curious to see, on the other hand, in Williams' edition of his works, the perpetual struggle of the latter to analyze his system into still greater negativity. Nor does the privative theory seem to have been much more than a dead letter in the theology of Chalmers, who probably transferred it from Leibnitz, through his unbounded, and perhaps extravagant admiration of other parts of his system, especially the doctrine of philosophical necessity. Though not confined to them, this shadowy apparition has always haunted the schools of Calvinism; and while it may have been upon the whole a harmless ghost, it would be better to lay it, since it is apt to give to the whole region of God's decrees and remedial measures in regard to sin, something of its own aerial and phantom-like character.

The next great theory of sin, which has its roots as deep in history as that of privation, is the theory of *sense*, which resolves evil into the insubordination of our lower or animal nature, and explains all by the misapplied words of Scripture, "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." It is not, of course, in the mere possession of a body with its animal susceptibilities and desires that sin lies, but in the disproportion of the strength of body and mind, in the false relation of the will to sensuous impulse, by which it yields, when it ought to assert its own supremacy. This is the theory of almost all deists and rationalists; and in every country it is the common refuge of those who gloss over sin by smooth phrases, about the frailty and infirmity of our nature. Nothing is more admirable than our author's exposure of this theory. In fact, it is not an explanation of the phenomena at all, but only a return of the unsolved problem in a disguise. If sin lie in this, that the will should improperly yield to sense, whence this subjection? It cannot be from the pleasure of the lower impulse: for the pleasure of the higher ought to overrule it. The will should be its own law; and if not, this must be owing either to a voluntary perversion, in which case the theory of Sense is abandoned, or to an inherent weakness of the will, in which case this theory runs into that of Privation, and encounters all its difficulties. Sin lies in

the limitation of the human will : and the impulses of sense are only its occasion and not its cause ; for in creatures of higher strength of will, they would be repelled with as much ease as the stings of insects by the hide of the rhinoceros. This difficulty is in no respect diminished by the explanation that sense comes first into possession of the field, and that our moral nature awakes slowly and by degrees. For this pre-occupation has in it nothing of the nature of resistance to the higher principle ; and when this latter appears, it ought as much to rule as man on the last day of creation received the submission of all earlier creatures. The nature-philosophy of Schelling, which identifies soul and body, making the former but the blossom and highest development of the latter, would smooth this difficulty in some measure, as it would account for the impressions of sense on spirit, ere it emerged into its distinctness ; but this theory is inadmissible on philosophical principles, as failing to account for the spiritualism of man, which is not a difference from matter in degree merely, but in kind. On any other supposition, the development of the mental part, which is the higher, would secure a gradual subjection of the domain of sense, until the two forces of spirit and matter were equal, and at length the former supreme—so that youth would be the period of sin, and age of virtue—a result which is contradicted by all experience.

This theory thus not only fails to account for any class of sins, even those which have a sensuous character, without calling in the foreign principle of free-will : it can give no explanation of the most deadly class of sins at all. The sins of the spirit—ambition, envy, malice, and the whole formidable train,—have no root in sense whatever, and it is, as Müller justly remarks, almost ridiculous in the eyes of any one who knows the evils of his own nature, to hear the emphasis with which this theory denounces the more external, while the more internal plagues of humanity escape untouched. The practical consequences of such a theory in all ages have been, on the one hand, to beget a superficial estimate of sin, and to foster a Pharisaic self-righteousness, as if the core of humanity were sound and true ; and, on the other, to engender in more earnest spirits an ascetic contempt of the flesh, and a mechanical practice of holiness, which consisted in nothing more than bridling the innocent impulses of our lower nature. Thus Pelagianism runs over into Manicheanism : and it is an instructive fact, that the deeper theology of Augustine found its liveliest opponents in monks trained in this school.

The last refuge of this theory has been found in the theology of the Apostle Paul, with much the same right that a criminal

might claim the sanctuary where he sought an asylum for a birthplace. It is supposed to exist in his famous distinction of the *flesh* and the *spirit*; and the Apostle has had the misfortune to be applauded by one class, and blamed as loudly by another, for this moral dualism. We do not follow our author into the spirited *excursus* in which he shows these praises and censures to be equally misjudged, and vindicates the true sense of *σὰρξ* in the Apostle's writings, as denoting not a mal-adjustment of the parts of humanity to each other, but a perverted relation of our whole human nature to God. This interpretation agrees with that of Augustine, and also of the leading Reformers. Even Bellarmine, though the Church of Rome approaches too near the sensuous theory of sin, accords with them: and the more recent expositions of the Pauline epistles take this deeper view.

It is here that the paper of De Wette, noticed at the head of this Article, strikes in and attempts to break the fall of this theory of Sense, which had been supported both in his works on Christian morals and in his Commentaries. We have no wish to speak severely of a great critic and scholar, over whom the grave has so recently closed, more especially as this review is understood to have been the last production of his ever active and versatile mind. We must say, however, that his polemic against Müller has all the weakness of a defenceless cause, and affords not even a last prop to the subverted theory. He is compelled to admit that the will is included along with sensuous appetite in the apostolic *σὰρξ*, and though he narrows the concession by calling it the *sensuous* will, this is virtually giving up the point. He condemns Müller for stumbling at the difficulty how it comes to pass that the higher part of human nature yields to the lower, and endeavours to soften it by showing that flesh and spirit are not after all so distinct or disparate, and by alleging the force of habit;—forgetting all the while, that the distinction between flesh and spirit is the very soul of the theory which Müller opposes, and that to weaken it, is to abolish that theory: and farther, that the force of habit over the will, is just a portion of the phenomenon, which the theory of Sense ought to explain, but quietly takes for granted. The unanswerable arguments of Müller, drawn from pride, envy, malice, &c., he parries by the utterly untenable assertion that those sins have an element of sensuousness in them,—what he calls internal or mental sensuousness,—which seems to us little if any better than a contradiction in terms, and which, even if granted, would not account for the higher element, which is purely spiritual. The only shadow of truth in this refinement, is, that the spirit does not realize its depraved desires of this kind, without the body as an instrument. But this is different *toto cælo* from the strictly sensuous desires, where sense imposes its

laws upon spirit. It might not be an *experimentum crucis* to a person of so little faith as De Wette, to refer to the sinful desires of fallen angels, which assuredly are not in any acceptation sensuous: and Dr. Müller might think this an illustration not quite adapted to the meridian of Germany; but to a believer in the orthodox system, this perhaps conveys the most lively idea of the utter hollowness of De Wette's generalization, that all sin is begotten of sense. The desire to be as gods would thus rest only on the sensuous images of a throne and a visible glory; the inward and deadly element of self-assertion and self-conscious independence of the most High would be totally omitted. On the whole, we regard Müller's line of battle as quite unbroken by this onset. Even on De Wette's own ground of exegesis he is unsuccessful; and his ethics are lame and superficial. Nothing in his paper, moreover, or in himself, justifies the slighting tone in which Müller's system is spoken of; nor is his protest, though it be a solemn and final one, likely to turn back the moral speculation of Germany from those deeper channels, by which it is beginning again to discharge itself into the tide of orthodoxy.

We pass almost over the searching comments which follow here on Kant's relation to the theory of Sense. Most of our readers have heard of his categorical imperative; in other words, his conception of the moral reason as a law, which is its own motive, and can only be corrupted by motives of pleasure or pain drawn from the region of sense. This has led many to rank him with the advocates of this theory, since sin thus appeared to find its natural place in his system. Müller shows, however, that Kant's doctrine of the might of free-will, and of the transcendence of the region of pure ethical reason above that of experience, admits of no other than a voluntary fall, an eternal and *à priori* war of practical reason against itself, of which empirical sin, or sin in time, is but the reflection; and contends, that however mystical Kant's system thus becomes, it is separated by an impassable interval from the sensuous theory. We agree with all he says as to the darkness and contradiction of Kant's ethical theory; and have to charge against it a still farther incoherence in asserting the imperative character of the moral law as a revelation above all experience, and yet degrading its highest maxim,—viz., that we should perform only such actions as may be universally imitated,—to the region of experience and calculation. His categorical imperative is thus but a dark lantern till it borrows a utilitarian farthing candle, or at best, a flaming sword that turns every way, but drives no whither. We say these things with all respect for the genius and moral earnestness of Kant. We only show what a blind Polyphemus his autonomy of reason would make man if cut off from

a God not only impelling but guiding his creatures by a moral law.

It is in connexion with the theory of Sense that another great name is introduced, unquestionably the most influential, after Kant, of the ethical philosophers of Germany, Schleiermacher. A whole article might be written on the ethics of this great inquirer, which are as remarkable as his theology, and much less like a fusion of Corinthian brass from all other systems. Suffice it to say, that he is the very antipodes of Kant, the latter making virtue consist in self-government, the former in self-development; the latter making free-will all in all, the former ascribing everything to organization; the latter making virtue a struggle, the former a harmony; the latter connecting it with the kingdom of politics, the former with the kingdom of nature. In other words, Kant holds by the Roman idea, Schleiermacher by the Greek; and the one is more akin to the law of the Old Testament, the other to the love of the New. They form, in fact, the outermost sea-marks of the great ocean of moral speculation, on different sides of its expanse; and an interesting essay might be written to shew how the whole tide, in different ages, has rolled backwards and forwards between them.

We content ourselves here with condensing Müller's thorough-going examination of Schleiermacher's theory of sin. It is to some extent a reproduction of that of Sense. The Divine consciousness and the world-consciousness occupy the place of the spirit and flesh in that theory. A predominating consciousness of God, in every mental state, is opposed by something in that state arising from the world or self,—and this is sin. Müller justly reprehends the oscillation of Schleiermacher's view of the world-consciousness in man between what is sensual in the strictest sense, and what is ungodly; but granting him the most spiritual interpretation of his theory, he not less justly asks how the Divine consciousness, which on his own showing is infinite and irresistible, being neither more nor less than the infinite causality of God producing in us the sense of absolute dependence, can co-exist with any limit to its activity found in a lower region? Sin becomes absolutely impossible, except on the assumption of a fall of the Divine consciousness in man from itself; but for this—the mystical and incredible postulate of Kant—there is no room left in the system of Schleiermacher, which rigorously excludes that free-will by which alone it could become conceivable. After all, this inadmissibility of sin into the moral world holds true in so far as God himself is concerned. To him it appears mere negation, the result of that limitation of the Divine consciousness in man, which is included in the very idea of progressive development. For every stage there is a formula for

the union of the highest consciousness with the lowest; but this formula, through the pre-existence of the lowest consciousness in the field, is not realized. It is the race of Achilles and the tortoise; and Achilles, though gradually winning ground, is ever behind. This disharmony, however, is only for man and not for God: and it exists for man that he may seek liberation from it in union with Christ, in whom the ideal harmony of the two modes of consciousness is complete. Christ is the highest form of humanity, and sin exists for all others in their own consciences as a transition-stage, a necessary impulse to drive them to the perfection of their natures in union with him. Such is the theory, but it subverts itself; for sin is thus nothing more than a subjective illusion. The sense of guilt disappears before advancing knowledge. The Deity is convicted of what the Fathers called an *οἰκονόμια*, a pious fraud. And the very notion of redemption vanishes into thin air, being transformed into an integration by one stroke of the infinite series of steps that would have led at any rate "from good to better, thence to best."

We think Dr. Müller hardly just to Schleiermacher in ascribing to him the natural view of the perfection of Christ as opposed to the supernatural. This is certainly one of the darkest places in his Christology. But in his Epistle to Lücke he himself admits here a miracle, and the only one in his system; only, on the higher interpretation, the same difficulties beset his theory of sin. Man is made imperfect merely that a Divine Christ may exalt him; and this is inconsistent with the very idea of the Christian exaltation, of which the basis lies deep in penitence, self-reproach, and conscious self-discord. The better half of Schleiermacher's nature held fast to these Christian convictions, and incorporated them more and more to the last. His Christianity, like a tropical moon, shed almost as much light upon his own soul as others in a different zone derive from the sunshine of orthodoxy. But it is easy to see how his scanty views of the Atonement and of Divine influence grew out of this unhappy theory of sin; and how his doctrine of universal restoration followed as its corollary;—since how should God punish men ultimately for what arose by a kind of inexorable necessity of nature? And still more fatal is his doctrine of the subjectivity of sin as existing for man and not for God. This, if pushed to its consequences, overthrows not only Christianity but Natural Religion. Conscience would thus be regarded by higher beings as a nursery apparition to frighten this world's children. On earth sin would be overcome not by repentance but by speculation, and holiness would disappear with it. Theology, the child of reason and religion, would kill both its parents, and then put out its own eyes. The Christian Church would dig her own grave,

and might write over it the pathetic confession of Jacobi, that the head had prevailed over the heart, and that she lay down in darkness without hope of a resurrection.

We submit that this analysis of Schleiermacher ought to give pause to such persons as Mr. Morell and others, who with the best intentions are seeking to lift his method, if not his system, bodily into this country. That method and system have been already tried in Germany, so as by fire. Rosenkranz and Strauss have melted down the soldering that united its speculative elements taken from Spinoza, to its practical elements, drawn from the Bible, the Protestant symbols, and his own Christian experience. Braniss and Müller have shown how little it satisfies the demands of that Christian consciousness to which it professes to make all else subordinate. It is a structure built to a great extent out of the condemned timber of other systems, which all the hooks and cramps of his most tenacious dialectics cannot hold together. It is absurd to speak of a method as distinct in the long run from a system: and the fate of Schleiermacher's system has sealed that of his method. It is not certain if ever anybody held all the outs and ins of his *Glaubenslehre*, even in important matters, but himself; and to revive his creed at this time of day, in any considerable school of Germany, would be as easy as to restore the Continental system. We have been thus behind hand in German matters before. Coleridge built upon Kant and Schelling, after the one had subverted the other, and had himself given distinct hints of the forthcoming retraction of his own system. Carlyle, in his "Sartor Resartus," has not got beyond Kant and Fichte. And now we are required to shelter ourselves in an edifice which was never better than a caravanserai in the desert, and which the winds and rains of a generation have battered into a ruin. These facts remind us of the procedure of the parish minister of St. Kilda, who continued to pray for George II. a full year after his death.

The *third* theory which passes under review is that of *contrast*. Contrast is the law of all vitality. In nature we have light and shade, attraction and repulsion, positive and negative electricity; in history we have war and peace, movement and repose, personal influence and public authority; in art we have discord and concord, beauty and deformity, happiness and suffering;—why should we not have in the department of morals a final and highest contrast of good and evil, since it is from contrast that all individuality, life, character, arise? Good is not only not known, it is not developed without evil. Virtue is a mere abstraction suspended *in vacuo*. Unmixed good and evil, as in angels and devils, float before our minds as barren and uninteresting phantasies. We might continue this representation in imitation of our author, whose genial sketch of this theory

reminds us of the eloquent plausibilities of the sophists in the Dialogues of Plato ; but this bare outline is sufficient. Dr. Müller traces this theory to Lactantius in Christian literature, and to the Stoics in pagan. It seems, however, to be merely the obverse of the cosmical system of Empedocles, who traced through all nature the two principles of *his* and *amicitia* ; and it is defended by the Academic in Cicero's *De Naturâ Deorum*. The pantheism of the East has admitted it ; and the supralapsarian predestination of the West, following too far to the brink the steps of Augustine and Aquinas, has fallen over into the abyss, and represented the Deity as sacrificing one part of his offspring to increase the happiness of the rest, and to illustrate his own glory. This theory has the merit of making evil something really antithetical to good, and struggling with it on the same stage ; and hence many thinkers have inclined to it who were too deep for the theories of Privation and Sense, and yet not deep enough for the moral intuitions of Christianity. If this theory be true these last must all be rejected, for they include an original state of innocence, the example of a sinless Saviour, and the hope of an everlasting reign of perfect holiness. Man is not only born to trouble, but to sin as the sparks fly upwards ; and while on the former theories the evil genius of man is capable of exorcism, at least as far as to the verge of paradise, here it sits in the very citadel of his being, his individuality.

A more penetrating view, however, detects the hollowness of this plausible scheme. If evil is necessary to give life and energy to human character and human life,—an infusion of the acid of hatred and malice to spice the otherwise soporific draught of love,—this very somnolent character of virtue, to which vice is a counteractive, is itself vice, and thus, instead of a real contrast, we have one Satan casting out another ;—in other words, evil is presupposed to account for its own existence. The system barefacedly assumes, that there is no energy but in evil, and then good-naturedly sends forth this dark angel to trouble the waters. There are two other mistakes at the foundation of this system, which need only to be corrected to deprive it of all its remaining power to seduce.

First, it ignores the fact that contrast, in its purest form, may exist without evil. This is not only true of the world of nature, where we see in the mineral kingdom the polarity of opposites ; in the vegetable, the reaction of dynamical and chemical forces ; and in the animal, the contrast of receptivity and spontaneity ; but holds also of the world of mind. The diversities of age, of temperament, of endowment, of sex, and many others, open up a boundless field for the development of individuality. The reciprocity of giving and receiving at once impels the march of the individual, and harmonizes it with the progress of the whole ;

and the fundamental idea of society—that of an organism whose parts supplement each other according to a common law of love,—is utterly inconsistent with the necessity of evil. It betrays, indeed, a singular poverty of conception, to picture evil as needful, where love reigns, and lays open all the treasures of all hearts to each other; and such a theory, with all its pretensions, has as little sounded the depths and mysteries of that ocean of mutual love, in which all the gifts of the human race ought to be absorbed, as it has the variety and plenitude of the streams that cast themselves upon its bosom. If, moreover, evil is ever a foil to good, this does not lie in its own nature, but in the special grace of God; and though now and then a noble trait of character may be developed by antagonism to evil, just as a constitution may be strengthened by fever, or even by a Mithridatic diet on poisons, the crisis does not tend less, in the one case than in the other, to the dissolution of the structure that is exposed to such a trial.

Secondly, this theory commits the great error of measuring all possible systems by the actual experience of this world. It cannot rise to the conception of pure good, because this is not seen. Everywhere good and evil appear, as Socrates remarked of pleasure and pain, with their two ends bound together. Even inferior nature exhibits a reflection of human vices, and the whole of human life is covered with the shadow of evil, under which the pilgrim must wrestle with hobgoblins, and fight with giants. The very spheres of contrast between strong and weak, rich and poor, male and female, become the rallying points of the worst evils, as nervous disease attacks the ganglionic centres; and thus, where the power of love ought most signally to have harmonized these contrasts, they are found in the most violent antagonism. It is a most reckless generalization, to apply to all moral systems what holds only of one so depraved, that vivacity cannot exist without contrast, nor contrast without contrariety. It is to disregard the example of the Saviour, who was perfectly holy, without this hateful stimulant in himself, and would have been perfectly happy but for its reaction in others. It is to test the employments and energies of peace by a state of war, as if one should criticise the Christian Millennium by the standard of the Roman commonwealth, in which the temple of Janus was only shut three times in seven or eight centuries.

As for the theological appendages of this theory, they refute themselves. Justly does Müller remark, that the slavery or helotry of antiquity would be mild and liberal institutions, in comparison of a government of the world, which doomed some to sin, that others might reach the climax of holiness. Calvinism has long forsaken this height, which its great author, as well as Beza, now and then too nearly approached; and it is now a school of philosophy that occupies this ground of maintaining, that evil

must exist as a contrast to good, though at the expense of paving a way for humanity into the stronghold of virtue, over the dead bodies of those who have fallen in an earlier stage of the assault.

This school is that of Hegel. Such a theory of sin was to be expected, in a system which is a perpetual series of contrasts, springing out of each other, each with its two pillars and its arch—the whole being surmounted by the sublime curve of the Absolute Idea, in which all lower segments of being are harmonized. The particular contrast in which evil is found, according to this system, is that of *spirit and nature*. The unconscious spirit in man, according to the dialectical legerdmain of this philosophy, reflects itself in its opposite, viz., his material part, including his animal desires and impulses. Spirit comes forth out of its abstract unity into this dualism; but it is not meant to stay there; and when this spirit has abandoned itself to the full impulses of nature, it then recovers itself, by recognising its own identity with its opposite, in which act it first becomes self-consciously or truly spirit. This is the law of what Hegel, by a great abuse of language, calls *moral necessity*, since it is nothing better than a natural process. But this law may be resisted, and spirit may tarry with nature, yielding to its impulses in unreconciled antagonism, instead of throwing the arch of self-consciousness, by which nature would be dominated over, and kept in check. This lingering of spirit with nature, or surrender of spirit to nature, is *sin*. It is obvious that this is not to be confounded with the theory of Sense, since there nothing depended on contrast, whereas here the development of contrast is indispensable; and the passage through sin is necessary, that unconscious spirit may attain to full self-consciousness. It is in this sense that the famous words of Hegel are to be understood—"Man must eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, otherwise he is no man, but a mere animal." But if this be so, how can there be a real consciousness of guilt; or if guilt is supposed to lie only in the persistence of evil, and not in its necessary commission up to a certain extent, how is the limit to be defined, or how is this refinement to be harmonized with our moral sentiments, which as sternly forbid the entrance as the continuance of sin? Nay, does not the entrance necessitate the continuance; and can it be driven out by any logical juggle respecting the elevation of the spirit to self-consciousness,—in other words, the discovery that the spirit and the flesh are one in nature and being? The contrast must rather endure, that it may be perpetually overcome; parts of humanity must be sacrificed to the whole; and as the history of spirit is but the life of God, this sin, which is a part of *its* history, is necessary to *His* life, and in the eternal evolution and re-absorption of this contrast, must lie His infinite blessedness! Such is the Hegelian deity, occupied with a perpetual creation

from the chaos of his own unconsciousness, and a perpetual annihilation of his own defective works;—an employment which it is no profanation to compare with the device by which Michael Scott at last chained down his indomitable familiar demon—“making ropes of sand!”

This philosophy, more than any other, has its own cipher for the doctrines of Christianity that are based on sin, which is, however, so dark and deep, that the vulgar cannot read it, and so faithless, that the learned marvel at the *σήματα λόγου*, which, under a promise of safe-conduct, contain a death-warrant. A religion of miraculous facts cannot be squared to a few logical formulas of abstract universality; and hence Christ is but the type of the universal self-redemption of man;—this redemption is the elevation, by the dialectical process above mentioned, of the self-conscious spirit above the contrast of spirit and nature;—and regeneration is the entrance of each individual, by the gate of speculative knowledge, upon the enjoyment of this redemption. Such a philosophy is self-judged; and time also has judged it, carrying all its downward tendencies, against which the nobler nature of its truly great author would have protested, into full development; hatching in its ample cavities “all monstrous,” all unutterable things,” the most unblushing irreligion, and the most naked immorality; and giving it to the more sober-minded eye even of its former worshippers, the appearance of a so-called divinity eaten up of worms!

A *fourth* theory is next briefly noticed, now all but extinct—that of Dualism, which ascribes to good and evil equal eternity and independence. Parseeism and Manicheanism are the two names most commonly given to this view. It found no entrance among the classical nations, their evil principle, Hyle, being too passive and subjugable, up to a certain point, to deserve comparison. This system is in the teeth of the philosophic desire of unity; it places evil in a *substance*, and not in a *will*, which is incompatible with its very nature; and it disregards the weighty fact, that evil cannot exist except on the supposition of good as primitive, and that, in all experience, it is found restraining its own excesses by a kind of wild order, or hypocritical deference to good, which is itself an involuntary homage to an earlier master. Evil is the parasite of good; and were the all-supporting tree to fall, the false growth would soon wither and die.

The length of these notices of theories so celebrated, has left us little room for Dr. Müller's own. His view of the essence of sin has been already given. We now glance at his inquiry into its origin. This is contained in his third Book on the Possibility of Sin. The preceding theories have accounted for the *actuality*, or even *necessity* of evil. Dr. Müller adopts a more modest and wiser course, and stops with the discussion of its

possibility. It arises from the free-will of the creature, which is a power of independent origination, lent by God through a voluntary self-limitation, and though intended for good, capable of being perverted to evil. The end of the creation is the union of personal being with God in self-devotion. For this the omnipotence of God must clear a wide enough space, and while supplying the conditions of a right choice—personality, will, and law, leave the moral use of these to the creature itself. All moral being thus begins with *formal* liberty, which includes the capacity of wrong choice. But this formal liberty only exists that it may pass over into *real* liberty, wherein the law and the will are by right choice harmonized, and the possibility of sin is at length excluded. It is the greatness of moral being to be capable in the earliest stage of a fall; and while the possibility of sin is thus accounted for, without supposing it founded in a dualistic principle, or in the will of God, its exceeding sinfulness, as the voluntary apostasy of a creature from the love which so highly endowed it, is placed in the strongest light. While, however, the *possible* existence of evil is thus made conceivable, its *actual* existence remains as dark as before. It is the essence of sin to be inconceivable in its actuality. The abuse of free-will, in which it originates, is essentially irrational; and God, to whom the grounds of all other things are naked and open, sees in this nothing but a mystery of iniquity, a marvel of unreason.

It is impossible to deny the ingenuity of this theory of Dr. Müller, and much of it seems founded in truth. The distinction between formal and real liberty is both novel and striking. The former gives him the indispensable alternative which is secured by the libertarian theories of indifference and equilibrium, while the latter cuts off their atomistic character; and thus, in the union of the two kinds of freedom, or in the passage from the one to the other, he can bring over to his own side those facts respecting the influence of habits and motives, which are commonly regarded as the main arguments of determinism. In a word, he can begin with Pelagius, and end with Augustine, in his history of all moral beings. And yet, this is a track which we gravely scruple to follow in, since *formal* freedom appears to us to be too little for the original endowment of moral creatures, either as the principles of natural theology require, or as Scripture has informed us; and as we entirely concur in our author's view of the utter inconceivableness of the rise of evil, as an actual event, we do not see anything gained by lowering the original pitch of voluntary excellence, so as to explain its possibility.

Still less can we follow him in his attempt to transfer the origin of all sin to a date anterior to the commencement of time. Kant and Schelling had preceded him in this effort to remove the mystery of free-will into that congenial region, which, by a

witty misnomer, they called the *intelligible world*! Kant, despairing of finding liberty anywhere in the iron-chain of motive and action, as stretching from the beginning to the end of our empirical existence, sought it in the higher world of the unconditioned; and Schelling, as early as 1809, in his celebrated Essay on Freedom,—in which he traced sin to a principle of darkness existing in God, and uniting itself with the free-will of man, expressly declared that the original sin was committed by every man before his temporal being, and drew all the sins of life after it with rigorous necessity. Life was bound—but it was bound by an antecedent act of liberty; and thus the intuitions of conscience were defended by a bulwark too high for the reach of scepticism, and free-will stood invincible, with its back to the wall of eternity. Dr. Müller, while justly exposing the errors of these speculations, has much too deeply for our taste committed himself to the same principle. He does not, indeed, like Kant, degrade our present life into a mere shadow, in which only darkling reflections of transcendental choice appear; for the passage of moral beings through time, is with him necessary to their development. Nor does he with Schelling represent our present character as absolutely created and fixed for us by our ante-temporal decision; for he admits to a large extent the modifying influences of this world, and also the historical transmission of evil from Adam through all generations. But still the turning point with each individual was his use of formal freedom in that pre-existent state; and here alone can we find a point above the action and re-action of determinism, where the destiny of man was in his own hands.

We regret that so sober a thinker should have impeded his wings for so dangerous a flight, with feathers borrowed from the schools; and most of our readers will perceive at once the difficulties under which this *theologoumenon* (as our author calls it) labours. It really affords no satisfactory escape from the law of conditioned action; for the constitution given by God, however unformed, was still a condition of moral choice. It fails to supply a basis to our feelings of guilt; for sin committed on this higher ground would be so unlike the sins of time in its circumstances and character, that it could not fit into the same series; it leaves unexplained the entire disappearance of our first and worst sin from our consciousness,—a fact which our author frankly concedes; and it does not even attempt to bridge over the great gulf between the antecedent life of all human spirits in a timeless state and their successive historical entrance into time. We need not insist on the incompatibility of this speculation with the orthodox theory of original sin as derived from one man. Dr. Müller has hardly done justice to Scripture in his well-meant efforts to extricate it from the consequences which it is made to

sanction by the symbolical books of his Church ; and, for our part, we would rather take up the confessional view with all its difficulties, than fly to so unsatisfactory a refuge from them. On this point, and on this alone, do we agree with De Wette in his criticism of Müller's work. We can trust our moral convictions, to bring home to men the sense of guilt and responsibility in the department of religion, without being dependent on any theory of free-will or the origin of evil,—just as Butler has admirably shown, that this sense remains the same in other departments of practice, even on the principles of fatalism. We should not the less, however, value any serviceable theory, by which the aim of Dr. Müller might be realized, and the burden of original sin laid upon our own shoulders, without at the same time removing it from its scriptural resting-place. We owe almost an apology to our author for turning upon him after so pleasant a chase after truth, and measuring out to him anything like the treatment of Actæon. We acknowledge his substantial orthodoxy even here ; and would not willingly rank ourselves among those who apply without allowance a British line and rule to that wall against the worst error, which he and others equally noble-hearted are building up, with a trowel in the one hand and a weapon in the other, in troublous times.

We must draw to a close, omitting all notice of the last two Books "On the Diffusion of Sin in the Species," and "On its Progress in the Individual." We would willingly have indulged in reflections of our own to a greater extent. But we felt it due to such a work, and to the modern evangelism of Germany, to give as full and faithful a reflection as we could of one of its principal performances. We trust enough has been written to shew that our common Christianity is there struggling into a state of intense self-consciousness, in opposition to fundamental errors to which there is no parallel in our country ; and that if there is much which that evangelism has yet to learn, there is not a little which it can also teach. It is to be regretted that with a blind deference to Germany, on the one side, there is growing up a bigoted hostility on the other. Let us be impartial and discern the things that differ. Let us not charge the Christian party with the conflagration which is there raging, nor clothe them in the skins of those with whom they have nothing in common, and then hunt them down in the same amphitheatre. Perhaps they may be yet our best auxiliaries in a contest with our own unbelief, half-belief, and quasi-belief ; and even should the exaggerated fears of some be disappointed, who tremble before an invasion of German opinions,—which generally come like the Germanic races in the days of old, after they are driven out of their own country,—it will be impossible not to gain much insight from their art of fence into the conduct of our

own domestic war with error. The body is not one member but many; and though the course of our preceding investigations forbids us to say that one member is designedly drawn into mistakes for the warning and instruction of others, it is sound and just doctrine that these mistakes with their correction ought to be improved by the whole household of faith.

We dismiss this subject with two reflections,—the one bearing on our theology, and addressed more to our divines,—the other on our religion, and addressed more to our literary men.

Our divines had better not learn from German example to attempt experiments in theological deduction. All such efforts are nullified by the intractable phenomena of sin. What is founded on free-will admits of no theoretical development from the highest Being; and, besides, the free-will of God, in treating so variously different sinning worlds, and parts of the same world, puts a negative on all such speculations. A perfect system of theology as tested by the perfection of systems, where free-will has no place, as in the departments of physics and metaphysics, is thus unattainable; and it is the wisest course to shun the high *priori* road, and humbly gather up and piece together the fragments which are contained in the only book which is the theologian's Book of Nature. We do not quarrel with system; for this is but induction turned the other way. Only there is some danger in imitation of Germany, of supplementing gaps, smoothing over difficulties, and going back to a higher beginning than the revealed one, in order to gain momentum for a *salto mortale*, which shall overleap the barriers within which both nature and grace have confined us. The deductive system, in all its purity, comes from Spinoza, and ends in Pantheism and stern necessity. It explains both sin and redemption, by explaining them away; and it can no more deduce the fall, or the interposition of a sinless being, than the saws of Roman augury could deduce the rent in the Forum, or the devotion of the hero that closed the gulf.

The nature of sin as a voluntary and prolonged apostasy from God should deter our literary men from dealing with it after the fashion of mere theory. It is not a stone of stumbling to our speculation merely; it is a millstone hung about the necks of all of us, and weighing us down in conscious discord with the universe and ourselves. The confession of sin is universal; and the deeper spirit of our own age, with all its levity and indifference, is tossed to and fro by the heavy ground-swell. "I look into mine heart," says a rationalist theologian of last century, "and acknowledge that I have to charge myself before God with all the sins against knowledge that I have described. Whoso is not ready with the same confession, let him look again into his own." None of our non-Christian writers of the earnest school would

refuse this language. It is not speculation that can heal such wounds ; nor can any one who has found the remedy see without regret, arguments, evidences, and other appliances of the reasoning faculty, demanded by such inquirers, and presented by Christian theorists as all in all. As sin began with an act of the creature, and was met by an act of Incarnate Love, it is only by a renewed act in the human soul, that it can be encountered and overcome. This is the act of self-connexion with that supernatural economy which the Gospel has brought nigh. There is freedom only in this higher region ; and the transition into it is something in which mind and heart, will and personality, must be engaged as in a mortal struggle. Christianity reveals its great secret only to those who ask it ; helps only those who, in their deepest nature, accept its conditions of help. Speculation scorns this strait gate ; but the city of God has no other opening. Lying down without its walls, it wraps itself in its own wintry mantle ; but it can neither exclude the chilly blasts, nor bring health to that diseased frame, for which a cure is only to be found within. It is by an effort of will that the Christian deliverance is to be realized ; a will returning to its lowly attitude towards the Infinite Being, submitting to the hardest sentence on the past coming both from His inward and outward voice, and reuniting itself with His will, on the ground of a true Mediation, and in the strength of a Heavenly influence. The will must return by the world-old pathway of Atonement and Grace, which is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever. It must throw itself into this new atmosphere, and make the attempt to breathe it ; plunge into this new element of life, and strike about in it as the swimmer spreadeth forth his hands to swim. By such a voluntary transition alone can the terrific depths of an eternal discord between the Infinite and the finite be escaped ; and even as a matter of speculation, those who have thus become as little children, know more of the mystery of evil, than the philosophers who have wrestled with the problem all their life long. Let our literary inquirers, then, abandon their intellectual pride and dilettantism, and submit to have the practical evil of sin healed in the same manner as a bodily disease by a practical remedy. Let them ponder the great words of one of themselves, Jacobi, who had reached at least the court of the Gentiles,—“ Nicht weise, nicht tugendhaft, nicht gottselig kann der Mensch sich vernünfteln : er muss dahinauf bewegt werden und sich bewegen, organisiert werden und sich organisiren.” And let them accept the same words at once translated and transfigured at the hands of one who, of all the children of men, knew most of the mystery of sin, and of the method of deliverance,—“ Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who worketh in you to will and to do of his good pleasure.”

- ART. VI.—1. *Footprints of the Creator: or the Asterolepis of Stromness*. By HUGH MILLER, Author of the "Old Red Sandstone," &c. London, 1849. 12mo, Pp. 313.
2. *The Old Red Sandstone: or, New Walks in an Old Field*. By HUGH MILLER. Edinburgh, 1849. Third Edition, with Plates and Geological Sections. 12mo.
3. *Ancient Sea Margins: or Memorials of change in the relative level of Sea and Land*. By ROBERT CHAMBERS, Esq., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh, 1849. 8vo, Pp. 338.
4. *La Science et la Foi sur l'Œuvre de la Création, ou Théories Géologiques comparées avec la doctrine des Pères de l'Eglise sur l'Œuvre des six Jours*. Par H. B. WATERKEYN, Professeur de Minéralogie et de Géologie à l'Université Catholique de Louvaine. Liège, 1845. 12mo, Pp. 200.
5. *Le Déluge: Considérations Géologiques et Historiques sur les dernières Cataclysmes du Globe*. Par FREDERIK KLEF. Paris, 1847. 12mo, Pp. 336.
6. *Passages in the History of Geology, being an Inaugural Lecture at University College, London, 1848*. By ANDREW C. RAMSAY, F.G.S., Professor of Geology, University College, and Director of the Geological Survey of Great Britain. London, 1848. Pp. 38.
7. *Do. do. being an Introductory Lecture in Continuation of the Inaugural Lecture of 1848*. By the Same. London, 1849. Pp. 38.

OF all the studies which relate to the material universe, there is none, perhaps, which appeals so powerfully to our senses, or which comes into such close and immediate contact with our wants and enjoyments, as that of geology. In our hourly walks, whether on business or for pleasure, we tread with heedless step upon the apparently uninteresting objects which it embraces: but could we rightly interrogate the rounded pebble at our feet, it would read us an exciting chapter on the history of primeval times, and would tell us of the convulsions by which it was wrenched from its parent rock, and of the floods by which it was abraded, and transported to its present humble locality. In our visit to the picturesque and the sublime in nature, we are brought into closer proximity to the more interesting phenomena of geology. In the precipices which protect our rock-girt shores, which flank our mountain glens, or which variegate our lowland valleys, and in the shapeless fragments at their base, which the lichen colours, and round which the ivy twines, we see the rem-

nants of uplifted and shattered beds, which once reposed in peace at the bottom of the ocean. Nor does the rounded boulder, which would have defied the lapidary's wheel of the Giant Age, give forth a less oracular response from its grave of clay, or from its lair of sand. Floated by ice from some Alpine summit, or hurried along in torrents of mud, and floods of water, it may have traversed a quarter of the globe, amid the crash of falling forests, and the death shrieks of the noble animals which they sheltered. The mountain range too, with its catacombs below, along which the earthquake transmits its terrific sounds, reminds us of the mighty power by which it was upheaved;—while the lofty peak, with its cap of ice, or its nostrils of fire, places in our view, the tremendous agencies which have been at work beneath us.

But it is not merely amid the powers of external nature that the once hidden things of the Earth are presented to our view. Our temples and our palaces are formed from the rocks of a primeval age; bearing the very ripple-marks of a Pre-Adamite ocean,—grooved by the passage of the once moving boulder, and embosoming the relics of ancient life, and the plants by which it was sustained. Our dwellings, too, are ornamented with the variegated limestones—the indurated tombs of molluscous life—and our apartments heated with the carbon of primeval forests, and lighted with the gaseous element which it confines. The obelisk of granite, and the colossal bronze which transmit to future ages the deeds of the hero and the sage, are equally the production of the Earth's prolific womb; and from the green bed of the ocean has been raised the pure and spotless marble, to mould the divine lineaments of beauty, and perpetuate the expressions of intellectual power. From a remoter age, and a still greater depth, the primary and secondary rocks have yielded a rich tribute to the chaplet of rank, and to the processes of art. The diamond and the sapphire, while they shine in the royal diadem, and in the imperial sceptre, are invaluable instruments in the hands of the artizan; and the ruby and the topaz, and the emerald and the chrysoberyl, have been scattered from the jewel caskets of our Mother Earth, to please the eye, and to gratify the vanity of her children.

Exhibiting, as it peculiarly does, almost all those objects of interest and research, Scotland has been diligently studied both by native and foreign observers; and she has sent into the geological field a distinguished group of inquirers, who have performed a noble feat in exploring the general structure of the Earth, in decyphering its ancient monuments, and in unlocking those storehouses of mineral wealth, from which civilized man derives the elements of that gigantic power, which his otherwise feeble arm wields over nature.

The occurrence of shells on the highest mountains, and the remains of plants and animals, which the most superficial observer could not fail to notice, in the rocks around him, have for centuries commanded the attention and exercised the ingenuity of every student of nature; but though sparks of geological truth were from time to time elicited by speculative minds, it was not till the end of the last century that its great lights broke forth, and that it took the form and character of one of the noblest of the sciences. Without undervaluing the labours of Werner, and other illustrious foreigners, or those of our southern countrymen, Mitchell and Smith, at the close of the last century, we may characterize the commencement of the present as the brightest period of geological discovery, and place its most active locality in the northern metropolis of our island. It was doubtless from the Royal Society of Edinburgh, as a centre, that a great geological impulse was propagated southward, and it was by the collision of the Wernerian and Huttonian views, the antagonist theories of water and of fire, that men of intellectual power were summoned from other studies; and that grand truths, which fanaticism and intolerance had hitherto abjured, rose triumphant over the ignorance and bigotry of the age. The Geological Society of London, which, doubtless, sprung from the excitement in the Scottish metropolis, entered on the new field of research with a faltering step. The prejudices of the English mind had been marshalled with illiberal violence against the Huttonian doctrines. Infidelity and Atheism were charged against their supporters; and had there been a Protestant Inquisition in England, at that period of general political excitement, the geologists of the north would have been immured in its deepest dungeons.

Truth, however, marched apace; and though her simple but majestic procession be often solemn and slow, and her votaries few and dejected, yet on this as on every occasion, she triumphed over the most inveterate prepossessions, and finally took up her abode in those very halls and institutions where she had been persecuted and reviled. When their science had been thus acquitted of the charge of impiety and irreligion, the members of the Geological Society left their humble and timid position of being the collectors only of *the materials of future generalizations*, and became at once the most successful observers of geological phenomena, and the boldest asserters of geological truth.

In this field of research, in which the physical, as well as the intellectual frame of the philosopher, is made tributary to science, two of our countrymen—Sir Roderick Murchison and Sir Charles Lyell—have been among our most active labourers. From the study of their native glens, these distinguished travellers, like the Humboldts and the Von Buchs of the continent,

have passed into foreign lands, exploring the north and the south of Europe, and extending their labours to the eastern ranges of the Ural and the Timan, and to the Apalachians and the Alleghanies in the far west. The geological science of Scotland has thus maintained, even in the world's estimate, its ancient renown; and in return for the lights which it has shed, and the shadows which it has paled, the imperial sovereign of the north has honoured it with his brightest chaplet; while the intellectual democracy of the west has taken counsel at the feet of its Gamaliel. But while our two countrymen were interrogating the strata of other lands, many able and active labourers had been at work in their own. Among the geologists contemporary with Hutton and Playfair, we may enumerate Sir James Hall, Professor Jameson, Dr. Fleming, Dr. Hope, Dr. Macculloch, Colonel Imrie, Sir George Mackenzie, Mr. Allan, and Dr. Macknight; and in more recent times, geology has been more or less actively pursued by Mr. Miller, Mr. David Milne, Professor Forbes, Mr. Maclaren, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, and Mr. Robert Chambers.

Among these eminent students of the structure of the earth, Mr. Hugh Miller holds a lofty place, not merely from the discovery of new and undescribed organisms in the old red sandstone, but from the accuracy and beauty of his descriptions, the purity and elegance of his composition, and the high tone of philosophy and religion which distinguishes all his writings. Mr. Miller is one of the few individuals in the history of Scottish science who have raised themselves above the labours of an humble profession by the force of their genius, and the excellence of their character, to a comparatively high place in the social scale. Mr. Telford, like Mr. Miller, followed the profession of a stone-mason before his industry and self-tuition qualified him for the higher functions of an architect and an engineer; and Mr. Watt and Mr. Rennie rose to wealth and fame without the aid of a university education. But distinguished as these individuals were, none of them possessed those qualities of mind which Mr. Miller has exhibited in his writings; and, with the exception of Burns, the uneducated genius which has done honour to Scotland during the last century, has never displayed that mental refinement, and classical taste, and intellectual energy which mark all the writings of our author. We wish that we could have gratified our readers with an authentic and even detailed narrative of the previous history of so remarkable a writer, and of the steps by which his knowledge was acquired, and the difficulties which he encountered in its pursuit; but though this is not, to any great extent, in our power, we shall at least be able, chiefly from Mr. Miller's own writings, to follow him throughout his geological career.

Mr. Miller was born at Cromarty, of humble but respectable parents, whose history would have possessed no inconsiderable interest, even if it had not derived one of a higher kind from the genius and fortunes of their child. By the paternal side, he was descended from a race of sea-faring people, whose family burying-ground, if we judge from the past, seems to be the sea. Under its green waves his father sleeps: his grandfather, his two granduncles, one of whom sailed round the world with Anson, lie also there; and the same extensive cemetery contains the relics of several of his more distant relatives. His father was but an infant of scarcely a year old at the death of our author's grandfather, and had to commence life as a poor ship-boy; but such was the energy of his mind, that when little turned of thirty, he had become the master and owner of a fine large sloop, and had built himself a good house, which entitled his son to the franchise on the passing of the Reform Bill. Having unfortunately lost his sloop in a storm, he had to begin the world anew, and he soon became master and owner of another, and would have thriven had he lived; but the hereditary fate was too strong for him, and when our author was a little boy of five summers, his father's fine new sloop foundered at sea in a terrible tempest, and he and his crew were never more heard of. Mr. Miller had two sisters younger than himself, both of whom died ere they attained to womanhood. His mother experienced the usual difficulties which a widow has to encounter in the decent education of her family; but she struggled honestly and successfully, and ultimately found her reward in the character and fame of her son. It is from this excellent woman that Mr. Miller has inherited those sentiments and feelings which have given energy to his talents as the defender of revealed truth, and the champion of the Church of his fathers. She was the great grand-daughter of a venerable man, still well known to tradition in the north of Scotland as Donald Roy of Nigg—a sort of northern Peden, who is described in the history of our Church as the single individual who, at the age of eighty, when the presbytery of the district had assembled in the empty church for the purpose of inducting an obnoxious presentee, had the courage to protest against the intrusion, and to declare, "that the blood of the people of Nigg would be required at their hands if they settled a man *to the walls* of that church."* Tradition has represented him as a seer of visions, and a prophet of prophecies; but whatever credit may

* In the "Witnesses for the Truth," a recent illustrated publication of the Free Church, Donald is represented in this scene, in a respectable woodcut, as a man in middle life, "all plaided and plumed in his tartan array,"—a dress which he probably never wore.

be given to stories of this kind, which have been told also of Knox, Welsh, and Rutherford, this ancient champion of Non-Intrusion was a man of genuine piety, and the savour of his ennobling beliefs, and his strict morals, has survived in his family for generations. If the child of such parents did not receive the best education which his native town could afford, it was not their fault nor that of his teacher. The fetters of a gymnasium are not easily worn by the adventurous youth who has sought and found his pleasures among the hills and on the waters. They chafe the young and active limb, that has grown vigorous under the blue sky, and never known repose but at midnight. The young philosopher of Cromarty was a member of this restless community; and he had been the hero of adventures and accidents among rocks and woods, which are still remembered in his native town. The parish school was therefore not the scene of his enjoyments; and while he was a truant and, with reverence be it spoken, a dunce when under its jurisdiction, he was busy in the fields and on the sea-shore in collecting those stores of knowledge which he was born to dispense among his fellow-men. He escaped, however, from school with the knowledge of reading, writing, and a little arithmetic, and with the credit of uniting a great memory with a little scholarship. Unlike his illustrious predecessor Cuvier, he had studied Natural History in the fields and among the mountains ere he had sought for it in books; while the French philosopher had become a learned naturalist before he had even looked upon the world of Nature.* This singular contrast it is not difficult to explain. With a sickly constitution and a delicate frame, the youthful Cuvier wanted that physical activity which the observation of Nature demands. Our Scottish geologist, on the contrary, in vigorous health, and with an iron frame, rushed to the rocks and the sea-shore in search of the instruction which was not provided for him at school, and which he could find no books to supply.

After receiving this measure of education, Mr. Miller set out in February 1821, with a heavy heart, as he himself confesses, "to make his first acquaintance with a life of labour and restraint:"—

"I was but a slim, loose-jointed boy at the time, fond of the pretty intangibilities of romance, and of dreaming when broad awake; and woful change! I was now going to work at what Burns has instanced in his 'Twa Dogs' as one of the most disagreeable of all employments—to work in a quarry. Bating the passing uneasiness occasioned by a few gloomy anticipations, the portion of my life which had already gone by, had been happy beyond the common lot. I had

* See this *Review*, vol. i. p. 314.

been a wanderer among rocks and woods—a reader of curious books, when I could get them—a gleaner of old traditionary stories,—and now I was going to exchange all my day-dreams and all my amusements for the kind of life in which men toil every day that they may be enabled to eat, and eat every day that they may be enabled to toil. The quarry in which I wrought lay on the southern shore of a noble inland bay, or frith rather, (the bay of Cromarty,) with a little, clear stream on the one side, and a thick fir wood on the other. It had been opened in the old red sandstone of the district, and was overtopped by a huge bank of diluvial clay, and which rose over it in some places to the height of nearly thirty feet.”—*Old Red Sandstone*, p. 4.

After removing the loose fragments below, picks and wedges and levers were applied in vain by our author and his brother workmen to tear up and remove the huge strata beneath. Blasting by gunpowder became necessary. A mass of the diluvial clay came tumbling down, “bearing with it two dead birds, that in a recent storm had crept into one of the deeper fissures to die in the shelter.” While admiring the pretty cock goldfinch, and the light-blue and grayish-yellow woodpecker, and moralizing on their fate, the workmen were ordered to lay aside their tools, and thus ended the first day’s labour of our young geologist. The sun was then sinking behind the thick fir wood behind him, and the long dark shadows of the trees stretching to the shore. Notwithstanding his blistered hands, and the fatigue which blistered them, he found himself next morning as light of heart as his fellow-labourers, and able to enjoy the magnificent scenery around him, which he thus so beautifully describes :—

“There had been a smart frost during the night, and the rime lay white on the grass as we passed onwards through the fields, but the sun rose in a clear atmosphere, and the day mellowed as it advanced into one of those delightful days of early spring, which give so pleasing an earnest of whatever is mild and genial in the better half of the year. All the workmen rested at midday, and I went to enjoy my half hour alone on a mossy knoll in the neighbouring wood, which commands through the trees a wide prospect of the bay and the opposite shore. There was not a wrinkle on the water nor a cloud in the sky, and the branches were as moveless in the calm as if they had been traced on canvass. From a wooded promontory that stretched half way across the frith, there ascended a thin column of smoke. It rose straight on the line of a plummet for more than a thousand yards, and then as reaching a thinner stratum of air, spread out equally on every side like the foliage of a stately tree. Ben Wevis rose to the west white with the yet unwasted snows of winter, and as sharply defined in the clear atmosphere as if all its sunny slopes and blue retiring hollows had been chiselled in marble. A line of snow ran along the opposite hills ; all above was white and all below was purple.”—*Old Red Sandstone*, pp. 6, 7.

In raising from its bed the large mass of strata which the gunpowder had loosened, on the surface of the solid stone, our young quarrier descried the ridged and furrowed ripple marks which the tide leaves upon every sandy shore, and he wondered what had become of the waves that had thus fretted the solid rock—and of what element they had been composed. His admiration was equally excited by a circular depression in the sandstone, “broken and flawed in every direction, as if it had been the bottom of a pool recently dried up, which had shrunk and split in the hardening.” And before the day closed, a series of large stones had rolled down from the clay, “all rounded and water-worn as if they had been tossed in the sea or the bed of a river for hundreds of years.” Was the clay which enclosed them created on the rock upon which it lay? No workman ever manufactures a half-worn article!—were the ejaculations of the geologist at his alphabet.

Our author and his companions were soon removed to an easier wrought quarry, and one more pregnant with interest, which had been opened “in a lofty wall of cliffs that overhangs the northern shore of the Moray Frith.” Here the geology of the district exhibited itself in section.

“We see in one place the primary rock, with its veins of granite and quartz—its dizzy precipices of gneiss, and its huge masses of hornblende; we find the secondary rock in another, with its bed of sandstone and shale—its spars, its clays, and its nodular limestones. We discover the still little known but highly interesting fossils of the Old Red Sandstone in one deposition—we find the beautifully preserved shells and lignites of the lias in another. There are the remains of two several creations at once before us. The shore, too, is heaped with rolled fragments of almost every variety of rock—basalts, ironstones, hypersthene, porphyries, bituminous shales, and micaceous schists. In short, the young geologist, had he all Europe before him, could hardly choose for himself a better field. I had, however, no one to tell me so at the time, for geology had not yet travelled so far north; and so without guide or vocabulary, I had to grope my way as I best might, and find out all its wonders for myself. But so slow was the process, and so much was I a seeker in the dark, that the facts contained in these few sentences, were the patient gatherings of years.”—*Old Red Sandstone*, pp. 9, 10.

In this rich field of inquiry, our author encountered, almost daily, new objects of wonder and instruction. In one nodular mass of limestone he found the beautiful ammonite, like one of the finely sculptured volutes of an Ionic capital. Within others, fish-scales and bivalve shells, and in the centre of another he detected a piece of decayed wood. Upon quitting the quarry for the building upon which the workmen were to be employed,

the workmen received half a holiday, and our young philosopher devoted this valuable interval to search for certain curiously shaped stones, which one of the quarriers told him resembled the heads of boarding-pikes, and which, under the name of *thunder-bolts*, were held to be a sovereign remedy for cattle that had been bewitched. On the shore two miles off, where he expected these remarkable bodies, he found deposits quite different either from the sandstone cliffs or the primary rocks farther to the west. They consisted of "thin strata of limestone, alternating with thicker beds of a black slaty substance," which burned with a bright flame and a bituminous odour. Though only the eighth part of an inch thick, each layer contained thousands of fossils peculiar to the lias,—scallops and gryphites, ammonites, twigs and leaves of plants, cones of pine, pieces of charcoal, and scales of fishes, the impressions being of a chalky whiteness, contrasting strikingly with their black bituminous lair. Among these fragments of animal and vegetable life, he at last detected his *thunder-bolt* in the form of a Belemnite, the remains of a variety of cuttle-fish long since extinct.

In the exercise of his profession, which "was a wandering one," our author advanced steadily, though slowly and surely, in his geological acquirements.

"I remember," says he, "passing direct on one occasion from the wild western coast of Ross-shire, where the Old Red Sandstone leans at a high angle against the prevailing quartz rock of the district, to where on the southern skirts of Mid-Lothian, the mountain limestone rises amid the coal. I have resided one season on a raised beach on the Moray Frith. I have spent the season immediately following amid the ancient granites and contorted schists of the central Highlands. In the north I have laid open by thousands the shells and lignites of the Oolite in the south: I have disinterred from their matrices of stone or of shale the huge reeds and tree ferns of the carboniferous period. * * * In the north there occurs a vast gap in the scale. The Lias leans unconformably against the Old Red Sandstone; there is no mountain limestone, no coal measures, none of the New Red Marls or Sandstones. There are at least three entire systems omitted. But the upper portion of the scale is well-nigh complete. In one locality we may pass from the Lower to the Upper Lias, in another from the Inferior to the Great Oolite, and onward to the Oxford Clay and the Coral Rag. We may explore in a third locality beds identical in their organisms with the Wealden of Sussex. In a fourth we find the flints and fossils of the chalk. The lower part of the scale is also well-nigh complete. The Old Red Sandstone is amply developed in Moray, Caithness, and Ross, and the Grauwacke very extensively in Banffshire. But to acquaint one's-self with the three missing formations—to complete one's knowledge of the entire scale by filling up the hiatus—it is necessary to remove to the south.

The geology of the Lothians is the geology of at least two-thirds of the gap, and perhaps a little more ;—the geology of Arran wants only a few of the upper beds of the New Red Sandstone to fill it entirely.”
—*Old Red Sandstone*, pp. 13-17.

After having spent nearly fifteen years in the profession of a stone-mason, Mr. Miller was promoted to a position more suited to his genius. When a bank was established in his native town of Cromarty, he received the appointment of accountant, and he was thus employed, for five years, in keeping ledgers and discounting bills. When the contest in the Church of Scotland had come to a close, by the decision of the House of Lords in the Auchterarder Case, Mr. Miller's celebrated letter to Lord Brougham* attracted the particular attention of the party which was about to leave the Establishment, and he was selected as the most competent person to conduct the *Witness* newspaper, the principal metropolitan organ of the Free Church. The great success which this journal has met with is owing, doubtless, to the fine articles, political, ecclesiastical, and geological, which Mr. Miller has written for it. In the few leisure hours which so engrossing an occupation has allowed him to enjoy, he has devoted himself to the ardent prosecution of scientific inquiries ; and we trust the time is not far distant when the liberality of his country, to which he has done so much honour, will allow him to give his whole time to the prosecution of science.

Geologists of high character had believed that the old red sandstone was defective in organic remains ; and it was not till after ten years' acquaintance with it that Mr. Miller discovered it to be *richly fossiliferous*. The labours of other ten years were required to assign to its fossils their exact place in the scale.

Among the fossils discovered by our author, the *Pterichthys* or winged fish is doubtless the most remarkable. He had disinterred it so early as 1831, but it was only in 1838 that he “introduced it to the acquaintance of geologists.” It was not till 1831 that Mr. Miller began to receive assistance in his studies from without. In the appendix to Messrs. Anderson of Inverness's admirable *Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, which “he perused with intense interest,” he found the most important information respecting the geology of the North of Scotland ; and during a correspondence with the accomplished authors of that work, many of his views were developed, and his difficulties removed. In 1838 he communicated to Dr. Malcolmson of Madras, then in Paris, a drawing and description of the *Pterichthys*. His letter was submitted to Agassiz, and subsequently a restored

* See Note on next page.

drawing was communicated to the Elgin Scientific Society. The great naturalist, as well as the members of the provincial society, were surprised at the new form of life which Mr. Miller had disclosed, and some of them, no doubt, regarded it with a sceptical eye. "Not many months after, however, a true *bona fide* *Pterichthys* was turned up in one of the newly discovered beds of Nairnshire." In his last visit to Scotland, Agassiz found six species of the *Pterichthys*, three of which, and the wings of a fourth, were in Mr. Miller's collection.

This remarkable animal has less resemblance than any other fossil of the old red sandstone to anything that now exists. When first brought to view by the single blow of a hammer, there appeared on a ground of light-coloured limestone the effigy of a creature, fashioned apparently out of jet, with a body covered with plates, two powerful looking arms articulated at the shoulders, a head as entirely lost in the trunk as that of the ray (or skate,) and a long angular tail equal in length to a third of the entire figure. Its general resemblance is to the letter T. The upper part of the vertical line being swelled out, and the lower part ending in an angular point, the two horizontal portions being, in the opinion of Agassiz, instruments of defence. To this remarkable fossil M. Agassiz has given the appropriate name of *Pterichthys Milleri*. An account of it, accompanied with two fine specimens, was communicated to the Geological Section of the British Association at Glasgow, in September 1840, and the most ample details, with accurate drawings, were afterwards published, in 1841, in Mr. Miller's first work on *The Old Red Sandstone*, which was dedicated to Sir Roderick Murchison, who was born on the Old Red Sandstone of the North, in the same district as Mr. Miller, and of whose great acquirements and distinguished labours we have already had occasion to give an ample account.* This admirable work has already passed through three editions. From the originality and accuracy of its descriptions, and the importance of the researches which it contains, it has obtained for its author a high reputation among geologists, while from the elegance and purity of its style, and the force and liveliness of its illustrations, it has received the highest praise from its more general readers.†

Although we have been obliged, from the information which it contains of our author's early studies, to mention the "Old Red Sandstone" as if it had been his first work; yet so early

* See this *Review*, vol. v. p. 178.

† Mr. Miller is the author also of *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland*, one vol. 8vo; *A Letter from one of the Scotch people to the Right Honourable Lord Brougham and Vaux, on the opinions expressed by his Lordship in the Auchterarder Case*; and *The Whiggism of the Old School, as exemplified in the Past History and Present Position of the Church of Scotland*. The second of these works is well characterized by Mr. Gladstone as "an able, elegant, and masculine production."

as 1830, after he had made his first fossil discoveries at Cromarty, he composed a paper on the subject, (his first published production,) which appeared as one of the chapters of a small legendary and descriptive work, entitled *The Traditional History of Cromarty*, which did not appear till 1835. This chapter, entitled "The Antiquary of the World," possesses a high degree of interest. After describing the scene around him in its pictorial aspect, and under the warm associations, which link it with existing life, he surveys it with the cool eye of an "antiquary of the world," studying its once buried monuments, and decyphering the alphabet of plants and animals, the hieroglyphics which embosom the history of past times and of successive creations. The gigantic Ben-Wevis, with its attendant hills, rose abruptly to the west. The distant peaks of Ben-Vaichard appeared in the south, and far to the north were described the lofty hills of Sutherland, and even the Ord-hill of Caithness. Descending from the towers of nature's lofty edifice he surveys its ruins, its broken sculptures, and its half-defaced inscriptions, as exhibited in certain Ichthyic remains of the Lower Old Red Sandstone which had then no name, and which were unknown to the most accomplished geologists. Among these he specially notices "a confused bituminous-looking mass that had much the appearance of a toad or frog," thus shadowing forth in the morning twilight the curious *Pterichthys*, which he was able afterwards, in better specimens, to exhibit in open day. As we have already referred, with some minuteness, to the fossils which our author had at this time discovered in the great charnel-house of the old world, we shall indulge our readers with a specimen of the noble sentiments which they inspired, and of the beautiful language in which these sentiments are clothed.

"But let us quit this wonderful city of the dead, with all its reclining obelisks, and all its sculptured tumuli, the memorials of a race that exist only in their tombs. And yet, ere we go, it were well, perhaps, to indulge in some of those serious thoughts which we so naturally associate with the solitary burying-ground, and the mutilated remains of the departed. Let us once more look around us, and say whether, of all men, the Geologist does not stand most in need of the Bible, however much he may condemn it in the pride of speculation. We tread on the remains of organized and sentient creatures, which, though more numerous at one period than the whole family of man, have long since ceased to exist; the individuals perished one after one—their remains served only to elevate the floor on which their descendants pursued the various instincts of their nature, and then sunk, like the others, to form a still higher layer of soil; and now that the whole race has passed from the earth, and we see the animals of a different tribe occupying their places, what survives of them but mass of inert and senseless matter, never again to be animated by

the mysterious spirit of vitality—that spirit which, dissipated in the air, or diffused in the ocean, can, like the sweet sounds and pleasant odours of the past, be neither gathered up nor recalled! And O! how dark the analogy which would lead us to anticipate a similar fate for ourselves! As individuals, we are but of yesterday; tomorrow we shall be laid in our graves, and the tread of the coming generation shall be over our heads. Nay, have we not seen a terrible disease sweep away, in a few years, more than eighty millions of the race to which we belong; and can we think of this and say, that a time may not come when, like the fossils of these beds, our whole species shall be mingled with the soil, and when, though the sun may look down in his strength on our pleasant dwellings and our green fields, there shall be silence in all our borders, and desolation in all our gates, and we shall have no thought of that past which it is now our delight to recall, and no portion in that future which it is now our very nature to anticipate. Surely it is well to believe that a widely different destiny awaits us—that the God who endowed us with those wonderful powers, which enable us to live in every departed era, every coming period, has given us to possess these powers for ever; that not only does he number the hairs of our heads, but that his cares are extended to even our very remains; that our very bones, instead of being left, like the exuviae around us, to form the rocks and clays of a future world, shall, like those in the valley of vision, be again clothed with muscle and sinew, and that our bodies, animated by the warmth and vigour of life, shall again connect our souls to the matter existing around us, and be obedient to every impulse of the will. It is surely no time, when we walk amid the dark cemeteries of a departed world, and see the cold blank shadows of the tombs falling drearily athwart the way—it is surely no time to extinguish the light given us to shine so fully and so cheerfully on our own proper path, merely because its beams do not enlighten the recesses that yawn around us. And oh! what more unworthy of reasonable men than to reject so consoling a revelation on no juster quarrel, than that when it unveils to us much of what could not otherwise be known, and without the knowledge of which we could not be other than unhappy, it leaves to the invigorating exercises of our own powers, whatever, in the wide circle of creation, lies fully within their grasp."—*The Antiquary of the World*, pp. 56-58.

The next work published by Mr. Miller was entitled "*First Impressions of England and its People*,"* a popular and interesting volume, which has already gone through two editions, and which may be read with equal interest by the geologist, the philanthropist, and the general reader. It is full of knowledge and of anecdote, and is written in that attractive style which commands the attention even of the most incurious readers.

This delightful work, though only in *one* volume is equal to *three* of the ordinary type, and cannot fail to be perused with

* London, 1847, pp. 409.

high gratification by all classes of readers. It treats of every subject which is presented to the notice of an accomplished traveller while he visits the great cities and romantic localities of merry England. We know of no tour in England written by a native in which so much pleasant reading and substantial instruction are combined; and though we are occasionally stopped in a very delightful locality by a precipice of the Old Red Sandstone, or frightened by a disinterred skeleton, or sobered by the burial-service over Palæozoic graves, we soon recover our equanimity, and again enter upon the sunny path to which our author never fails to restore us.

Mr. Miller's new work, which we propose at present to analyze, the "*Footprints of the Creator*," is very appropriately dedicated to Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Bart., M.P. for Cheshire—a gentleman who possesses a magnificent collection of fossils, and whose skill and acquirements in this department of geology is known and appreciated both in Europe and America. The work itself is divided into fifteen chapters, in which the author treats of the fossil geology of the Orkneys as exhibited in the vicinity of Stromness; of the development hypothesis, and its consequences; of the history and structure of that remarkable fish, the *asterolepis*; of the fishes of the upper and lower Silurian rocks; of the progress of degradation, and its history; of the Lamarckian hypothesis of the origin of plants, and its consequences; of the Marine and Terrestrial floras; and of final causes, and their bearing on geological history. In the course of these chapters Mr. Miller discusses the development hypothesis or the hypothesis of natural law, as maintained by Lamarck, and by the author of the *Vestiges of Creation*, and has subjected it, in its geological aspect, to the most rigorous examination. Driven by the discoveries of Lord Rosse from the domains of astronomy, where it once seemed to hold a plausible position, it might have lingered with the appearance of life among the ambiguities of the Palæozoic formations; but Mr. Miller has, with an ingenuity and patience worthy of a better subject, stripped it even of its semblance of truth, and restored to the Creator, as Governor of the universe, that power and those functions which he was supposed to have resigned at its birth.

Having imposed upon himself the task of examining in detail the various fossiliferous formations of Scotland, our author extended his inquiries into the mainland of Orkney, and resided for some time in the vicinity of the busy seaport town of Stromness, as a central point from which the structure of the Orkney group of islands could be most advantageously studied. Like that of Caithness, the geology of these islands owes its principal interest to the immense development of the lower old red sandstone formation,

and to the singular abundance of its vertebrate fossils. Though the Orkneys contain only the *third* part of the old red sandstone, which, but a few years ago, was supposed to be the least productive in fossils of any of the geological formations, yet it furnishes, according to Mr. Miller, more fossil fish than *every* other geological system in England, Scotland, and Wales, from the coal measures to the chalk, inclusive. It is, in short, "*the land of fish*," and "could supply with ichthyolites, by the ton and by the ship-load, the museums of the world." Its various deposits, with the curious organisms which they inclose, have been upheaved from their original position against a granitic axis, about six miles long and one broad, "forming the great back-bone of the western district of the Island Pomona; and on this granitic axis, fast jambed in between a steep hill and the sea, stands the town of Stromness."

The mass or pile of strata thus uplifted is described by Mr. Miller as a three-barred pyramid resting on its granite base, exhibiting three broad tiers—red, black, and gray—sculptured with the hieroglyphics in which its history is recorded. The great conglomerate base on which it rests, covering from 10,000 to 15,000 square miles, from the depth of from 100 to 400 feet, consists of rough sand and water-worn pebbles, and above this have been deposited successive strata of mud, equal in height to the highest of our mountains, now containing the remains of millions and tens of millions of fish which had perished in some sudden and mysterious catastrophe.

"It would seem," says Mr. Miller, "as if a period equal to that in which all human history is comprised, might be cut out of a corner of the period represented by the Lower Old Red Sandstone, and be scarce missed when away. For every year that man has lived upon earth, it is not improbable that the *Pterichthys* and its contemporaries may have lived a century. Their last hour, however, at length came. Over the dark-coloured ichthyolitic schists, so immensely developed in Caithness and Orkney, there occurs a pale tinted unfossiliferous sandstone, which, in the island of Hoy, rises into hills of from 1400 to 1600 feet; and among the organisms of those newer formations of the old red, which overlie their deposit, not a species of Ichthyolite identical with the species entombed in the lower schists has yet been detected. In the blank interval which the arenaceous deposits represents, tribes and families perished and disappeared, leaving none of their race to succeed them, that other tribes and families might be called into being, and fall into their vacant places, in the onward march of creation."—*Footprints, &c.* p. 5.

In the examination of the different beds of the three barred formation, our author discovered a well-marked bone, like a petrified large roofing nail, in a grayish coloured layer of hard

flag, about 100 yards over the granite, and about 160 feet over the upper stratum of the conglomerate. This singular bone, which Mr. Miller has represented in a figure, was probably the oldest vertebrate organism yet discovered in Orkney. It was $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the head, and 3-10ths of an inch thick in the stem, and formed a characteristic feature of the *asterolepis*, as yet the most gigantic of the ganoid fishes, and probably one of the first of the old red sandstone. In his former researches our author had found, that all of the many hundred *ichthyolites*, which he had disinterred from the lower old red sandstone, were comparatively of a small size, while those in the upper old red were of great bulk, and hence he had naturally inferred, that vertebrate life had increased towards the close of the system—that, in short, it began with an age of dwarfs, and ended with an age of giants; but he had thus greatly erred, like the supporters of the development system, in founding positive conclusions on merely negative evidence; for here, at the very base of the system, where no dwarfs were to be found, he had discovered one of the most colossal of its giants.

After this most important discovery, Mr. Miller extended his inquiries easterly for several miles along the bare and unwooded lake of Stennis, about fourteen miles in circumference, and divided into an upper and lower sheet of water by two long promontories jutting out from each side and nearly meeting in the middle. The sea enters this lake through the openings of a long rustic bridge, and hence the lower division of the lake “is salt in its nether reaches, and brackish in its upper ones, while the higher division is merely brackish in its nether reaches, and fresh enough in its upper ones to be potable.” The fauna and flora of the lake are therefore of a mixed character, the marine and fresh water animals having each their own reaches, though each kind makes certain encroachments on the province of the other.

“The common fresh-water eel, for example, strikes out farthest into the sea-water; in which, indeed, reversing the habits of the salmon, it is known, in various places, to deposit its spawn. It seeks too, impatient of a low temperature, to escape from the cold of winter, by taking refuge in water brackish enough, in a climate such as ours, to resist the influence of frost. Of the marine fish, on the other hand, I found that the flounder got greatly higher than any of the others, inhabiting reaches of the lake almost entirely fresh. I have had an opportunity of elsewhere observing a curious change which fresh water induces in this fish. In the brackish water of an estuary, the animal becomes, without diminishing in general size, thicker and more fleshy than when in its legitimate habitat the sea: but the flesh loses in quality what it gains in quantity;—it grows

flabby and insipid, and the margin fin lacks always its strip of transparent fat."—*Footprints*, &c. p. 10.

In the marine and lacustrine floras of the lake, Mr. Miller observed changes still more palpable. At the entrance of the sea the *Fucus nodosus* and *Fucus vesiculosus* flourish in their proper form and magnitude. A little farther on in the lake the *F. nodosus* disappears, and the *F. vesiculosus*, though continuing to exist for mile after mile, grows dwarfish and stunted, and finally disappears, giving place to rushes and other aquatic grasses, till the lacustrine has entirely displaced the marine flora. From these two important facts, the existence of the fragment of *asterolepis* in the lower flagstones of the Orkneys, and of the "curiously mixed semi-marine semi-lacustrine vegetation in the loch of Stennis," which our author regards as bearing directly on the development hypothesis, he takes occasion to submit that hypothesis to a severe examination, and to point out its consequences—its incompatibility with the great truths of morality and revealed religion. According to Professor Oken, one of the ablest supporters of the development theory, "There are two kinds of generation in the world, the creation proper, and the propagation that is sequent thereon, or the *original and secondary generation*. Consequently no organism has been created of larger size than an infusorial point. No organism is, or ever has been created, which is not microscopic. Whatever is large has not been created, but developed. Man has not been created, but developed." Hence it follows that during the great geological period, when race after race was destroyed, and new forms of life called into being, "nature had been pregnant with the human race," and that immortal and intellectual Man is but the development of the Brute—itsself the development of some monad or mollusc, which has been smitten into life by the action of electricity upon a portion of gelatinous matter.

We have discussed this important subject so fully, both in its astronomical and its geological aspect, in a review of the *Vestiges of the History of Creation*, and of the "Explanations" of the doctrines contained in that work in reply to the reviews of it, that we shall content ourselves with laying before our readers a notice of Mr. Miller's argument.

After shewing that this theory is not atheistic, though practically tantamount to atheism, from its antagonism both to natural and revealed religion, Mr. Miller proceeds to consider what the testimony of geology really is on the question of creation by development. The importance of such an inquiry cannot be overestimated, and when we consider that the battle between faith and reason has been already fought on metaphysical

ground, and must be again waged on the field of physics and natural science, it becomes the duty of our universities and their patrons to supply the students of our evangelistic churches with that species of instruction which will enable them successfully to contend with the accomplished and unscrupulous adversaries who are marshalled against their faith.*

"In that educational course," says Mr. Miller, "through which in this country, candidates for the ministry pass in preparation for their office, I find every group of great minds, which has in turn influenced and directed the mind of Europe for the last three centuries, represented more or less adequately save the last (the naturalists.) It is an epitome of all kinds of learning, *with the exception of the kind most imperatively required*, because most in accordance with the genius of the time. The restorers of classic literature,—the Buchanans and Erasmuses—we see represented in our Universities by the Greek, and what are termed the Humanity courses;—the Galileos, Boyles, and Newtons, by the mathematical and natural philosophy courses; and the Lockes, Kants, Humes, and Berkeleys, by the metaphysical course. But the Cuviers, the Huttons, the Cavendishes, and the Watts, with their successors, the practical philosophers of the present age,—men whose achievements in physical science we find marked on the surface of the country, in characters which might be read from the moon,—are not adequately represented;—it would perhaps be more correct to say that they are not represented at all; and the clergy, as a class, suffer themselves to linger far in the rear of an intelligent and accomplished laity,—a full age behind the requirements of the time."—*Footprints, &c.*, pp. 20, 21.

If the development theory be true, "the early fossils ought to be very small in size," and "very low in organisation." In the earliest strata we ought to find only "mere *embryos* and *fœtuses*, and if we find instead the *full-grown* and *mature*, then must we hold that the testimony of geology is not only *not in accordance* with the theory, but in positive opposition to it." Having laid this down as the *principle* by which the question is to be decided, our author proceeds to consider "what are the *facts*." The *astrolepis* of Stromness *seems* to be the oldest organism yet discovered in the most ancient geological system of Scotland, in which vertebrate remains occur. It is probably the oldest of the *Ganoid* division of fishes that the world has yet produced, for there is no certain trace of this order in the great Silurian system, which lies underneath, and on which, according to our existing knowledge, organic existence first began. "How then," asks Mr. Miller, "on the two relevant points—bulk and organisation—does it answer to the demands of the development hypothesis? Was it a mere fœtus of the finny tribe, of minute size

* See this *Review*, vol. iii. p. 506.

and imperfect embryotic faculty? Or was it of, at least, the ordinary bulk, and, for its class, of the average organisation?"

In order to answer these questions, Mr. Miller proceeds in his *third* chapter to give the recent history of the *asterolepis*; in his *fourth*, to ascertain the cerebral development of the earlier vertebrata; and in his *fifth* chapter to describe the structure, bulk, and aspect of the *asterolepis*. In the rocks of Russia certain fossil remains had been long ago discovered, of such a singular nature as to have perplexed Lamarck and other naturalists. Their true place among fishes was subsequently ascertained by M. Eichwald, a living fisher; and Sir Roderick Murchison found that they were *Ichthyolites* of the Old Red Sandstone. Agassiz gave them the name of *chelonichthys*, but in consequence of very fine specimens having been found in the Old Red Sandstone of Russia, which Professor Asmus of Dorpat sent to the British Museum, and which exhibited star-like markings, he abandoned his name of *chelonichthys*, and adopted that of *asterolepis*, or star-scale, which Eichwald had proposed. Many points, however, respecting this curious fossil remained to be determined, and it was fortunate for science that Mr. Miller was enabled to accomplish this object by means of a variety of excellent specimens which he received from Mr. Robert Dick, "an intelligent tradesman of Thurso, one of those working men of Scotland, of active curiosity and well developed intellect, that give character and standing to the rest." Agassiz had inferred from very imperfect fragments, that the *asterolepis* was a strongly helmed fish of the *Celacanth*, or hollow spine family—that it was probably a flat-headed animal, and that the discovery of a head or of a jaw might prove that it belonged to genus *Dendrodus*. All these conjectures were completely confirmed by Mr. Miller, after a careful examination of the specimens of Mr. Dick.

Before proceeding to describe the structure of the gigantic *asterolepis*, Mr. Miller devotes a long and elaborate chapter to the subject of the cerebral development of the earlier vertebrata, in order to ascertain in what manner their true brains were lodged, and to discover the modification which the cranium, as their protecting box, received in subsequent periods. This inquiry, which he has conducted with great skill and ability, is not only highly interesting in itself, but will be found to have a direct bearing on the great question which it is his object to discuss and decide. It would be in vain, without diagrams, to attempt to give the general reader any idea of the structures described in this chapter. It may be sufficient to state it as the general result of his investigation, "that all the existing evidence conspires to show that the *placoid* heads of the Silurian system were like the *placoid* heads of the recent period mere cartilaginous boxes, and

that in the succeeding system there existed ganoidal heads, that to the internal cartilaginous box added external plates of bone,—the homologues apparently of the opercular, maxillary, frontal, and occipital bones in the osseous fishes of a long posterior period,—fishes that were not ushered upon the scene until after the appearance of the reptile in its highest forms, and of even the marsupial quadruped.”

The facts and reasonings contained in this chapter will, we doubt not, shake to its very base the bold theory of Professor Oken, which has been so generally received abroad, and which is beginning to find supporters even among the solid thinkers of our own country. In the *Isis* of 1818, Professor Lorenz Oken has given the following account of the hypothesis to which we allude. “In August 1806,” says he, “I made a journey over the Hartz. I slid down through the wood on the south side, and straight before me at my very feet lay a most beautiful blanché skull of a hind. I picked it up, turned it round, regarded it intensely;—the thing was done. ‘It is a vertebral column,’ struck me like a flood of lightning, ‘to the marrow and bone,’ and since that time the skull has been regarded as a vertebral column.”*

This remarkable hypothesis was at first received with enthusiasm by the naturalists of Germany, and among others, by Agassiz, who, from grounds not of a geological kind, has more recently rejected it. It has been adopted by our distinguished countryman, Professor Owen, and forms the central idea in his lately published and ingenious work “On the Nature of Limbs.” The conclusion at which he arrives, that the fore-limbs of the vertebrata are the ribs of the occipital bone or vertebra set free, and (in all the vertebrata higher in the scale than the ordinary fishes) carried down along the vertebral column by a sort of natural dislocation, is a deduction from the idea that startled Professor Oken in the forest of the Hartz. Whatever support this hypothesis might have expected from geology, has been struck from beneath it by this remarkable chapter of Mr. Miller’s work; and though anatomists may for a while maintain it under the influence of so high an authority as Professor Owen, we are much mistaken if it ever forms a part of the creed of the geologist. Mr. Miller indeed has, by a most skilful examination of the heads of the earliest vertebrata known to geologists, proved that the hypothesis derives no support from the structure which they exhibit, and Agassiz has even upon general principles rejected it as untenable.

* These cranial vertebrae, which are few in number, are said to correspond to the four senses; the nasal, ocular, lingual, and auditory vertebrae, each having their spinal processes and ribs.

"It is certain, says he, that organized bodies are sometimes endowed with virtual qualities, which, at a certain period of the being's life, elude dissection, and all our means of investigation. It is thus, that at the moment of their origin, the eggs of all animals have such a resemblance to each other, that it would be impossible to distinguish, even by the aid of the most powerful microscope, the ovarial egg of a crawfish, for example, from that of true fish. And yet who would deny that beings, in every respect different from each other, exist in these eggs? It is precisely because the difference manifests itself at a later period, in proportion as the embryo develops itself, that we were authorized to conclude, that even from the earliest period the eggs were different; that each had virtual qualities proper to itself, although they could not be discovered by our senses. If, on the contrary, any one should find two eggs perfectly alike, and should observe two beings perfectly identical issue from them, he would greatly err if he ascribed to these eggs different virtual qualities. It is therefore necessary, in order to be in a condition to suppose that virtual properties peculiar to it are concealed in an animal, that these properties should manifest themselves once, in some phase or other, of its development. Now, applying this principle to the theory of cranial vertebrae, we would say that if these vertebrae virtually exist in the adult, they must needs show themselves in reality at a certain period of development. If, on the contrary, they are found neither in the embryo nor in the adult, I am of opinion that we are entitled likewise to dispute their virtual existence."—Agassiz, *cited in Footprints, &c.*, p. 177, *note*.

Agassiz then goes on to answer, which he does in a very satisfactory manner, an objection drawn from the physiological value of the vertebrae, the function of which is to support the muscular contractions, and to protect the centres of the nervous system; but our limits will not permit us to follow him into the details of his argument.

Mr. Miller's next chapter on the structure, bulk, and aspect of the *Asterolepis*, is like that which precedes it, the work of a master, evincing the highest powers of observation and analysis. We cannot, of course, convey to our readers any idea of this remarkable fish. Its size in the larger specimens must have been very great; and from a comparison of the proportion of the head in the ganoids to the length of the body, which is sometimes as one to five, or one to six, or one to six and a-half, or even one to seven, our author concludes that the total length of the specimens in his possession must have been at least eight feet three inches, or from nine feet nine to nine feet ten inches. The remains of an *asterolepis* found by Mr. Dick at Thurso, indicate a length of from twelve feet five to thirteen feet eight inches; and one of the Russian specimens of Professor Asmus, must have been from eighteen to twenty-three feet long. "Hence," says Mr. Miller, "in the not unimportant circumstance

of size—the most ancient ganoids, yet known, instead of taking their places agreeably to the demands of the development hypothesis among the sprats, sticklebacks, and minnows of their class, took their place among its huge basking sharks, gigantic sturgeons, and bulky swordfishes. They were giants, not dwarfs." Judging by the analogies which its structure exhibits to that of fishes of the existing period, the *asterolepis* must have been a fish high in the scale of organization.

"Instead of being, as the development hypothesis would require, a fish low in its organization, it seems to have ranged on the level of the highest ichthyic-reptilian families ever called into existence. Had an intelligent being, ignorant of what was going on upon earth during the week of creation, visited Eden on the morning of the sixth day, he would have found in it many of the inferior animals, but no trace of man. Had he returned again in the evening, he would have seen, installed in the office of keepers of the garden, and ruling with no tyrant sway as the humble monarchs of its brute inhabitants, two mature human creatures, perfect in their organization, and arrived at the full stature of their race. The entire evidence regarding them, in the absence of all such information as that imparted to Adam by Milton's angel, would amount simply to this, that in the morning man *was not*; and that in the evening, he *was*. There, of course, could not exist in the circumstances a single appearance to sanction the belief, that the two human creatures whom he saw walking together among the trees at sunset, had been 'developed from infusorial points,' not created mature. The evidence would, on the contrary, lie all the other way. And in no degree does the geologic testimony, respecting the earliest ganoids, differ from what, in the supposed case, would be the testimony of Eden, regarding the earliest men. Up to a certain point in the geologic scale, we find that the ganoids *are not*; and when they at length make their appearance upon the stage, they enter large in their stature, and high in their organization."—*Footprints, &c.*, pp. 104, 105.

A specimen of *asterolepis*, discovered by Mr. Dick, among the Thurso rocks, and sent to Mr. Miller, exhibited the singular phenomenon of a quantity of thick tar lying beneath it, which stuck to the fingers when lifting the pieces of rock. "What had been once the nerves, muscles, and blood of this ancient ganoid, still lay under its bones," a phenomenon which our author had previously seen beneath the body of a poor suicide, whose grave in a sandy bank had been laid open by the encroachments of a river, the sand beneath it having been "consolidated into a dark coloured pitchy mass," extending a full yard beneath the body. In like manner, the animal juices of the *asterolepis* had preserved its remains, by "the pervading bitumen, greatly more conservative in its effects than the oil and gum of an old Egyptian undertaker." The bones, though black as pitch, retained to a considerable degree the peculiar qualities of the original sub-

stance, in the same manner as the adipocire of wet burying-grounds preserves fresh and green the bones which it encloses.

In support of his anti-development views, Mr. Miller devotes his next and *sixth* chapter to the recent history, order, and size, of the fishes of the upper and lower Silurian rocks. Some of our readers will recollect that, in our review of the *Vestiges of Creation*, and of the Explanations which the author of that work afterwards published as a sequel to it, we discussed, at great length, the question, whether or not fishes existed so low as the lower Silurian. We maintained, on the authority of Sir Henry de la Beche, Sir Charles Lyell, and others, that they were found there; and recent discoveries have more than confirmed this fact, for they have been found in still more ancient rocks. In 1845, when these Articles were composed, Sir Henry de la Beche wrote, that even if they were not then discovered in the lower Silurian rocks, they would very soon be discovered, and accordingly, at the very time he was committing this sentiment to paper, the Defensive spines of fishes were detected lower down in the upper Silurian, in 1845, by Professor Sedgwick; in the Wenlock limestone, in 1846, by Professor Silliman, and in the same formation by Professor Phillips. Professor Sedgwick, in 1847, discovered fish defences in the Llandeilo flags, in the *lower Silurian*; and to place it beyond a doubt that vertebrate animals are found in the oldest formations, the gentlemen of the Government Survey discovered a defensive spine of *Onchus*, in the limestone near Bala, which forms the upper bed of the Cambrian system of Murchison and Sedgwick. These facts and dates have been given by Mr. Miller in a diagram. They may be thus exhibited—

<i>Upper Silurian Rocks.</i>	Date of the Discovery of Fishes.	Discoverer.
Upper Ludlow,	1838,	Sir R. Murchison.
Amestry Limestone,	1842,	Professor Phillips.
Lower Ludlow,		
Wenlock Shale,	1847,	Professor Phillips.
Wenlock Limestone,	{ 1845,	Professor Sedgwick.
	{ 1846,	Professor Silliman.
<i>Lower Silurian Rocks.</i>		
Caradoc Sandstone, &c.		
Llandeilo Flags,	1847,	Professor Sedgwick.
<i>Cambrian Rocks.</i>		
Plynlimmon Group,		
Bala Limestone,	1847,	{ Geologists of the Go- vernment Survey.
Snowdon Group, with Fucoids.		

Of these ancient formations the bone bed of the upper Ludlow rocks is the only one which, besides defensive spines of fish, contains teeth, fragments of jaws, and shagreen points,

whereas, in the inferior deposits, defensive spines alone are found. The species discovered by Professor Phillips, in the Wenlock shale, were microscopic, and the author of the *Vestiges* took advantage of this insulated fact to support his views, by pronouncing the little creatures to which the species belonged, as the foetal embryos of their class. Mr. Miller has, however, even on this ground, defeated his opponent. By comparing the defensive spines of the *Onchus Murchisoni* of the upper Ludlow bed, with those of a recent *Spinax Acanthias*, or dog-fish, and of the *Cestracion Phillippi*, or Port Jackson shark, he arrives at the conclusion, that the fishes to which the species belonged must be all of considerable size; and in the following chapter on the high standing of the Placoids, he shews that the same early fishes were high in intelligence and organization. Professor Sedgwick had maintained, that the Silurian placoids were the very highest types of their class, taking into account their brain, and the whole nervous, circulating, and generative system. In reply to this opinion, the author of the *Vestiges*, in his Explanations, asserts that Linnaeus ranked these fishes as low as worms; and he states that the placoids have a cartilaginous structure, indicative of the embryotic state of vertebrated animals, and that what Professor Sedgwick calls "the highest types of their class," were in reality a separate series of that class generally inferior, taking the leading features of organization and structure as a criterion, but stretching farther, both downward and upward, than the other series, when details of organization are considered. He considers also the finning of the tails on the under side only, and the position of the mouth on the under side of the head, as a mean and embryotic feature of structure. Mr. Miller regards this as an ingenious piece of special pleading, and he accordingly examines it in detail. He shows that we must determine points of precedence among animals by the development of brain, and not bone, and he proves from the brain of the Silurian placoids, their instincts and their frame-work, that they were fishes of a high order. With regard to the finning of the tail, which is embryotic in the salmon, Mr. Miller shows that this structure, when found in the mature placoid, is a greater proof of a high standing than a low one; and after describing the placoid tail, and the placoid cranium and mouth, which are alleged to be embryotic, he concludes that embryotic peculiarities are not necessarily of a low order.

In his ninth chapter on the *History and Progress of Degradation*, our author enters upon a new and interesting subject. The object of it is to determine the proper ground on which the standing of the earlier vertebrata should be decided, namely, the test of what he terms homological symmetry of organization.

In nature there are monster families, just as there are in families monster individuals—men without feet, hands, or eyes, or with them in a wrong place—sheep with legs growing from their necks, ducklings with wings on their haunches, and dogs and cats with more legs than they require. We have thus, according to our author—1, *monstrosity through defect of parts*; 2, *monstrosity through redundancy of parts*; and 3, *monstrosity through displacement of parts*. This last species, united in some cases with the other two, our author finds curiously exemplified in the geological history of the fish, which he considers better known than that of any other division of the vertebrata; and he is convinced that it is from a survey of the progress of degradation in the great Ichthyic division, that the standing of the kingly fishes of the earlier periods is to be determined.

In the earliest vertebrate period, namely, the Silurian, our author shews that the fishes were homologically symmetrical in their organisation, as exhibited in the Placoids. In the second great Ichthyic period, that of the Old Red Sandstone, he finds the first example in the class of fishes of *monstrosity, by displacement of parts*. In all the ganoids of the period, there is the same departure from symmetry as would take place in man if his neck was annihilated, and the arms stuck to the back of the head. In the *Cocosteus* and *Pterichthys* of the same period, he finds the first example of *degradation through defect*, the former resembling a human monster without hands, and the latter one without feet. After ages and centuries have passed away, and then after the termination of the Palæozoic period, a change takes place in the form of the fish tail. “Other ages and centuries pass away, during which the reptile class attains to its fullest development in point of size, organisation, and number, and then after the times of the cretaceous deposits have begun, we find yet another remarkable monstrosity of displacement introduced among all the fishes of one very numerous order, and among no inconsiderable proportion of the fishes of another. In the newly introduced Otenoids (*Acanthopterygii*), and in those families of the Cycloids, which Cuvier erected into the order *Malacopterygii sub-brachiati*, the hinder limbs are brought forward and stuck on to the base of the previously misplaced fore limbs. All the four limbs, by a strange monstrosity of displacement, are crowded into the place of the extinguished neck. And such in the present day, is the prevalent type among fishes. Monstrosity through defect is also found to increase; so that the snake-like *apoda*, or feet-wanting fishes, form a numerous order, some of whose genera are devoid, as in the common eels and the congers, of only the hinder limbs, while in others, as in the genera *Muraena* and *Synbranchus*, both hinder and fore-limbs are wanting.” From these

and other facts, our author concludes that as in existing fishes, we find many more proofs of the monstrosity, both from displacement and defect of parts, than in all the other three classes of the vertebrata, and as these monstrosities did not appear early but late, "the progress of the race as a whole, though it still retains not a few of the higher forms, has been a progress not of development from the low to the high, but of degradation from the high to the low." An extreme example of the degradation of distortion, superadded to that of displacement, may be seen in the flounder, plaice, halibut or turbot,—fishes of a family of which there is no trace in the earlier period. The creature is twisted half round and laid on its side. The tail, too, is horizontal. Half the features of its head are twisted to one side, and the other half to the other, while its wry mouth is in keeping with its squint eyes. One jaw is straight, and the other like a bow; and while the one contains from *four* to *six* teeth, the other contains from *thirty* to *thirty-five*.

Aided by facts like these, an ingenious theorist might, as our author remarks, "get up as unexceptionable a theory of degradation as of development." But however this may be, the principle of degradation actually exists, and "the history of its progress in creation bears directly against the assumption that the earlier vertebrata were of a lower type than the vertebrata of the same Ichthyic class which exist now." This interesting chapter is concluded with the following observations:—

"This fact of degradation, strangely indicated in geologic history, with reference to all the greater divisions of the animal kingdom, has often appeared to me a surpassingly wonderful one. We can see but imperfectly, in those twilight depths to which all such subjects necessarily belong; and yet at times enough does appear to show us what a very superficial thing infidelity may be. The general advance in creation has been incalculably great. The lower divisions of the vertebrata preceded the higher; the fish preceded the reptile, the reptile preceded the bird, the bird preceded the mammiferous quadruped, and the mammiferous quadruped preceded man. And yet, is there one of these great divisions in which, in at least some prominent feature, the present, through this mysterious element of degradation, is not inferior to the past? There was a time in which the ichthyic form constituted the highest example of life; but the seas during that period did not swarm with fish of the degraded type. There was, in like manner, a time when all the carnivora and all the herbivorous quadrupeds were represented by reptiles; but there are no such magnificent reptiles on the earth now as reigned over it then. There was an after time, when birds seem to have been the sole representatives of the warm-blooded animals; but we find, from the prints of their feet left in sandstone, that the tallest men might have

'Walked under their huge legs, and peep'd about.'

Further, there was an age when the quadrupedal mammals were the magnates of creation; but it was an age in which the sagacious elephant, now extinct, save in the comparatively small Asiatic and African circles, and restricted to two species, was the inhabitant of every country of the Old World, from its southern extremity to the frozen shores of the northern ocean; and when vast herds of a closely allied and equally colossal genus occupied its place in the New. And now, in the times of the high-placed human dynasty,—of those formally delegated monarchs of creation, whose nature it is to look behind them upon the past, and before them, with mingled fear and hope, upon the future,—do we not as certainly see the elements of a state of ever-sinking degradation, which is to exist for ever, as of a state of ever-increasing perfectibility, to which there is to be no end? Nay, of a higher race, of which we know but little, this much we at least know, that they long since separated into two great classes,—that of the ‘elect angels,’ and of ‘angels that kept not their first estate.’”—*Footprints, &c.*; pp. 176-180.

In his next and *tenth* chapter, our author controverts with his usual power the argument in favour of the development hypothesis, drawn from the predominance of the Brachipods among the Silurian Molluscs. The existence of the highly organized cephalopods,* in the same formation, not only neutralizes this argument, but authorizes the conclusion that an animal of a very high order of organisation existed in the earliest formation. It is of no consequence whether the cephalopods, or the brachipods, were most numerous. Had there been only one cuttle fish in the Silurian seas, and a million of brachipods, the fact would equally have overturned the development system.

In the same chapter, Mr. Miller treats of the geological history of the Fossil flora, which has been pressed into the service of the development hypothesis. On the authority of Adolphe Brogniart, it was maintained that previous to the age of the Lias, “Nature had failed to achieve a tree—and that the rich vegetation of the coal measures had been exclusively composed of magnificent immaturities of the vegetable kingdom, of gigantic ferns and club mosses, that attained to the size of forest trees, and of thickets of the swamp-loving horse-tail family of plants.” True exogenous trees, however, do exist of vast size, and in great numbers, in all the coal-fields of our own country, as has been proved by Mr. Miller. Nay, he himself discovered in the Old Red Sandstone, *Lignite*, which is proved to have formed part of a true gymnospermous tree, represented by the pines of Europe and America, or more probably, as Mr. Miller believes, by the Araucarians of Chili and New Zealand. This important discovery is pregnant with instruction. The ancient conifer must have waved its green foliage over dry land, and it is not probable that

* See our Review of the *Explanations* in vol. iii. p. 11, Note.

it was the only tree in the primeval forest. "The ship carpenter," as our author observes, "might have hopefully taken axe in hand to explore the woods for some such stately pine as the one described by Milton,—

‘Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
Of some great admiral.’”

Viewing this *olive leaf* of the old Red Sandstone as not at all devoid of poetry, our author invites us to a voyage from the latest formation up to the first zone of the Silurian formation, thus passing from ancient to still more ancient scenes of being, and finding as at the commencement of our voyage, a graceful intermixture of land and water, continent, river and sea.

“We first coast along the land of the tertiary, inhabited by the strange quadrupeds of Cuvier, and waving with the reeds and palms of the Paris basin; the land of the Wealden with its gigantic *iguanodon* rustling amid its tree ferns and its cycadæ, comes next; then comes the green land of the oolite, with its little pouched, insectivorous quadruped, its flying reptiles, its vast jungles of the *Brora equisetum*, and its forests of the Helmsdale pine; and then, dimly, as through a haze, we mark as we speed on, the thinly scattered islands of the New Red Sandstone, and pick up in our course a large floating leaf, veined like that of a cabbage, which not a little puzzles the botanists of the expedition. And now we near the vast Carboniferous continent, and see along the undulating outline, between us and the sky, the strange forms of a vegetation, compared with which that of every previously seen land seems stunted and poor. We speed day after day along endless forests, in which gigantic club-mosses wave in air a hundred feet over head, and skirt interminable marshes, in which thickets of reeds overtop the mast-head. And, where mighty rivers come rolling to the sea, we mark, through the long-retiring vistas which they open into the interior, the higher grounds of the country covered with coniferous trees, and see doddered trunks of vast size, like those of Granton and Craigleith, reclining under the banks in deep muddy reaches, with their decaying tops turned adown the current. At length the furthestmost promontory of this long range of coast comes full in view: we near it,—we have come up abreast of it: we see the shells of the Mountain Limestone glittering white along its further shore, and the green depths under our keel lightened by the flush of innumerable corals; and then, bidding farewell to the land for ever,—for so the geologists, of but five years ago, would have advised,—we launch into the unmeasured ocean of the Old Red, with its three consecutive zones of animal life. Not a single patch of land more do those geologic charts exhibit which we still regard as new. The zones of the Silurian and Cambrian succeed the zones of the Old Red; and, darkly fringed by an obscure bank of cloud, ranged along the last zone in the series, a night that never dissipates settles down upon the deep. Our voyage, like that of the old fabulous navigators of five centuries

ago, terminates on the sea in a thick darkness, beyond which there lies no shore, and there dawns no light. And it is in the middle of this vast ocean, just where the last zone of the Old Red leans against the first zone of the Silurian, that we have succeeded in discovering a solitary island unseen before,—a shrub-bearing land much enveloped in fog, but with hills that at least look green in the distance. There are patches of floating sea-weed much comminuted by the surf all around it; and on one projecting headland, we see clear through our glasses a cone-bearing tree.”—*Footprints, &c.*, pp. 202, 208.

But though the existence of a true placoid, a real vertebrated fish, in the Cambrian limestone of Bala, and of true wood at the base of the Old Red Sandstone, are utterly incompatible with the development hypothesis, its supporters, thus driven to the wall, may take shelter under the vague and unquestioned truth that the lower plants and animals preceded the higher, and that the order of creation was fish, reptiles, birds, mammalia, quadrumana, and man. From this resource, too, our author has cut off his opponents, and proceeds to show that such an order of creation, “at once wonderful and beautiful,” does not afford even the slightest presumption in favour of the hypothesis which it is adduced to support.

This argument is carried on in a popular and amusing dialogue in the *eleventh* chapter. Mr. Miller shows in the clearest manner that “superposition is not parental relation,” or that an organism lying above another gives us no ground for believing that the lower organism was the parent of the higher. The theorist, however, looks only at those phases of truth which are in unison with his own views, and when truth presents no such favourable aspect, he finally wraps himself up in the folds of ignorance and ambiguity—the winding-sheet of error refuted and exposed. We have not yet penetrated, says he, in feeble accents, to the formations which represent the dawn of being, and the simplest organism may yet be detected beneath the lowest fossiliferous rocks. This undoubtedly *may be*, and Sir Charles Lyell and Mr. Leonard Horner are of opinion that such rocks may yet be discovered, while Sir Roderick Murchison and Professor Sedgwick and Mr. Miller are of an opposite opinion. But even were such rocks discovered to-morrow, it would not follow that their organisms gave the least support to the development hypothesis. In the year 1837 when fishes were not discovered in the upper Silurian rocks, the theorist would have rightly predicted the existence of lower fossiliferous beds; but when they are discovered, and their fossils examined, they furnish the strongest argument that could be desired against the theory they were expected to sustain. This fact, no doubt, is so far in favour of the supposition that there may be still lower fossil-bearing strata, but as Mr. Miller observes, “The pyramid of organized

existence, as it ascends into the by-past eternity, inclines sensibly towards its apex,—that apex of “*beginning*” on which, on far other than Geological grounds, it is our privilege to believe. The broad base of the superstructure planted on the existing scene, stretches across the entire scale of life, animal, and vegetable; but it contracts as it rises into the past—man,—the quadrumana,—the quadrupedal man—the bird and the reptile are each in succession struck from off its breadth, till we at length see it with the vertebrata, represented by only the fish, narrowing as it were to a point; and though the clouds of the upper region may hide its apex, we infer from the declination of its sides, that it cannot penetrate much farther into the profound.”

In our author's next chapter, the *twelfth* of the series, he proceeds to examine the “Lamarckian hypothesis of the origin of plants, and its consequences.” More than a century ago, M. De Maillet, in his “*Tellamed*,” (Demaillet written backwards,) maintained that all the productions of the earth came from the sea. A wild theory never dies. However great may have been our progress in knowledge, there is always some sciolist ignorant enough, and sufficiently fond of notoriety, to take it up and make it his own. The speculation of De Maillet has assumed the following form in the Physio-Philosophy of Professor Oken, a work of a very exceptionable character, translated for the Ray Society in 1847! “All life,” says he, “is from the sea. Where the sea organism, by self-elevation, succeeds in attaining unto form, there issues forth from it a higher organism. Love arose out of the sea-foam. The primary mucus (that in which electricity originates life) was and is still generated in those very parts of the sea where the water is in contact with earth and air, and thus upon the shores. The first creation of the organic took place where the first mountain summits projected out of the water,—indeed, without doubt, in India, if the *Himalayas* be the highest mountain. The first organic forms, whether plants or animals, emerged from the shallow parts of the sea.” The geological ignorance exhibited in the virtual declaration that the highest mountains must be the oldest, has been well pointed out by Mr. Miller. The researches of Elie de Beaumont place it beyond a doubt,* that the Himalaya range was upheaved (carrying up with it upon its flank vast beds of the oolitic system) long after the upheaval of our own Scottish Mountains. The author of the “*Vestiges*,” as might have been expected, adopts the theory of the “spread of terrestrial vegetation from the sea into the lands adjacent,” the land-plants having, in their first condition, existed as weeds of the sea. Professor Edward Forbes, and other eminent botanists, maintain the very different

* See this *Review*, vol. vi. pp. 249-254.

opinion, that each species of plant was propagated throughout the area they are now found to occupy by means of a single seed introduced by currents or wafted through the air; and our author has adopted and defended this opinion with his usual skill and sagacity, and by a variety of arguments which our limits will not permit us to detail.

In his *thirteenth* chapter, on "The Two Floras, marine and terrestrial," he has shown that all our experience is opposed to the opinion, that the one has been transmuted into the other. If the marine had been converted into terrestrial vegetation, we ought to have, in the Lake of Stennis, for example, plants of an intermediate character between the algæ of the sea and the monocotyledons of the lake. But no such transition-plants are found. The algæ, as our author observes, become dwarfish and ill-developed. They cease to exist as the water becomes fresher, "until at length we find, instead of the brown, rootless, flowerless fucoids and confervæ of the ocean, the green, rooted, flowering flags, rushes, and aquatic grasses of the fresh water. Many thousands of years have failed to originate a single intermediate plant." The same conclusion may be drawn from the character of the vegetation along the extensive shores of Britain and Ireland. No botanist has ever found a single plant in the transition state. Having thus appealed to experience in support of his views, Mr. Miller devotes the rest of this interesting chapter to the discussion of the question, How far the Christian controversialist ought to avail himself of this kind of argument? Those who refuse to believe in a miracle, because it is against experience, ought still less to believe in a hypothesis which is contrary to experience. Though against experience, the miracle is supported by irresistible testimony; but the hypothesis is not only contrary to an invariable experience, but in direct opposition to all testimony. A miracle is, in its very nature, something that cannot be tested by experience; a hypothesis, on the contrary, is what can be tested only by experience.

The *fourteenth* chapter of the "Footprints" will be perused with great interest by the general reader. It is a powerful and argumentative exposure of the development hypothesis, and of the manner in which the subject has been treated in the "*Vestiges*." Whether we consider it in its nature, in its history, or in the character of the intellects with whom it originated, or by whom it has been received and supported, Mr. Miller has shown that it has nothing to recommend it. It existed as a wild dream before geology had any being as a science. It was broached more than a century ago by De Maillet, who knew nothing of the geology even of his day. In a translation of his *Telliamed*, published in 1750, Mr. Miller finds very nearly the same account given of the origin of plants and animals, as that in the "*Vestiges*,"

and in which the sea is described as that "great and fruitful womb of nature, in which organisation and life first begin." Lamarck, though a skilful botanist and conchologist, was unacquainted with geology; and as he first published his development hypothesis in 1802, (an hypothesis identical with that of the "*Vestiges*,") it is probable that he was not then a very skilful zoologist. Nor has Professor Oken any higher claims to geological acquirements. He confesses that he wrote the first edition of his work in 1810 in *a kind of inspiration!* and it is not difficult to estimate the intelligence of the inspiring idol that announced to the German sage that the globe was a vast crystal, a little flawed in the facets, and that quartz, feldspar, and mica, the three constituents of granite, were the hail-drops of heavy showers of stone that fell into the original ocean, and accumulated into rock at the bottom!

Such is the unscientific parentage of the theories promulgated in the "*Vestiges*." But the author of this work appeals in the first instance to science. Astronomy, geology, botany, and zoology are called upon to give evidence in his favour; but the astronomer, geologist, botanist, and the zoologist all refuse him their testimony, deny his premises, and reject his results. "It is not," as Mr. Miller happily observes, "the illiberal religionist that casts him off. It is the inductive philosopher." Science addresses him in the language of the possessed—"The astronomer I know, and the geologist I know; but who are ye?" Thus left alone in a cloud of star-dust, or in brackish water between the marine and terrestrial flora, he "appeals from science to the want of it," casts a stone at our Scientific Institutions, and demands a jury of "ordinary readers," as the only "tribunal" by which "the new philosophy is to be truly and righteously judged."

The last and *fifteenth* chapter of Mr. Miller's work, "On the Bearing of Final Causes on Geologic History," if read with care and thought, will prove at once delightful and instructive. The principle of *final causes*, or the conditions of existence, affords a wide scope to our reason in Natural History, but especially in Geology. It becomes an interesting inquiry, if any reason can be assigned why at certain periods species began to exist, and became extinct after the lapse of lengthened periods of time, and why the higher classes of being succeeded the lower in the order of creation? The incompleteness of geological science does not permit us to remove the veil which hangs over this mysterious chronology; but our author is of opinion that in about a quarter of a century, in a favoured locality like the British Islands, geological history "will assume a very extraordinary form;" and in the following fine passage he exhibits to us, as if in a spectral shape, a conception equally striking and suggestive.

"The history of the four great monarchies of the world was typified in the prophetic dream of the ancient Babylonish king, by a colossal

image, 'terrible in its form and brightness,' of which the 'head was pure gold,' the 'breast and arms of silver,' the 'belly and thighs of brass,' and the legs and feet of iron, and of iron mingled with clay.' The vision, in which it formed the central object, was appropriately that of a puissant monarch, and the image itself typified the merely human monarchies of the earth. It would require a widely different figure to symbolize the great monarchies of creation. And yet revelation does furnish such a figure. It is that which was witnessed by the captive prophet beside 'the river Chebar,' when 'the heavens were opened, and he saw visions of God.' In that chariot of Deity glowing in fire and amber, with its complex wheels 'so high that they were dreadful,' set round about with eyes; there were living creatures, of whose four faces three were brute and one human, and high over all sat the Son of Man. It would almost seem as if in this sublime vision in which, with features distinct enough to impress the imagination, there mingle the elements of an awful incomprehensibility, and which even the genius of Raffalle has failed adequately to pourtray—the history of all the past and of all the future had been symbolized. In the order of Providence intimated in the geologic record, the brute faces, as in the vision, outnumber the human; the human dynasty is one, and the dynasties of the inferior animals are three; and yet who can doubt that they all equally compose parts of a well-ordered and perfect whole, as the four faces formed but one cherub; that they have been moving onward to a definite goal, in the unity of one grand harmonious design—now 'lifted up high' over the comprehension of earth—now let down to its humble level; and that the Creator of all has been ever seated over them on the throne of his providence—a 'likeness in the appearance of a man,' embodying the perfection of his nature in his workings, and determining the end from the beginning?"

—Footprints, &c., pp. 282, 283.

It is a singular fact, which will yet lead to singular results, that Cuvier's arrangement of the four classes of vertebrate animals should exhibit the same order as that in which they are found in the strata of the earth. In the *fish* the average proportion of the brain to the spinal cord is only as 2 to 1. In the *reptile* the ratio is $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. In the *bird* it is as 3 to 1. In the *mammalia* it is as 4 to 1; and in *man* it is as 23 to 1. No less remarkable is the foetal progress of the human brain. It first becomes a brain resembling that of a fish; then it grows into the form of that of a reptile; then into that of a bird; then into that of a mammiferous quadruped, and finally it assumes the form of a human brain, "thus comprising in its foetal progress an epitome of geological history, as if man were in himself a compendium of all animated nature, and of kin to every creature that lives."

The large brain of man would have been, as Mr. Miller states, quite out of place in the earlier ages of creation. He could not have lived amid the storms, and earthquakes, and eruptions of a

world in the act of formation. His timid nature would have quailed under the multifarious convulsions around him. The thunder of a boiling and tempest-driven ocean would have roused him from his couch, as its waters rushed upon him at midnight ; torrents of lava or of mud would have chased him from his hearth ; and if he escaped the pestilence of animal and vegetable death, the vapour of the subterranean alembics would have suffocated him in the open air. The house of the child of civilisation was not ready for his reception. The stones that were to build and roof it, had not quitted their native beds. The coal that was to light and heat it was either green in the forest, or blackening in the storehouse of the deep. The iron that was to defend him from external violence lay buried in the ground ; and the rich materials of civilisation, even if they were ready, had not been cast within his reach, from the hollow of the Creator's hand. But if man could have existed amid catastrophes so tremendous and privations so severe, his presence was not required, for his intellectual powers could have had no suitable employment. Creation was the field on which his industry was to be exercised and his genius unfolded ; and that Divine reason which was to analyze and combine, would have sunk into sloth before the elements of matter were let loose from their prison-house, and Nature had cast them in her mould. But though there was no specific time in this vast chronology which we could fix as appropriate for the appearance of man, yet we now perceive that he entered with dignity at its close. When the sea was gathered into one place, and the dry land appeared, a secure footing was provided for our race. When the waters above the firmament were separated from the waters below it, and when the light which ruled the day, and the light which ruled the night, were displayed in the azure sky, man could look upward into the infinite of space, as he looked downward into the infinite in time. When the living creature after his kind appeared in the fields, and the seed-bearing herb covered the earth, human genius was enabled to estimate the power, and wisdom, and bounty of its Author ;—and human labour received and accepted its commission, when it was declared from on high that seed-time and harvest should never cease upon the earth.

But though the early world was not made for the reception of man, it was well adapted to the habits and instincts of inferior natures. Fishes and reptiles were well fitted to enjoy life on a planet partially consolidated and shaken with earthquakes. Birds could live and multiply under circumstances which would be unfavourable to terrestrial animals ; and when the earth was far advanced in its preparation for man, and the land sufficiently dried and consolidated to sustain the weight of heavy and

gigantic animals, the mammiferous quadrupeds were admitted to its plains. But it is a curious fact, that they were no sooner admitted as a group, than the reptiles appear in greatly diminished proportions, while those of the gigantic class are reduced in size as well as number. Mr. Miller has assigned a plausible reason for this remarkable change. Had the gigantic reptiles been contemporaneous with the higher herbivorous, and the more powerful carnivorous animals, an exterminatory war must have taken place between them; and the jungles and the dense forests which they occupied would have been a scene of cruelty and suffering incompatible with the benevolence of the Creator. The reptile was therefore removed from his place in the front of creation; and no sooner were "creatures of a higher order introduced into the consolidating and fast ripening planet, than his bulk shrank, and his strength lessened, and he assumed a humility of form and aspect at once in keeping with his reduced circumstances, and compatible with the general welfare."

It is more difficult to assign a reason for the degradation of classes, than for their reduction and diminution. Our author acknowledges that he can neither find a reason or a cause for a fact so mysterious, but he views it as standing connected with other great facts in the moral government of the universe,—with the existence in a future state of two separate classes—the one elevated, the other degraded—the one godlike and happy, the other fiendlike and miserable. In the programme of creation, the several dynasties of life were introduced in their higher forms, and we have already noticed the additional fact of the degradation of the fish and the reptiles.

"And then," says our author, "passing on to the revealed record, we learn that the dynasty of man, in the mixed state and character, is not the final one, but that there is to be yet another creation, or more properly *re-creation*, known theologically as the resurrection, which shall be connected in its physical components by bonds of mysterious paternity, with the dynasty which now reigns, and be bound to it mentally by the chain of identity, conscious and actual; but which in all that constitutes superiority, shall be as vastly its superior as the dynasty of responsible man is superior to even the lowest of the preliminary dynasties. We are farther taught, that at the commencement of this last of the dynasties, there will be a re-creation of not only elevated, but also of degraded beings—a re-creation of the *lost*. We are taught yet farther, that though the present dynasty be that of a lapsed race, which at their first introduction were placed on higher ground than that on which they now stand, and sank by their own act, it was yet part of the original design, from the beginning of all things, that they should occupy the existing platform; and that redemption is thus no after-thought, rendered necessary by the fall, but, on the contrary, part of a general scheme, for which provision had been made

from the beginning ; so that the divine man, through whom the work of restoration has been effected, was in reality, in reference to the purposes of the Eternal, what he is designated in the remarkable text, '*the Lamb slain from the foundations of the world.*' Slain from the foundations of the world ! Could the assertors of the stony science ask for language more express ? By piecing the two records together—that revealed in Scripture, and that revealed in the rocks—records which, however widely geologists may mistake the one, or commentators misunderstand the other, have emanated from the same great author, we learn that in slow and solemn majesty has period succeeded period, each in succession ushering in a higher and yet higher scene of existence—that fish, reptiles, mammiferous quadrupeds have reigned in turn,—that responsible man, '*made in the image of God,*' and with dominion over all creatures, ultimately entered into a world ripened for his reception ; but further, that this passing scene, in which he forms the prominent figure, is not the final one in the long series, but merely the last of the *preliminary* scenes ; and that that period to which the bygone ages, incalculable in amount, with all their well-proportioned gradations of being, form the imposing vestibule, shall have perfection for its occupant, and eternity for its duration. I know not how it may appear to others ; but for my own part, I cannot avoid thinking that there would be a lack of proportion in the series of being, were the period of perfect and glorified humanity abruptly connected, without the introduction of an intermediate creation of *responsible* imperfection, with that of the dying, irresponsible brute. That scene of things in which God became man, and suffered, *seems*, as it no doubt is, a necessary link in the chain."—*Footprints, &c.*, pp. 301-303.

At this startling result—startling from its apparent truth, our author finds himself on the confines of a mystery which man has "vainly aspired to comprehend." "I have," says he, "no new reading of the enigma to offer. I know not why it is that moral evil exists in the universe of the All-wise and the All-powerful ; nor through what occult law of Deity it is that 'perfection should come through suffering.'" In the darkness of this mystery the best and the brightest spirits are involved ;—and our inability to comprehend it we willingly acknowledge. But there are difficulties, which though we cannot solve them for others, we may solve for ourselves. An inferior intellect may disencumber itself of a load, which a superior one may be doomed for ever to bear. The Spectre of Moral Evil may haunt the philosopher when the peasant has succeeded in exorcising it ; and the physician when he cannot achieve a cure, may consider himself fortunate if he can find an anodyne.

To exhibit the Divine attributes, and to display the Divine glory to an intellectual and immortal race, must have been the purpose for which a material universe was created. In his physical frame Man is necessarily subject to physical laws. The law of gravity "cannot cease as he goes by ;"—and finite in his

nature, and fallible in his reason, he can but feebly defend himself against the ferocity of animal life, or against the fury of the elements, or against the poison that may mingle in his cup. His high reason does not, in many emergencies, compensate for his inferior instinct. He is therefore helplessly exposed to suffering and death. The instincts of self-preservation and of parental affection, give a magnitude and interest to whatever affects the safety and happiness of himself and his offspring. He is thus placed in antagonism to his fellow-sufferers, and in the collision of interests and feelings, laws human and Divine are broken. Nor is this result—if it be a result—less conformable to what we have regarded as the object and end of creation. In order to glorify God by a knowledge of his attributes, we must have these attributes fully displayed. The power, and wisdom, and goodness of the Creator, are exhibited to us every day and every hour;—they are proclaimed in the heavens;—they are stamped on the earth;—life, and the enjoyments of life, display them even to the dumb, the deaf, and the blind. But in what region are we to descry the attributes of mercy, of justice, and of truth? In the abodes of happiness and peace, the idea of Mercy can neither have an object nor a name. Justice can be understood only amid injustice,—and Truth only amid falsehood. The moral attributes of the most High can be comprehended and emblazoned only among the cruel, the dishonest, and the untrue. His power, wisdom, and goodness, can be exhibited only in a material world, governed by the laws of matter; and man in his material nature must be subject to their operation and control. Though thus controlled and thus suffering, we are resigned. In this feeble gleam of reason there is light enough to show us—if we are disposed to have it shown—that the Spectre of Moral Evil has been conjured up by ourselves.

Such is a brief and imperfect notice of Mr. Miller's "*Footprints of the Creator*," the *third* edition of which is on the eve of publication. Since the preceding pages were written we are gratified to learn that Dr. Buckland, with his usual sagacity and liberality, has paid Mr. Miller the high and well-deserved compliment of making this work one of the text-books for his geological lectures at Oxford; and we have no doubt that its merits will be appreciated in that distinguished seat of literature and philosophy. In its purely geological character the "*Footprints*" is not surpassed by any modern work of the same class. Mr. Miller's original and successful inquiries respecting the cerebral development of the *vertebrata*, the structure of the *asterolepis* and the *placoids*, are models of profound and patient research, while the novelty and beauty of his views on the progress of Degradation

in the animal world, and his analysis of the celebrated theory of cranial vertebræ, cannot fail to place him in the very highest rank of philosophical naturalists. But it is in the discussion of questions which are, or may be, connected with geology that the general and philosophical reader will best recognise his mental grasp and intellectual stores. From beneath the crust of the earth, geology, in his hands, rises above it. From the darkness and death of its subterranean chambers, it ushers him into a Temple effulgent with light, and instinct with life. From the past it stretches far into the future, uniting faith and knowledge, and gilding the sunset of things that are, with the auroral splendour of things that are to be. The astronomer has penetrated far into the celestial depths, descrying glorious creations and establishing mighty laws; but the geologist has yet far to descend into the abyss beneath. The earth has still to surrender mighty secrets,—and great revelations are yet to issue from sepulchres of stone. It is not from that distant bourne where the last ray of star-light trembles on the observer's eye, that man is to import the great secret of the world's birth and of his own destiny. It is from the vaults to which ancient life has been consigned, that the history of the dawn of life is to be composed. Geologists have read that record backwards, and are decyphering it downwards. They have reached the embryos of vegetable existence—the probable terminus of the formation which bears them. But who can tell *what is beyond?* Another creation may lie beneath:—More glorious creatures may be entombed there. The mortal coils of beings more lovely, more pure, more divine than man, may yet read to us the unexpected lesson that we have not been the first, and may not be the last of the intellectual race.

Before concluding this Article, we must say a few words on the different works which we have placed at the head of our first page.

The interesting volume of Mr. Robert Chambers, "*On Sea Margins*," contains a number of most valuable and important facts and measurements, which cannot fail to guide the geologist in his inquiries into the causes by which the terraqueous surface of our globe received its present form. The work is devoted chiefly to the description of alluvial terraces in Britain, which he conceives have had their origin as sea-beaches—their configuration and horizontal character being exactly what the sea produces where it meets the land. Many objects of this kind were regarded by geologists as ancient beaches, before Mr. Chambers began to study them; but very few of these were more than 40 feet above the present sea level. Mr. Chambers, however, has traced them not merely on coasts, but in valleys far inland; and in various

districts he has discovered terraces at a great number of elevations, from 600 to 700 feet, and indicating a shift in the relative level of sea and land, for at least that extent of vertical space. He has likewise shewn that the principal terraces in different parts of the island approximate to heights of 64, 93, 128, 165, 280, and 545 feet, shewing that, in so far at least as this island is concerned, the shift of relative level has been equable. Mr. Chambers has likewise described terraces in France and Ireland examined by himself, which shew a tendency to harmonize with those of Britain. In these researches, he met with few fossils, probably, as he conjectures, from the climate being unfavourable to their preservation; but he has described the traces of aqueous deposits wherever they existed. Mr. Chambers' volume contains many curious and valuable facts, ascertained by levelling; and among these we may reckon his very accurate measurements of the celebrated parallel roads of Glenroy, which had previously been very inaccurately laid down by Dr. Macculloch. The general as well as the geological reader, will find this work well worthy of his study. It is illustrated with many interesting sketches,—is written with simplicity and elegance,—and contains much curious information, the result of careful observation and inquiry.

The work of Professor Waterkeyn is a learned and judicious attempt to reconcile the truths of geology with those of Scripture; and in the "Deluge" of Frederick Klee, published in 1842 in Danish, in 1843 in German, and in 1847 in French, the author adopts the general doctrines of geology, but endeavours to prove, both from geology and history, that the deluge was produced by a displacement of the earth's axis; that it was accompanied "with the most terrible volcanic phenomena," and that the form of the five portions of the world arose from the action of the deluge upon the shores of the ancient continents.

The two Inaugural and Introductory Lectures of Mr. Ramsay, delivered at University College, London, exhibit all that knowledge and research which might have been expected from so able a geologist. They are written with elegance and vigour, and contain an interesting account of the progress of geological investigation from the earliest to the present times.

- ART. VII.—1. *Report of the General Assembly's Education Committee.* 1849.
2. *Report of the Education Committee of the Free Church.* 1849.
3. *Remarks on the Government Scheme of National Education, as applied to Scotland.* By LORD MELGUND, M.P. Edinburgh, 1848.
4. *The Necessity of a Reform in the Parochial School System of Scotland: by one who has long witnessed its Existing Defects.* Edinburgh, 1848.
5. *Lord Melgund and the Parish Schools.* By A CHURCHMAN. Edinburgh, 1849.
6. *National Education for Scotland Practically Considered; with Notices of certain recent Proposals on that subject.* By JAMES BEGG, D.D. Edinburgh, 1849.

THE English mind, so laudably prone to cling to the usages of the past, which have imperceptibly grown into the constitutional edifice, is peculiarly liable to feel the force of what D'Israeli terms a "strong cry." No nation, however, is without it; and certainly we of Scotland, in our national pride, do not want instances of its force. Touch what point you may with the chain of improvement and you have rung in your ears the tocsin-cry of "The Treaty of Union!"—"The Act of Security!" More especially if you move but one inch towards the sacred precincts of education, on all sides arises a loud laudation of the Parochial School System, as perfect and unimprovable, the glory of Scotland, the nursery of sages, the wonder of the earth, the *ne plus ultra* of wisdom,—to touch which is profanation and treason against the best interests of the land. In spite of this outcry we feel it to be a duty to assist in directing the attention of the public mind to this subject, with the view of remodelling, and improving, and extending our educational means and machinery. It is not because we are not alive to the claims which the Parochial School System of Scotland has, as a matter of history, upon the admiration and gratitude of our countrymen, that we now devote a few pages to the subject, but because, earnestly anxious that the aims of its sagacious founders may be realized, we deem that the season has come for its revision and adjustment to the requirements of the times in which we live.

Why should it be that they who seek the amelioration of human and imperfect modes of action, absolutely requiring change as circumstances change, should be condemned as the foes of the very object which, in reality, they seek to promote? Look at

that growing youth, well, suitably, and warmly clad, with jacket and trousers to match. Is the poor fellow to be branded with all sorts of ill names, as an incendiary and a revolutionist, an enemy of existing institutions, because his bones elongating, his muscles inspissated, his stature increasing, he demands a suit of apparel accommodated to his present condition? He will not surely be condemned for ever to walk the streets, with his long arms projecting fettered from the sleeves, his shoulders held immovably tight, and his nether garment reaching but half-way up his legs. Refit him, for pity's sake, at once, and let him move, gracefully and freely, a fine specimen of humanity, as undoubtedly he is.

We are perfectly willing to concede all that may be urged in favour of the Parochial Schools, as they were originally constituted, and as they long existed, for the benefit of the country. Civilized Europe has never witnessed a nobler spectacle than the first Protestants of Scotland in the assembly of the nation, demanding, that from the funds before abused by a licentious superstition, one-third should be devoted, not to increase the revenue of the Reformed Church, but to the education—the universal education of the youth, in all departments of instruction, from the highest to the lowest. Nor was the end contemplated less noble than the means and the sacrifice. “Seeing that God hath determined that His Kirk here upon earth shall be taught, not by angels, but by men; and seeing that men are borne ignorant of God and all godliness; and seeing, alsoe, He ceases to illuminate men miraculously, suddenly changing them, as He did the Apostles and others in the primitive Kirke; of necessity it is that your honours be most careful for the vertuous education and godly up-bringing of the youth of this realm, if either ye now thirst unfainedly for the advancement of Christ's glorie, or yet desire the continuance of His benefits to the generation following; for as the youth must succeed to us, so we ought to be carefull that they have knowledge and erudition to profit and comfort that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit, the Kirke and spouse of our Lord Jesus.” And when, long after, the State sanctioned and enforced—though how inadequately!—the claim for education here advanced, the benefits thence resulting are the fullest evidence of the wisdom of the projectors of the system. It would be difficult to tell how much of the social progress of Scotland—of the success of her sons in other lands—of their proverbial character for steadiness, perseverance, practical sagacity, and intelligence, sprang from the national education. If we had but space, we could fill pages with the names of eminent Scotchmen, who could trace the first dawnings of their greatness to the light which broke upon them,

in their native glen or hamlet, under the humble roof of the Parish School.

But we shall mistake greatly, if we suppose that it was this system which made and modelled the national character. The converse is true. The system arose from the conviction, in earnest and leading minds, of what the country needed and was fitted for, and it was accommodated to her circumstances, by gradual development, as events developed themselves. Indeed, in this poor and northern land, alike in town and country, the whole of the parochial machinery for Church, and poor, and young, closely resembled the arrangements of an extended family connexion. There was little wealth, and there was little pauperism. Each man knew, and each man was interested in his neighbour. If a member of the same parish committed a crime, it was mourned over as a sort of family disgrace. The kith and kin of each residenter were known to all. Birth had its due, or more than its due respect; but the honours paid to the gentry constituted so much of tribute paid to the fund of the general respectability. The poor were relieved with the same feelings which actuate the affluent to help an impoverished kinsman—with sympathy and kindness; while they received the proffered aid, after many a struggle with family pride, by no means as an eleemosynary gift, but as a brotherly benefaction. All met in the same house of prayer—all had the same traditionary tales of martyred sires—all glowed with the same feelings of stern indignation at priestly oppressors, and all were versed in the logical orthodoxy of the same unbending creed. Church discipline was exercised openly in a fashion which now excites wonder in those who do not understand this phase of Scottish life. Matters were taken up and openly animadverted on, which would now excite ridicule and indignation, but which occasioned then no scandal, for the parish was all one family, and rebuke in presence of the family was often an appropriate and effectual instrument for awakening shame and repentance. Intimately acquainted with all his people, in their incomings and outgoings—in their sickness and health—in their business and their rare recreations, was the common friend and adviser of all, the parish minister. And then it was natural, and entirely accordant with the genius and habits of the people, that their children—the common children of one large family—should go to school together, to learn the same catechism, and read the same Bible, from the lips of a man who professed the same faith with themselves, and was under the same direction to which they willingly submitted in all matters higher than beeves or merchandise.

Such was Scotland. And restore to us those days of undivided faith, and a common family feeling, and kin-like affections,

and industrious strenuous thrift and poverty, little wealth and little beggary, and, for us, the Parish Schools may remain as they are. But such is not Scotland. Circumstances, social, political, economical, ecclesiastical, have all mightily changed. It were the greatest of all marvels in the history of a country, that an institution intended for and admirably fitting its circumstances, in a rude and elementary state, should be found, without extension and without change, to be accommodated to its wants when it has passed into a higher, a more civilized, and a more dangerous state of its existence. Even, *a priori*, one would infer the unlikelihood of this. And all experience confirms the folly of allowing things to continue much longer as they are. Scotland does not contain the same social elements as before. Its economical structure is completely changed. In its political and ecclesiastical state it has undergone a revolution, not less real though less apparent, than no trumpet summoned opposing hosts to battle, no blood consecrated the issue, and no flaunting banners waved triumphantly over the falling foe. Nor has that revolution yet had its full effect. In remote and rural districts there still linger traces of the old Scottish family feeling. But the time must come, when its influence will be universal. It has made its way to portions of our land, where we should have expected it least and last. In the Highland glens and islands it is tearing asunder all old ties, and lacerating all human affections; and soon it will, by railroads and steamboats, penetrate our pastoral uplands, and our lonely muirs. What is the part of wise men with such prospects? Surely, to take advantage of this transition-period, to adopt all that our experience has taught us to be good in the past, and adapt it to the demands of the present, and the probabilities of the future.

In a paper such as this, we are averse, for many reasons, to have recourse to statistics. The truth is, that, save for illustration, they are not needed in this question. We do not believe that any one will deny that the legal provision for the education of Scotland is ludicrously inadequate to its wants. Still there are minds which can be reached only by figures, not of speech, but of arithmetic. The change that has taken place in the habits of Scottish life will make no impression upon them, but the change in the numbers of the population will. Let such men study this problem. It is alleged that all the prosperity of Scotland is owing to our Parochial School System; or in the language of the "Declaration by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on National Education," issued in June last,—“They [the General Assembly] will not assert that these schools have done all; but they do assert, with confidence, that, but for these schools, all, or nearly all, would have been

left undone.”* Now, the starting point of Scotland’s economical prosperity is fixed by the ablest economists, as not earlier than the second rebellion in 1745. Take 1755. Scotland had then nearly the same number of parish schools which she has now; but she had considerably less than half the population, that of the former period being about 1,265,380,† that of 1841, 2,620,184, and now probably not far short of 3,000,000. Now, if a certain number of parochial schools was essential to found the prosperity of Scotland, how many are required to continue and extend it?

Or, put the question in another way. It is generally agreed that a sixth part of the population of every country is the least average of those underlying the education period of life; that gives somewhere about 500,000 as the educable youth of Scotland. Make a liberal deduction for those attending the higher classes of schools—say 100,000—and we have still 400,000 to be educated at the National Schools. 82.56 is given‡ as the average attendance on 852 of the Parochial Schools. We may safely assume, that as the schools not reported were not likely to be the best attended, 80 is a high average on the whole number. That gives us 5,000 as the number of elementary schools which the Nation should provide, whereas we have only 1047. Will the sturdiest stickler for things as they are, deny the truth of these figures? The higher our notions are of the value of the education given in the parish schools, and the more exalted our notions of the benefits which they are fitted to confer—the stronger our belief of their importance in forming the proverbial character of Scotchmen for the *canny* virtues, the more earnestly shall we, sighing over such a state of things, desire and strive to cover the whole land with these honoured fabrics.

But how is this to be done? Or, if it cannot be accomplished, have we any means of procuring an equivalent?

It is clear and unquestionable, that if the Established Church of Scotland possesses such weight with the Legislature, as to make the Extension of the National Schools dependent on the continuance of the present system, the object is unattainable. The fiercest foe of dissent—the most enamoured votary of the Establishment as it is, can never dream of persuading the people of Scotland to submit to the farther development of a system of popular instruction which places the superintendence in the hands of the Courts of a Church embracing only about one-third of

* P. 56 of the Report of the General Assembly’s Education Committee, 1849.

† Oliver and Boyd’s Almanac for 1850, p. 288.

‡ Report, p. 56 of Abstract.

the population, and entrusts the duty of imparting instruction to men chosen from the same minority, as alone fitted to rear in virtuous acts the ingenuous youth. We need not go far to seek for evidence even in the Establishment itself. It is with an evident feeling of this impracticability, that the General Assembly of that Church utters the following sentiments:—“It is not so much, they are persuaded, by multiplying schools, that the cause of education will be promoted, as by providing in some such manner as that which they have now pointed out, an adequate remuneration for the intelligent and successful school-master. The erection of additional schools may, no doubt, be necessary, in certain cases, to *diffuse* the blessings of education; and the General Assembly will gladly see the wants of the country, in this respect, adequately supplied.”*

This is not the language of men entertaining even the design of seeking, at least by the intervention of the Legislature, to supply the deficiency so grudgingly acknowledged. Indeed, when we take into account the actual condition of Scotland, it is hardly possible to conceive the adoption of such faint and strongly qualified terms, except on the supposition, that they were employed to render less striking a shrinking from the very thought of attempting to extend the system. But we have in one of the *brochures*, the names of which are prefixed to this Article, the direct evidence of a Churchman,—we believe, the young minister of Roxburgh.

“That a strictly national system of education is on many accounts desirable, no one will doubt, any more than that the connexion between the parish schools and the National Church is, in the present state of opinion in the country, an insuperable obstacle to any such material extension of the present machinery as would constitute a strictly national education.”—P. 12.

We may assume, then, that we have proved two things—*first*, that the National System of Education now existing in Scotland is grievously insufficient; and, *secondly*, that it is impracticable to extend that system on its present basis.

One would imagine that this being proved, and indeed conceded on all sides, the corollary also would follow, with force equally irresistible, that we must seek some other principle on which to found a National System. We think that we are fairly entitled to demand this concession from the Establishment. Forgetting or ignoring that it was a violation of the Treaty of Union, which, carried through in spite of remonstrances and protests, led to all the secessions from the Established Church of

Scotland—forgetting that it is a maxim of equity as well as of law, that no man shall profit by his own wrong—that Church pleads the Articles of Union against the very men who were forced to leave its bosom, because the Articles of Union were not observed. Yet with great confidence in their 1100 schools, they make this concession.—(*Report for 1849.*)

“ But while the General Assembly thus regard the Church’s superintendence of the National Institutions of Education, as guaranteed to her by the most solemn acts of the Legislature, and by an Act which must be held to be even yet more solemn, inasmuch as it has been seen to be an integral part of the Treaty of Union between the two kingdoms, they do not rest their cause on this ground exclusively or even chiefly. It would, indeed, require the most cogent reasons to justify any violation of an article in the Treaty of Union, but for the full security taken in regard to which that treaty would never have been entered into. Still the idea is, at least, a possible one, that the basis of the Union of the two kingdoms might be found at this point to be hollow, and of prejudicial consequence; and the General Assembly will not maintain that in such a case the conditions of the Union ought to continue unalterable.”—P. 57.

Of prejudicial consequence! Is this not of prejudicial consequence, that the constitution of these schools is the main reason why vast numbers of the youth of Scotland are exposed to all the evils of gross, godless ignorance? In our cities and towns, in our villages, swollen and swelling with manufacturing and commercial increase, tens and hundreds of thousands are groveling in the mire,—their instincts, appetites, feelings, passions, centered in self and brutal gratification,—their intellect untrained, unenlightened, no man caring for their souls, living like beasts and dying like beasts; and it is in our power to open to them the gates of knowledge, to place before them in nature and nature’s laws, in mind and its works, in man and his doings, inexhaustible sources of innocent enjoyment, and elevating employment, adapted to their constitution, as the intelligent lords of the creation, and of their own appetites. Nay more, we have it in our power to train them in the ways of eternal wisdom, to teach them the counsels of God, to influence them by the love of the Redeemer, and while bringing them up as useful citizens of earth, showing them by the very same means how they may hereafter become the citizens of heaven. But we may not do this, because the Establishment will not let go her hold of the parochial schools! We do not mean to say—we cannot believe—that this is felt by the members of the Established Church; but it is the clear language of their conduct: “ We care not how many may live and die uneducated, uninstructed, in ignorance of things necessary to their present and eternal welfare. At all hazards, we

will cling to the power which we have over the education of the youth of the country. We know and proclaim our knowledge that our possession of this power is an insuperable obstacle to the diffusion of knowledge. But no consideration of the curse of ignorance, or the blessings of instruction, no feeling of pity for embruted fellow-citizens, no fear of the consequences to ourselves and others, shall lead us to unite with the true-hearted patriots of other denominations, to spread universally the true source of a nation's strength."

Now, observe that we do not believe that our friends of the Establishment distinctly perceive all this, though we maintain that our conclusions are legitimate. What is it that blinds them? We are far from averring that good feeling or that patriotism is confined to Dissent. We are certain that there are very many in the Establishment, who, if convinced of the truth of our averments, would join—in spite of the natural *esprit de corps* which leads all men to support their own order,—in spite of their blind admiration of the system because everybody once praised it,—and in spite of the natural desire of retaining the influence attached to the exclusive control of the elementary instruction of the people—to co-operate heart and hand for the emancipation of the schools of the nation from those bonds which prevent them from becoming the schools of the whole nation. The source of delusion must lie in one of the two divisions of the subject which we have propounded. Either such men do not believe that the present system acts as an effectual barrier in the way of school extension; or, that the educational deficiencies of the country are not the source of such evils as are alleged.

With men who hold the latter opinion we do not well know how to reason. The difficulty is all the greater, that, though it may be, that some are still of opinion that no education at all is preferable to that which is not doled out according to the weight and measure of an Act of Parliament, no one is bold enough to say so. We might grapple successfully with open arguments; but mere random assertions it is impossible to overthrow, for we know not at what point to grapple with the enemy. We do not know, if in other countries there are still men who maintain that the education of the people is dangerous to the more educated classes. In Scotland we do not think that there are any. As Dr. Begg says excellently, in his well-timed and eminently practical pamphlet, in which the whole subject is ably reviewed:—

"Unmanly fears about the danger of educating the lowest of the people to as high a point as possible, sometimes suggested to the weak and well-meaning in other lands, but more frequently fostered by the tyrants of the earth for selfish purposes, meet with little favour in Scotland. Three centuries of experience have too amply refuted

them, and all are prepared to hail the march of a well-directed education as the greatest boon to the poor, the stability of the Church, the best hope of Government."—P. 3.

Yet that an under-current of thought of this kind runs, it may be unconsciously, through men's minds, seems certain. It is impossible, otherwise, to account for the reasoning contained in the Declaration of the General Assembly of the Established Church, of which a specimen has been already given. No doubt it is of importance to improve the quality of education. But, says that Declaration, it is of so much more importance to improve the quality than to increase the quantity, that while we shall be glad to see the latter done, we are anxious ourselves to do the other. Now it was education of this defective quality which produced all the marvellous effects vaunted of in another part of this same Declaration. While then, this abandonment of the diffusion of education, as the act of the Church, proves, as we have seen, that the Church despairs of accomplishing it, does not the apathetic tone in which she treats of so deplorable a dereliction of so important a field, indicate that, after all, she is not so sure that education is the essential thing which it is said to be? Such a condition of mind we can only meet by an exhibition of the blessings of education and the curse of ignorance. Nor, on this theme, would we wish to exaggerate. We can conceive conditions in the history of a nation where, what is technically called education—formal instruction in the elements of literary knowledge—may be absent without danger to the State, or to individual virtue and wellbeing. And, with regard to the benefits of education itself, so defined, we lay the principal stress upon the motives which lead men to seek it, upon the orderly habits which it produces, and the industrious, persevering thoughtfulness which it may be made to evolve. But, in sober earnest, and looking at the condition of this country, taking into account its wealth and its poverty, its great few and its lowly millions, its temptations and its toils, its complicated laws and its boundless freedom of discussion; its seasons of plethora and of penury; its hot and its cold fits of speculation; its seducers and its victims, it does seem the height of folly to postpone for a moment the education of a people living in such a land, and at such a time. We all know that the education given in Scotland in the olden time was poor enough. But, poor as it was, it achieved wonders. Give us even that; it is better than no education at all. If it was not that—and, in truth, it was not that alone, but that and the temperament, and the circumstances of the people, all combined—what becomes of this thread-bare argument derived from the past achievements of the Parochial Schools? Is education powerful for good? Look at the myriads

of your countrymen disgracing the name of Scotchmen by their ignorance—see the contemptuous surprise with which foreign educationists contrast your tables of population and education—ponder well the low national place which your country now holds compared with many of the other nations of Europe—consider to what point the increased traffic and industry of Scotland is carrying her—and, then, in order to grasp firm your exclusive privileges, refuse, as a Christian Church, to co-operate with others in throwing broad-cast through the land, such an education, as, with that co-operation, it is in your power to bestow!

We believe, however, that this ground will not be *openly* maintained by any man, or at least by many men, in all broad Scotland. What we have most reason to apprehend is, that the opponents of a National measure, will either satisfy their own consciences from inactivity, or openly justify themselves as to active hostility, on the ground, that though the maintenance of the present school system is an insuperable obstacle to the extension of National Schools, it is still open to adventure schools to satisfy the demands of certain localities, and to the schemes of benevolence, and of the various Churches to supplement, with the aid of Government grants, any remaining deficiency. As a specimen of this mode of reasoning, listen to *A Churchman*:—

“It may be here noticed, in passing, that rather more than enough is perhaps sometimes said as to the inadequacy of the provision made for education in the parish schools. The population has certainly enormously increased since 1696, but so has the wealth of the country; and so also, along with the power, has the desire increased, of compensating, by voluntary efforts, for the growing disproportion between the legal provisions and the actual wants of the people in regard to education. In a great measure, the parish schools continue to serve efficiently some of the main purposes contemplated in their constitution. In a great measure, they still afford a legal provision for education, *as far as legal provision is absolutely necessary*.”—P. 12.

We are tempted to dwell on this paragraph as a proof of the delusion to which we have alluded; and to show how, according to the amiable writer, it is heart-cheering to see Scotland, so far from falling off in educational means proportionate to her population, actually getting better and better every year, “by voluntary efforts.” But, warned by our narrowing space, we resist the temptation, and only notice the concluding sentence, staring us in the face, with the emphatic italics. Scotland, it seems, has at present (“in a great measure” to be sure, but that is evidently thrown in to provide for small exceptional cases) no absolute need of any additional legal provision for education. Thrice happy Scotland! With its 1100 parish schools, the whole

number legally provided for its education—capable of educating some 100,000 at an extravagant average—no legal provision is necessary for the remaining three or four hundred thousand. It is true, that in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, Paisley, Greenock, and other insignificant places, there is absolutely no legal provision at all. What of that? The wealth of the people has increased with the population, “and so also, along with the power, has the desire increased of compensating by voluntary efforts, for the growing disproportion between the legal provision and the actual wants of the people in regard to education.” No wonder that with this belief the Church of Scotland is opposed to any scheme for an extended National system! No wonder that she speaks so apathetically of the erection of additional schools! But is this belief well founded? We shall very briefly examine into this matter.

Statistical results on this subject are necessarily hypothetical. But the hypotheses do not vary as to the fact of a great deficiency; they only differ as to the precise numbers. In the Appendix to the Report of the Education Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, there occurs the following passage, which, as it agrees very nearly with our own calculations, we shall assume, as to all necessary purposes, to be correct:—

“According to the last Parliamentary returns, the average attendance on the 1047 parish schools was nearly 61,000. The number of non-parochial schools, exclusive of those of the Free Church, may be estimated at 4500, with an average attendance, according to the average of the last returns, of 180,000. The Free Church schools, receiving salaries or gratuities from the Education Committee, amount to 626, with an attendance of 55,395 children. The non-salaried schools are 190 in number, and are attended by 10,189; making in all 65,534. Thus we have authentic information regarding the attendance of only 306,534, leaving nearly 194,000 unaccounted for, and it may be presumed, unprovided with the means of education.”—P. 25.

If we take into account the kind of education given in many of these schools, that we have here absolutely the whole of the statistics of education, using this word in its vaguest sense, from the mere pretence of the school-dame in her garret, and the ruined cobbler in his cellar, eking out his subsistence by perplexing the brains of children only because he failed to gain a livelihood by honest means,* up to our grammar schools and academies, we at once perceive that this statement must considerably overrate our educational means, properly so called. And all this failure is in the face of the Parish School System. It is in the face of private and voluntary effort; it is in the face of

* See Report by John Gibson, Esq., in Appendix to Minutes of the Committee of the Council on Education. 1840-41. P. 284.

the strong desire felt generally by Scotsmen to have their children educated; it is in the face of the encouragement given by Government grants; it is in the face of the strenuous and praiseworthy efforts of the Free Church, directed by the zeal and skill of its inexhaustible Convener, of whose blended enthusiasm and practical wisdom no better specimen can be found than is exhibited in the Report of the Education Committee of last year;—all these, with the efforts of the other dissenting bodies, have failed to fill the lamentable void. Nor does our experience give us any reason to hope that matters will mend in time to come. To accomplish the work of fully educating Scotland by voluntary efforts, combined with Government aid, we should require, not only to supply existing deficiencies, but to keep pace with the growing population. Such an enterprise seems utterly hopeless and Quixotic. And while it is in the course of organization, what meantime is to become of the uneducated masses?

The actual results of this deficiency lead to the same conclusion—that the condition of a large proportion of the population of Scotland is deplorable, and only to be compared with that of lands obscured by darkest heathenism. We do not think it necessary to dwell on the rude, savage, and immoral ignorance that festers in our towns. Walk down any of the densely peopled *closes* of Edinburgh, and observe the massive clumps of building, shutting out the sun, meeting face to face in twin sections, like some rock which the earthquake has shivered in twain. Each of the storeys rising in grim and gaunt layers to the heavens, is subdivided into three or four compartments; each subdivision is peopled with a family—the husband at his work, or on the tramp—the wife washing, dawdling, gossiping, or preparing the rude repast. About her are some of her children, alternately provoking her to no measured or Christian bounds of wrath, alternately themselves enraged, and requiring the coaxing blandishments of ruinous indulgence. All round the jaws of these cavernous looking abodes, are troops of young savages, on whose play the sun never shines, imbibing the noxious pent-up vapours of their *land*, and the worse infection of the oath, the lie, and the fouler passions that degrade our race. Why, for each house, from cellar to garret, we should require a school. It is sheer folly to think of voluntary effort accomplishing the task of dealing with a population like this, sunk in utter ignorance of God and duty, of sober industry, and its rewards. As to other towns, let the reader look to this statement by Mr. Colquhoun, then member for Dumbarton, made in the House of Commons, so long ago as 1834, and can we flatter ourselves that matters have not retrograded since?

“In Glasgow, about one-fourteenth are at school; Dundee, one-

fifteenth; Perth, under one-fifteenth; Old Aberdeen, one-twenty-fifth; Paisley, (the Abbey parish, which is nearly one-half of the whole population,) one-twentieth. Such is the statement in figures; but let me describe the reality, and exemplify the result. Let me take the case of Paisley. Thirty years ago there was not a family in Paisley who could not read, and had not the Bible; all above nine could read, or were at school; whereas, by a very accurate scrutiny made in one of the parishes of Paisley, presenting a picture of the whole, there are in Paisley 3000 families where education does not enter, and whose children are growing up wholly untaught. In Glasgow, there is a population of 20,000 growing up uneducated, and, by the intelligent calculation of Mr. Brebner, governor of Bridewell, there are from 6000 to 7000 living by crime, a large proportion of whom are young."

We are approximating to the same melancholy state of things in that Arcadia of innocence—the rural districts of Scotland. Hear, on this subject, the writer of the "Necessity of a Reform in the Parochial School System of Scotland," a witness who, from his experience and position—long a country minister, and a sagacious observer, not only of nature, but of man—is well entitled to be heard in this cause.

"Having thus laid before your Lordship a brief, but I hope an intelligible view of the imperfections of the Parish School System of Scotland by a statement of truths, already without doubt familiar to your Lordship, I take leave, in conclusion, to observe, that it is stated in the circular by Mr. William Chambers on National Education for Scotland, that the 'advantages of the parish schools are perhaps most visible among the rural population. All are able to read and write. Every man and woman can at least peruse the Bible, and sign their name.' This statement your Lordship's deputies at the Circuit Court know full well to be wide of the mark; and that 'depones he cannot write' is, alas! of too frequent occurrence. We have been for years past trading on a good name, produced under a former state of society, but of which we are at present unworthy. It may excite some surprise in the mind of the reader to be informed, that in a parish on the banks of the Forth, a few years ago, there were half a hundred heads of families unable either to read or write. It is among the 'rural population' that the defects of the present system appear in all their enormity."—P. 36.

We think that we have done enough in the meantime to dispel the delusion which, strange as it may appear, manifestly exists—that the present means of education in Scotland are sufficient for her wants. We would direct, at the same time, the attention of those who take an interest in this subject, to obtain more complete and accurate and verified details. Dry as figures are, they never fail, when properly substantiated, to produce their due result. There are surely, in the various districts of Scotland, men enough

to prepare such weapons for the momentous struggle which is evidently commencing on the great field of education.

Were all this accomplished, however, we confess that we despair of the co-operation of the Established Church of Scotland in any scheme for the re-organization of the schools. We do not wish to make any disrespectful statement: but we cannot shut our eyes nor our ears to her language oral and written; and throughout it breathes a spirit the reverse of national—narrow, exclusive, and sectarian. It claims the exclusive superintendence of the schools. It demands that none but its members shall be the national teachers. It arrogates to itself the entire functions of publicly authorized educators. And rather than there shall be the least modification of its demands, it is contented to leave the whole of the large towns, and the growing population of the rural districts, mainly to voluntary efforts, which, according to the showing of its own advocates, produce sectarianism, division, and religious strife.

Is there hope anywhere else? We cannot shut our eyes to the great influence which the Establishment possesses. We do not allude merely to that weight which is attached by Government to her opinion, in virtue of her numbering among her adherents, or, at least, her supporters, so large a proportion of the landed proprietors, and so many of the wealthy in our cities. This we think it would not be difficult to overbear in a right cause. But,—and this is one of the drawbacks to the unquestionable advantages of the union with our more potent neighbour,—English members, unacquainted with Scottish feeling and Scottish wants, accustomed to look upon us as a passive province, whom hardly any wrongs will rouse, or neglect exasperate, are ever apt to make common cause with the minority of this country, where they fear the contagion of example, or hate the hazard of change. It is true, that England has no schools such as ours, legislatively endowed, and under the exclusive superintendence of the Church. But experience has shewn, that there is the utmost sensitiveness on the part of English legislators with regard to all Scottish Church questions. It would be argued, that the withdrawal of the National Schools of Scotland from the superintendence of the National Church of Scotland, would endanger her very existence. It has been so maintained. Plausibly, perhaps, and certainly foolishly; for it seems suicidal thus to identify the Establishment in religion, which nobody is actively assailing, with the schools, whose present constitution is an undoubted obstacle to the welfare of the country. The storm may not be able to tear down yonder ponderous mass; but it beats on the wild ash, “moored in the rifted rock,” and, with increasing fury in each reiterated gust, tears down at last the tree; and, loosened

by its fatal associate, the huge block comes thundering down the mountain side. We would ask all the friends of the Establishment to ponder well this truth. But, in the meantime, there can be little doubt that the powerful English party, of which Sir Robert Inglis is the leader, would rouse at the cry of "The Church is in danger." Our only hope of any thing like immediate success is in a close, well-concocted, steadfast union of all who are alive to the importance of an improved and truly National System of Education.

At first sight this would appear to be a matter easy of accomplishment. The facts cannot be better stated than in the language of the General Assembly of the Free Church, in one of her Resolutions of 1847, respecting the Government Scheme of Education.

"The position of Scotland in respect of education is such as to afford peculiar facilities for the adoption of a system of popular education, which might be generally acceptable to the community, and at the same time consistent with sound principle, were Scotland now, as in former days, considered and dealt with as a distinct nation, on the footing of national standing and attainments, inasmuch as, *first*, there would seem to be almost a universal concurrence among those of all denominations who are practically carrying on the work in Scotland, notwithstanding important differences in other matters, in the use in all their schools not only of the Holy Scriptures, but also of the Catechisms of the Westminster Assembly; and, *secondly*, all such parties agree in the propriety, and adopt the practice, of opening all public schools to those who wish to avail themselves of the merely secular part of the instruction embraced in them, without requiring attendance at any religious service or exercise, either on week-day or Sabbath-day. And it appears to this Assembly, not only that the people of Scotland have the strongest claim to be treated, in this manner, as a portion of the empire distinct from the rest, but that it would be the highest honour and soundest policy of a wise, Christian, and patriotic Government to make Scotland the field for exemplifying a plan of national education, evangelical and Scriptural on the one hand, and yet thoroughly Catholic on the other."

In all this we cordially concur. And, could it be attained, we should rejoice over it as one of the greatest boons that could be conferred on Scotland. But, alas! as, on the one hand, we were forced to abandon all hope of a union with the Establishment, we have been reluctantly led to consider as utterly visionary any prospect of a combined movement for extended education on these terms. We have no intention of canvassing the merits or the demerits of Voluntaryism: we are now only recording the fact. And, seeing that a large and influential body of men in Scotland repudiate, not only as non-scriptural, but as

anti-scriptural, any State interference with religious instruction, we look upon this principle which has lately emerged to form an element in the education question, as demanding a reconsideration of our position. We foresee that there will be much of controversy on this point, and can only trust that it will be conducted with the feeling that the object aimed at is common to all—a sound religious education universally extended, and that the only difference is, as to the means. With one set of educationists, who may enlist under Voluntary banners, we confess that we have no sympathy—those who, in a Legislative enactment, would not only not include, but would, on the ground that such exclusion is a positive advantage, exclude the religious element. In truth, we cannot exclude the spirit of this element in practice. We might as well attempt to shut out from our houses the influences of the atmosphere: build on airy height, or in noisome fen, through every chink and cranny creeps unseen, unheard, that which gives health or generates disease; and in the school-room, the teacher who is not actuated by religious principle, exercises a positively irreligious influence. Meanwhile, were it not for the awful importance of the subject, we would turn away wearied and annoyed from the brawl of discussion—the physicians squabbling, each intent on his own *panacea*, while there are sick and dying all around. “Ah! vous avez raison,” says Gil Blas to the sanguinary Sangrado, “il ne faut point accorder ce triomphe à vos ennemis: ils diroient que vous vous laissez désabuser? ils vous perdroient de réputation. Périront plutôt le peuple, la noblesse, et le clergé! Allons donc toujours notre train.”

We were amused lately with reading, that a Scotsman abroad was accustomed to test the veracity of beggars alleging that they were his countrymen, by putting to them the question, “What is the chief end of man?”—a test as infallible as asking a sailor mendicant to box the compass. In the train of thought to which this gives rise, we see the end of a clue to guide us out of this labyrinth. We have reason to know, on what we deem ample authority, two things. The Lord Advocate was prepared, some years ago, to bring in a Bill for extended, unexclusive national education, of which the Bible and the Shorter Catechism were to be the basis. We have been told, that he regards such a measure as hopeless in present circumstances. And Government will not stir in the matter without a union on the part of the great dissenting bodies of Scotland. Yet the fact that hardly an adventure school in all Scotland is to be found where the parents do not practically demand for their children religious instruction, and *that* in the Bible and Shorter Catechism, is pregnant with meaning and comfort. Attempts, we learn, are mak-

ing in various parts of the country to bring about a union of parties, on the basis of a measure which shall not exclude religion, but leave the question to be decided by the people themselves in their various localities. We have no doubt how that question would be settled by the Scottish people; but we have left ourselves no space to enter into particulars. To do so, indeed, would be premature, as much must be done by mutual concessions before the details of such a measure can be rendered either safe or generally acceptable. What we deprecate is, any rash or inconsiderate condemnation of its principle. We may in a subsequent Number discuss it fully. Now, we intreat all those who love our common country, not to turn hastily from any measure which promises to unite the friends of education;—and with one consideration we conclude. It is impossible permanently to leave Scotland as it now is. If the supporters of education combine at this time, they may obtain such a measure, not as each desires, but as shall secure religious training, on the guarantee of the habits and predilections of the people themselves, and these fostered by the vigilance of the Churches, in the fair exercise of precept and discipline. If the insensate grasping after educational control is to frustrate all schemes of improvement, or if with the vain hope of seeing the turbid stream of educational polemics abate, men are to wait like fools—

“ — dum defluat amnis,”

we can have no difficulty in adopting as our own the language of one of our most distinguished philanthropists, and a most sagacious observer of the signs of the times, Dr. Guthrie, when he says—“ Granting, for the sake of argument, that we have some risk to run, the blessings of a national education are surely worth it; and they who, magnifying dangers, are alarmed at the risk the proposed scheme exposes us to, forget what they ought to regard as the greatest danger of all. The sword of the State may cut the Gordian knot which the skill of Churchmen could not untie. Needing and demanding an extended system of education, the country may have its patience exhausted in the attitude of waiting till we settle our disputes; and leaving the different sects as they can to provide religious instruction, apart from the national schools, Parliament may pass a measure entirely and exclusively secular in its character.”

- ART. VIII.—1. *A Letter to the Queen on a late Court Martial.* By SAMUEL WARREN, F.R.S. Edinburgh, 1850.
2. *The Laws relating to Officers in the Army.* By HARRIS PRENDERGAST, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. London, 1849.
3. *The Military Miscellany.* By HENRY MARSHALL, F.R.S.E. London, 1846.
4. *L'Inde Anglaise en 1843-1844.* Par le COMTE EDOUARD DE WARREN. Paris, 1845.
5. *A Letter to the Right Hon. Sir John Hobhouse on the Baggage of the Indian Army.* By SIR CHARLES JAMES NAPIER, G.C.B. London, 1849.
6. *Brief Comments on Sir Charles Napier's Letter to Sir John Hobhouse.* By LIEUT.-COLONEL BURLTON, Bengal Cavalry, late Commissary-General of the Bengal Army. 1849.
7. *The Duties and Responsibilities of Military Officers.* By J. H. STOCQUELER, Military Examiner, Hanwell Collegiate Institution.
8. *The Works of Charles Lever, Author of "Harry Lorrequer."* London and Dublin. v. d.
9. *Country Quarters.* A Novel. By the Late COUNTESS OF BLESSINGTON. London, 1850.

WE have here but a small selection from the military literature of the last three or four years. The British officer cannot complain that he is neglected by the writers of the day. Authors of widely different classes and characters make him the subject of their discourse; barristers put him into a law-treatise; doctors compound essays about him; general officers pillory him in pamphlets; military examiners exhibit him in their lectures; ladies of quality parade him in fashionable novels; and magazine-writers prey upon him by the score. We ought to know something about his character and conduct by this time; we ought to know how he looks, how he dresses, what he says, what he does—altogether, what kind of animal he is, what are his habits, what are his manners, what are his sympathies. It is no fault of our novelists if we are not familiar with military life of a certain class—with the *symposia* of the mess, and the *memorabilia* of officers' quarters; with the *heroics* of the camp, and the *bucolics* of country quarters. We have, at all events, enough of this kind of writing. If we have anything to complain of on the score of quality or quantity, it is not certainly on that of the latter.

To confess the truth, these pictures of military life are not by any means prepossessing. They may amuse us; but they

do not please. It is only when we find the heroes of these novels and romances before the enemy that we can seriously bring ourselves to admire them. In barracks and country quarters they are, after all, but an idle, dissolute, unprincipled set of fellows—men who would not cheat you at cards, but would sell you a bargain in horse-flesh; who would not tell a brother officer a lie, but would perjure themselves to a pretty girl without compunction; who would not demean themselves by associating with low people, but who drink like troopers, swear like barge-men, and indulge in practical jokes which would disgrace the marker of a billiard-table. Mr. Thackeray's pictures are, perhaps, the least disagreeable. We are compensated for the sublime selfishness of George Osborne by the heroic devotedness of dear old Dobbin; whilst the gawky ensigns, who swear allegiance to Mrs. George and the long cornet who competes with poor Pen for the virgin affections of the glorious Miss Fotheringay, are but very harmless simpletons, at the worst, a long way below the level of our anger. Mr. Lever's military heroes are of another stamp. There is a rollicking Irish dare-devilry about them, which does not altogether consort with our elderly notions of the character of a gentleman. They seem as though they were sent into the world only to drink wine, to ride steeple-chases, to fight duels, and to perfect themselves in the arts of seduction.* There is a notable want of dignity and decency about them all; the eccentricities which they commit are, for the most part, "tolerable and not to be endured." Their morals and their manners are equally bad. We should think but poorly of what Mr. Warren calls "the resplendent phalanx which guards the throne of Her Majesty, and the lives and liberties of their fellow-subjects," if we were to accept the heroes of the "Tom Burke" and "Charles O'Malley" school, as genuine representatives of the commissioned class of English soldiers.

There is this, however, to be said for them, that these pictures

* A single page of any military novel—we take one from the very latest, Lady Blessington's "Country Quarters"—will suffice to show the conventional idea of the occupations of young "soldier-officers."—"When Colonel Maitland and Major Elvaston withdrew, the junior officers looked sadly at each other. Captain Melville was the first who broke silence, and drawing a deep sigh, he exclaimed, 'I fear we are doomed to die of ennui in this barbarous place.'—'Can't we get up steeple-chases or races,' said Mr. Hunter; 'Or get the wild Irishwomen to run in sacks? it's such good fun,' observed Lieut. Marston; 'Or get up balls with some of the pretty girls we saw in the windows as we marched into the town?' interrupted Mr. Hunter. 'Hunter is for getting up some love affair already,' said Capt. Melville; 'but he must take care of what he is about; for Irish fathers and brothers are ticklish fellows to deal with, I am told.' This is an epitome of a military novel; it embraces all the incidents in which a legitimate military hero is engaged.

are intended rather to represent the British officer as he *was*, than as he *is*. The character of our commissioned officers during the "thirty years' peace," has been gradually ripening into what "it ought to be." The greatest and most important change of all is now in course of consummation. The army is now, to a certain extent, becoming a "learned profession." It is one that now requires for all its branches certain definite qualifications. Not merely the candidates for the Engineers and the Artillery, but for the Cavalry and Infantry, are now required to present their diplomas of literary qualification before they can obtain Her Majesty's commission. The recent regulations upon this head constitute the most important measure of military reform which has received the sanction of Government since the passing of the Limited Enlistment Act. What that bill is to the private soldier, the new education-test is to the British officer. As surely as the first will raise the character of the former, the second will raise the character of the latter. It was once the belief that "any fool would do for the army;"—the greatest blockhead, or the greatest scape-grace in a family was marked out from his childhood to become an item of the "resplendent phalanx" of Her Majesty's defenders. If a boy could barely read at twelve years old, and was eternally singeing his eye-lashes with gunpowder; getting under the heels of his father's horses at home; giving and receiving black eyes and bloody noses at school; robbing his master's orchard; bolstering his school-fellows, and delighting them with "apple-pie beds;" or indulging in any other of those juvenile eccentricities, for which the "young troublesomes" of the age have been immortalized by Mr. Leech, he was immediately marked for the army. The requirements of the military profession were supposed to be a sufficiency of cash to buy a commission, and a sufficiency of courage to face the enemy. We are now endeavouring to secure for the army a better reputation. It is no longer to be, either in its higher or its lower departments, a refuge for those who cannot obtain honourable employment in other professions—for those who, in one class of life, are too stupid to be trained for lawyers or clergymen; or in the other class, too abandoned to make reputable agriculturists or respectable mechanics. Military education is as yet only in its infancy. The time is not far distant, we hope, when a much larger proportion of the officers of the British army will enjoy the advantages of professional training at public institutions, established for the purpose; but until that day arrive, the education-test now in force, though it may not do all, will do much to raise the intellectual character of the men who command our armies.

We do not mean to convey an impression that the military

colleges are nurseries of morality and decorum. We have some personal experience of the matter, which would lead to an opposite conclusion. The cadets of Woolwich, Addiscombe, and Sandhurst, are not models of propriety. They are up to a thing or two. They learn something more from *alma mater* than mathematics and fortification. They learn to sing a song—to play at cards—to “pass the rosy”—to talk that kind of language which Walpole said was the only one that all men understand. They learn the value, at the accommodation-shop, of such convertible securities as watches and gold pencil-cases; and, worst of all, they learn to indulge in that *suave scelus*—which “hardens a’ within, and petrifies the feeling.”* The conventional morality, which obtains at these institutions, is, it must be conceded, of no very elevated character; but where is there a high standard of morality among students, at that perilous season of incipient manhood, when youth endeavours to simulate maturity by aping the most attractive of its vices? There are few men whose experience does not assure them that youthful vice is imitative and ambitious rather than impulsive; that hobble-doyism goes astray, in more cases, because it is supposed to be manly, than because it is pleasant to launch into vice. All this is to be deeply deplored. But we do not readily see how it is to be remedied. The evil may in some measure be modified by the nature of the regulations in force at these military training-houses, as indeed it is affected by the localities in which they are situated—Woolwich, for example, being about the worst place in England for the site of such an institution. Certain temptations and facilities may exist in one quarter and under one system, which may not exist in another quarter and under another system. And, doubtless, it is the bounden duty of the authorities to look carefully to this. But still everything done that authority can do, the best localities selected and the most salutary regulations enforced, much will yet necessarily remain to be deplored and not be remedied. Wherever a number of youths between the ages of fourteen and eighteen are herded together,

* It may be added, that tyranny is among the vices which have been born or fostered at these institutions—but it is to be hoped that this imputation belongs rather to the past than to the present. Whatever may be advanced in favour of the flogging system as it obtains at our public schools, it is nothing but unmixed evil at a military college. The boys of Eton and Westminster part when their school career is over, and perhaps never meet again. At all events, there is nothing in after-life to bring them necessarily into professional juxtaposition. But the Woolwich cadets necessarily grow into engineer or artillery officers, to live in the same barracks, to meet on the same parade, to associate at the same mess-table. The memory of past humiliation and past suffering inflicted by one upon another, is not likely to prove a very efficient bond of amity between officer and officer.

much mischief will, we fear, be learnt—much impurity contracted. “ ’Tis true, ’tis pity; pity ’tis, ’tis true !”

All this, it may be said, is nothing less than one momentous argument against military colleges—one mighty illustration of the evils inherent in such institutions. We hold a very different creed. The evil is not inherent in them, but incidental to them. The youngsters do not go astray because they are inmates of the military college; the inmates of the military college go astray because they are youngsters. The worst that can with truth be said of them is, that, in some cases, they play the part of great moral forcing-houses, and cause a premature development of vice. But it may die all the sooner for its early birth, and without attaining the vigour of a later creation. The effect may be a sort of inoculation which anticipates by a milder ailment the dire disease of which it is the preventive. We believe that whatever evil the cadet may learn, the commissioned officer may be the safer for it. It may damage him for a time—it may bruise him, and lacerate him—it hastens the inevitable collision; *but—it may break his fall.*

We have little hesitation in affirming it to be a fact, that as a whole, the alumni of our military college make, in the sequel, better officers and better men than those who join the army fresh from the private school or the parental roof. There are not many military men who will not acknowledge that their experience coincides with our own, when we assert that the boys who have been most tenderly educated and most carefully watched—who have seldom been a day beyond the reach of the paternal eye—whose impulses and inclinations have been most checked and restrained—who have seen the least of the world, of its amusements and festivities, and been least within the influence of its snares—are of all others the most likely, on joining the army, to enter upon a career of violent dissipation—to sink into a very slough of extravagant immorality, and never to emerge from it again. When we hear of a young officer going with extraordinary rapidity to perdition, we have always a conviction, and a very strong one, on our minds, that he joined his regiment in all the freshness of unsullied youth, stepping at once from the paternal homestead to the barrack-room, there to be for the first time surrounded by temptation, and left to face it, without restraint, without experience, without counsel, without support.

Let us follow, a little space, the career of one of these undisciplined youngsters. Fresh from some quiet country house, from private school, or from private tutor, DAISY, (to borrow the *soubriquet* of Mr. Dickens’ last hero,) full of pleasant anticipations not unmingled with nervous misgivings, goes forth, a real live

cornet or ensign, to join the *depôt* of his regiment. He has got his outfit before this. He has displayed himself in full uniform before the admiring eyes of his mother and sisters; he has tripped over his sword a score of times in his bed-room; and run the point of it through the curtains. He has begun to talk about "our mess"—to express loudly his desire to "see service;" and the chances are that in the plenitude of his self-appreciation he entertains a profound contempt for civilians in general, and gives himself the airs of a prince. The day arrives on which he is to join his regiment. A few hours, and everything is changed. He is by no means the mighty man he had recently esteemed himself. He is a very small personage indeed. He is ashamed of his own insignificance. He appears at the mess-table very carefully dressed, and has an uneasy consciousness that everybody is looking at him. He is afraid of committing some solecism or other; and hardly knows, when he is addressed, whether they are not laughing at him. All this wears off by degrees; DAISY becomes acquainted with his brother officers, makes desperate attempts at manliness, and breaks down under the weight of his new responsibilities. Temptations of all kinds assail him. He is tempted to drink; he is tempted to gamble; he is tempted into other vices which it is less easy to mention. Everything is new and strange to him. Pleasure has its first bloom upon it; it comes before him in the full attractions of novelty at a time when there are no restraints and impediments in his way—when it appears to him, truly or falsely—more probably the latter—that he is rather gaining credit than sinking in the estimation of those by whom he is surrounded. He is "young, rash, inexperienced;" he places himself in the way of seduction; he invites every one to throw their snares around him; he has been sneered at, or thinks that he has been sneered at for his youth and freshness, and he determines to show that he is a full-grown man. He thinks that he can play at cards—that he can play at billiards—that he can ride a steeple-chase—that he is a "three bottle man." He loses his money; he makes a fool of himself; he is laughed at by his regiment; and he loses his temper. He very soon grows reckless. Deeper and deeper he plunges into folly. He runs a-muck like a desperate Malay; forfeits his self-respect and the respect of his brother officers; endeavours to recover it by fighting a duel; and immerses himself more hopelessly in the slough. A bankrupt in purse, a bankrupt in reputation, the game is soon played out. The end of it is a court-martial. He is tried for conduct unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman; and he is dismissed the service before he is out of his teens. Some pity him on account

of his youth—some shake their heads and speak of his precocious depravity. In good sooth, if ever there were call for pity, here is a case to evoke the deepest commiseration.

It is really no imaginary picture. The freshest, the most simple-minded, the most innocent boy we ever knew—one who took nothing evil with him into the army, who had been tenderly watched at home, had never, we believe, been separated by a mile of ground from his parents, when he joined his regiment at the age of sixteen—was cashiered, soon after he was of age, for fighting two duels before breakfast, and being involved in certain gambling transactions, out of which the quarrels arose. We doubt whether he knew a club from a spade, or could have made a stroke with a billiard cue without cutting the cloth, when he first entered the army. He was as mild, as gentle, and as gentlemanly a youth as ever existed; the son of a soldier, and the brother of soldiers; and yet, in two or three years, he was publicly branded as a gambler and a duellist, pronounced to be unfit to associate with officers and gentlemen, and cast adrift upon the world. The result was, as it generally is in such cases, that he enlisted as a private in a cavalry regiment, under an assumed name, and was thus socially dead and buried soon after he was of age. We believe this to have been one of the few cases in which courts-martial have taken an unjust and ungenerous view of the conduct of a young officer. They generally err, if they err at all, on the side of leniency, and suffer men to rejoin their regiments who have been convicted of such conduct as indicates an inherent and irremediable want of gentlemanly and correct feeling; but no military tribunal can ever render justice that does not thoroughly and feelingly consider the environments which have surrounded the prisoner—the causes which have conduced to his degradation. A boy who enters a regiment at the age of sixteen, perfectly fresh and uncontaminated, is not very likely to corrupt his brother-officers. If there be corruption—if it be shown that gambling and strife have demoralized a corps—that large sums of money have been won and lost, and that duels have been the consequence—it is not only generous, but just, to consider whether the prisoner may not have been more probably the victim than the origin of all this evil. A youth does not go to perdition in this way, unless older hands help him on the road.

But what we would wish to deduce from these facts is not that courts-martial are sometimes unjust, but that parents are often injudicious. Military colleges, and, in default of them, large schools, are the best preparatives for a life in the army. In spite of the admitted evils of these military training-houses,

we should be glad to see their number extended. In a merely educational point of view their utility is so great and undeniable, that it is not necessary to support the assertion of it by argument or illustration. We are speaking now of the moral training which is acquired at these institutions, and though, to a certain extent, the influence is demoralizing, we believe that there is a protective power about it which is of immense service to the young officer on his first introduction to military life. The cadet from Woolwich or Sandhurst joins his regiment under great advantages. He may go wrong, very wrong; but there is a certain method in his wrong-doing. It is kept within ordinate bounds. He is sure not to go headlong to perdition. He knows what he is about. Pleasure has lost its freshness. He looks vice deliberately in the face. He does not plunge headlong into a sea of dissipation; he has no perilous ordeal to go through; he has passed the Rubicon long before; and now takes his place among his brother officers with all the self-possession of a veteran. He will, in all likelihood, settle down quietly into a good officer, and a gentlemanly man; whilst DAISY, just for want of that boyish experience, rushes down the precipice like a maniac, and is crushed before he is a man.

It is not in the power of the parent to decree that his son shall put on the armour of experience at Sandhurst or Woolwich; but it is in his power to fortify him with some little experience acquired elsewhere. It is a great mistake to send a boy into the army at the early age of sixteen; and yet we have known parents take advantage of the height and manly appearance of their sons to pass them at the Horse Guards before they have attained the authorized age, as if there were any likelihood of a youth prospering, whose first step in life is a lie. A year or two between the school-room and the barracks may be most profitably spent. The first social lessons should be learned, if possible, under the parental eye. In most cases, under the present system, the youth carries with him to his regiment an entirely false standard of gentlemanly and soldierly conduct, based upon the ethics of the play-ground, and the gospel-histories of Harry Lorrequer. A little intercourse with society would help him to unlearn all this. He would see with his own eyes, and comprehend with his own understanding what things are accounted fair and honest, and of good report among men—what manners mark the gentleman—what conduct secures respect. He would enter his regiment with a firm step and a steady eye, instead of floundering and sprawling about dazzled and bewildered, a raw, reckless, presumptuous boy.

Happily the conventional morality of the barrack-room, the customs and conversation of the mess-table, the general habits and way of life of the military officer of the present generation, are a very long way in advance of the ignorance and indecorum of past generations. Rapidly since the commencement of the present century has the old conventional type of the rugged and unlettered soldier worn itself out under the ascending sun of civilisation. In good truth, the soldier was for a long time stationary. There is little difference between the character of the old Roman soldier, who, in the pages of Sallust, is made to boast that he did not read history, but acted it,—“*Quæ illi audire, et legere solent eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi. Qua illi literis, ea ego militando didici; nunc vos existumatis, facta an dicta pheris sunt?*”—there is little difference, we say, between the character of the hero, who utters his boasts in this wise, and the old soldier in one of Massinger's plays, who exclaims—

“I find not in my commission
An officer's bound to know or understand
More than his mother-tongue.”

And in days much later than these, not merely by dramatists and romance-writers, but by members of the profession itself, was the character of the British officer described as a compound of ignorance and immorality of the most unseemly and forbidding description. It would be easy to multiply such pictures of British officers painted by themselves. One hit off by Colonel Pearse, in 1775, though it relates to the character of the military officer in India, *mutatis mutandis*, represents him as he was all over the world. It is recommended to us by its brevity and its liveliness;—

“To be a gentleman you must learn to drink by all means—a man is honoured in proportion to the number of bottles he can drink: keep a dozen dogs, but, in particular, if you have not the least use for them, and hate hunting and shooting. Four horses may barely suffice, but if you have eight, and seven of them are too vicious to the syce to feed, it will be much better. By no means let the horses be paid for; and have a palanquin covered with silver trappings—get 10,000 rupees in debt, but 20,000 would make you an honest man, especially if you are convinced that you will never have the power to pay. Endeavour to forget whatever you have learnt—ridicule learning of all sorts—despise all military knowledge—call duty a bore—encourage your men to laugh at orders—obey such as you like—make a joke of your commanding officer for giving those orders you do not like, and if you obey them, let it be seen that it is merely to serve yourself. These few rules will make you an officer and a gentleman.”

We are afraid that many of these rules were in force, and greatly respected in the army, at home and abroad, half-a-century after this letter was written.

"Our troops swore terribly in Flanders," said my uncle Toby. Swearing was at one time the especial accomplishment of a soldier. To "swear like a trooper" is an expression that has become proverbial. Long since my uncle Toby's time, blasphemy was considered manly and decorous in an officer. He governed his men by swearing at them, and sometimes even betook himself to blows. "In the course of my service," says an old officer, quoted by Dr. Marshall in his *Military Miscellany*, "I have been shocked to hear the expressions made use of by some officers in command of regiments. What can tolerate or excuse such words as these?—'I will flog your guts out, you rascal!' 'I will cut the flesh off your bloody back,' and other expressions more ungentlemanlike and inhuman." "A commanding officer of a corps," continues Dr. Marshall, "concluded an address to the men in the following emphatic words: '*If you,*' said he, '*furnish backs, I will provide cats for them.*'" The writer then goes on to quote other authorities, and to subjoin the results of his own experience:—

"The soldier," says Major Macnamara, "was treated as an unruly child in a workhouse—fed, clothed, and flogged, but never instructed, never reasoned with. 'You have no business to *think*, Sir,' was a sentence often addressed to him, 'but to do as you are *bid*; and the sentence was generally concluded by a gentlemanlike, charitable, and encouraging and be d—d to you.' Swearing and abuse were, indeed, the only accomplishments within the soldier's reach. His officers swore, his non-commissioned officers swore, and his comrades never once addressed one another without swearing. Swearing was at one time so common, that it came to be considered an indispensable specific for preserving discipline, and carrying on public duty. It was supposed by some that it added dignity and weight to the orders which were given—that it was a manly qualification; and it has often been asserted that a British soldier never thought his officer in earnest with him unless he swore at him."

The soldier was often abused and sworn at for swearing; but

"That in the captain's but a cholerick word,
Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy."

One has only to look back to the novels and plays written at the end of the last and commencement of the present century, to convince us what was the language then current among the officers of the British army. It is in the recollection, too, of many whose memories embrace a much more limited period, that blasphemy and obscenity were by no means considered dis-

creditable to officers of any rank ; and that the after-dinner conversation of the mess-table was an unseemly mixture of the two, enlivened by gross anecdotes and varied by occasional songs, such as one would hardly expect to hear bawled out two hours after midnight, at the Coal Hole, the Cyder Cellars, or any other "finish" of the same reputable class.

Nor, we fear it must be acknowledged, were the acts of our officers of a much choicer character than their words. Perhaps they have not altogether outgrown the reputation of being somewhat unscrupulous in their amours. The "Captain bold of Halifax, who lived in country quarters," and who is imperishably associated with the name of the unfortunate Miss Bailey, is a type of what our gentlemanly red-coats were not very many years ago. In Farquhar's "Recruiting Officer," we have a picture of the officer in country quarters, as he lived, and moved, and amused himself in the dramatist's time, which exhibits a state of morality inconceivably and unblushingly bad—too bad, indeed, to suffer us to extract an illustration from its prurient pages. The lighter literature of Farquhar's, and indeed of much later times, represents the military officer always as an unprincipled seducer, often as a gambler and a scoundrel. In these days, we repeat, he has not wholly outgrown the reputation of being a little unscrupulous in his amours. Military officers in garrison towns are still somewhat given to philandering. It is partly their own fault. It is partly the fault of the sober town-folks and their daughters. As long as women bow down with such immoderate veneration before a military uniform, young officers, we fear, will be found to take advantage of their weakness. Perhaps the taste for red-coats is not quite so strong as it was. Perhaps the officers of the army are not so idle as they were. Marriage has become more fashionable since the peace—and hence an improvement in the morality of the army. We look for still greater improvement. A growing sense of the value of learning to the military officer, and of the duties and responsibilities of his position, will soon leave him little time to spend in lounging about the streets, talking nonsense first with one woman then with another, taking part in the "strenuous idleness" of *pic-nics*, and other recreations of the same frivolous class. We need not have much concern for his morals, if we can only give him plenty to do.

We may touch upon one more point, in which of late years there has been a marked improvement in the army. "To be a gentleman," wrote Colonel Pearse, in the letter which we have quoted, "you must learn to drink by all means ; a man is honoured in proportion to the number of bottles he can drink." Now, in respect of drinking as of swearing, it is only fair to ob-

serve that these vices were not peculiar to our *military* ancestors. As they have declined in civil society they have been banished from military life. Perhaps the custom of sitting late at table obtained longer at military messes than in the dining-rooms of civilians; but a remarkable change in this respect has supervened within the last few years. Even the "public night" now rarely gives an occasion for a protracted symposium. The "second supper" is a thing comparatively unknown. The grilled bones of the small hours have almost become traditions; and the discreditable scenes which often followed these late *sederunts*, are now, we hope, seldom or never enacted. There was a time, and not a very remote one, when the most indecorous practical jokes often succeeded these midnight carousals; and officers have awakened from the slumber of intoxication, in their own rooms, to find themselves deprived of a whisker or a moustache; or polished pretty nearly from head to foot by the application of the blacking-brush. We do not mean that such practical jokes are never played now;* but we believe that there is much more decorum both at and after the mess, and that these school-boy follies are now comparatively rare. The manners of the mess are now very much what we might expect them to be, when we consider who are the gentlemen who fill the commissioned ranks of the British Army.

On the subject of military messes some discussion has recently arisen; the evils of the system have been emphatically commented upon, and its abolition has been recommended. It would be scarcely possible for any military writer to commit a greater mistake. If a system were necessarily bad because it is susceptible of abuse, what system could stand submission to such a test? The institution of the military mess is not one of un-mixed good. However excellent may be the root of it, it bears some evil fruit; but the good which it yields is far more abundant. Every regiment in the service has an ambition to be esteemed for keeping up "a good mess." It is a laudable ambition, too, in its way; but in our modern notions of a good mess there is infinitely too much of splendour and luxuriousness. We do not subscribe to the opinion, that this splendour and luxuriousness have any enervating and effeminizing effect upon our officers—that the men who dine sumptuously every day, off gorgeous plate and delicately fine linen—who criticise elaborate French dishes, and discuss the most costly wines, in garrison or cantonnement, are less fitted to rough it on active service, than if

* We have heard, indeed, that an officer of a dragoon regiment recently died from the effects of injuries received from a tossing in the blanket. This is one of those stories, which we are always so unwilling to believe, that we only allude to them as rumours.

they had been accustomed to the homeliest fare, served up in the homeliest manner. No man roughs it so well as your genuine aristocrat—no man endures hardship more cheerfully, submits to privation with a better grace, and really bears up, physically as well as morally, so bravely as one of your well-born, well-fed, well-clothed, tenderly-nurtured, and self-indulgent denizens of May-Fair or Belgravia. Who knows better than we, who live in these northern latitudes, what the young southern lordlings can do when they come down among us grouse-shooting and deer-stalking? To see them lazily stretching out their fine length of limb at their clubs, or leaning against the walls of a crowded ball-room, scented and gloved, too indolent and apathetic to move a finger, you would think that they had not strength to brain a fly, or speed to run down a tortoise. But, thanks to the discipline of Eton and Harrow, when they turn out for work they have good stuff in them; speed, bottom, muscle, and nerve; a true eye, a steady hand, a strong arm; quick to do, patient to endure; nothing comes amiss to them. They can sleep anywhere; they can eat anything. They can face the bleakest wind without a shiver, and bear the most pitiless pelting of the storm as cheerily as though it were a shower of *bon-bons* at a carnival. It is the same upon active service. There is a native manliness in our British aristocracy which luxury cannot destroy, which fashion cannot enervate. Whilst our young men are ever ready, in pursuit of the temporary amusement of field-sports, to brave danger and endure hardship, we need not fear that they will shrink, at their country's call, from meeting privation with cheerfulness, and confronting peril with a steady eye. Think of the lounging, drawling, dandy guardsmen who turned out at Waterloo. There was the heart of a hero under every man's coat—the pulse of a giant under every man's wristband. The Ponsonbys and the Howards of St. James's were not outmatched by the Horatii of old Rome. And throughout that long series of operations on the Peninsula, when the patience and courage of all ranks were tried as in a furnace, who can say that the men who had lain softly and fared sumptuously at home, were less content than their humbler brethren with the soldier's fare and the soldier's pillow?*

* "I know by experience," says one who served in the ranks during the Peninsular war, "that in our army the men like best to be officered by gentlemen,—men whose education has rendered them more kind in manners than your coarse officers sprung from obscure origin, and whose style is brutal and overbearing. My observation has often led me to remark amongst men, that those whose birth and station might reasonably have made them fastidious under hardship and toil, have generally borne their miseries without a murmur; whilst those whose previous life one would have thought might have better prepared them for the toils of

We have no fear, therefore, of the sturdy qualities of the British officer degenerating under the influence of luxurious living in garrison or cantonment. He will eat his half-cooked goat-meat and dry biscuit off the bottom of a beer-chest none the less cheerfully for having indulged at "our mess" in the luxuries of damask table-linen, mirror-like plate, and no less mirror-like mahogany. The English gentleman is not naturally a "Sybarite"—is not easily corrupted. Still it is well that the luxuries of the mess-table should be kept down—that the expenses of the mess-table should be curtailed. We have less concern for the nerves and muscles than for the purses of our officers. It is only when the expenses of the mess are suffered to press too severely upon its members, that we can recognise anything but unmixed good in the institution.

The abolition of officer's messes would destroy at once the distinctive character of the British officer. Who would wish to see him, in full uniform, playing at dominos like a French officer, in a *café*, or catching small fish like a Belgian out of the balcony of an *estaminet* by the canal side? Who would wish to send our officers to taverns and eating-houses in search of their dinner, by depriving them of that home—of that domestic circle—of that bond of brotherhood which only the mess can afford? In no country in the world is the character of the officer and the gentleman so blended and associated as in Great Britain. Ask any foreigner what is the one thing in the English military system which especially dignifies the character of our officers, and he will say that it is the *Mess*. He dines at the mess-table of a British regiment, and is astonished at the polished decorum which there obtains. It is with no less admiration than astonishment, that he declares his conviction that there is nothing of the guard-room or canteen in the manners of the mess-table. M. De Warren, in his *L'Inde Anglaise*, a work which, although of little authority in other respects, is entitled to consideration when treating of such a subject as this, for it is written by one of the few Frenchmen who have ever attained by personal ex-

war, have been the first to cry out and complain of their hard fate."—*Rifleman Harris*.

And in our Indian wars—even under that climate which makes the luxuries of the West the necessities of the East—the British officer has not been found wanting in endurance. "That the officers of the Indian Army," writes Colonel Burton, "are ever ready to march without even a servant or a tent, when emergencies arise, and to leave everything behind them but their stout hearts and good swords, when started in pursuit of an enemy, let the history of India proclaim." "Ask Sir Willoughby Cotton," he continues, "if he remembers when he thought a piece of buffalo's flesh a luxury. To be sure it required the teeth of an ogre to masticate it, but it made something like a soup; it was fresh; we got it at first but seldom, and so it was considered something of a treat."

perience any real knowledge of our English military system, emphatically records his opinion that the mess-table is the finest school of manners in the world :—

“ On conçoit,” he writes, “ que l’institution de cette table-d’hôte devra avoir d’immenses résultats pour le bien-être physique et moral, les relations amicales, l’esprit de corps du régiment, pour y entretenir les sentimens les plus libéraux, les plus civilisés, et en même temps les plus chevaleresques.”

And again,—

“ Tous ces vices du tempérament national et de la société Anglaise disparaissent au creuset militaire. La camaraderie fait justice de la présomption, la vie intime bannit la morgue, l’esprit chevaleresque met un frein à l’insolence. Ainsi constitué, avec des lois si sages, chaque corps d’officiers forme une société d’élites, école de mœurs et de talens, serre-chaude de vives et tendres amitiés capables de résister aux assauts et aux orages du monde. C’est un système simple dans son action, admirable dans ses résultats, auquel je ne trouve rien à comparer.”

Another passage, which relates to the conversation of the mess-table at the present day, is worth quoting, though the somewhat exaggerated strain in which it is written, may raise a smile on the face of the English reader :—

“ Entre autres règles prescrites dans le code d’instructions pour le président de table, il faut en observer une assez remarquable ; il doit interdire tout sujet de conversation ayant rapport à l’école ; c’est-à-dire aux détails pratiques ou lieux communs du métier militaire. La conversation doit rester celle d’un salon, comme il convient à des gentils-hommes réunis, c’est-à-dire mondaine ou littéraire, sur les arts ou l’histoire ; c’est tout au plus si l’on peut effleurer les grandes théories de la profession. Il s’ensuit que chaque officier étudie pour briller à la messe, et prépare souvent son éloquence du jour. Il s’ensuit aussi que chacun y gagne tout le rapport du ton, de l’instruction et des manières. C’est une causerie du grand monde, pleine de gaieté franche, piquante, spirituelle, animée.”

There are very good reasons for prohibiting at the mess-table all conversation *de l’école*, or as we conventionally call it, *shop*—reasons to which we shall presently revert. In the meanwhile it may be amusing, side by side with the above description of English mess-table talk, to give the following picture by an Englishman, (we wish we could give the graphic illustration which accompanies it,) of the café-haunting continental officer :—

“ Two gallant ‘defenders of their country’s wrongs,’ in martial garb and discussing matters of momentous importance, perhaps concerning the new regulation-sash, and the proposed style of wearing it across the shoulder, as among the Austrian A D C’s, and our own Highland regi-

ments; perhaps, a word or two on the last step, or the new colonel, or some such agreeable barrack conversation. Behold these exquisites; the widely-breasted coatee, with the briefest skirts, the aperture for the sword and the sheath depending therefrom, the still larger apertures for the hands, and the plaited pantaloons; and last, not least, the leather and brass helmets, with their square shades, the whole resembling something between a fireman's bucket and a coal-scuttle. Can these heroes be as attractive to the Prussian *salons de danse* as our red-coats in our English ball-rooms, I wonder? See how they saunter along the pavé with their arms immersed up to their elbows in their breeches' pockets, and clouding the streets with the smoke from their nauseous cigars—they *turn into a café?*—(*Pictures from the North: by Lieutenant Atkinson, Bengal Engineers.*)

After the shop the *café*. Now, all this talk of petty military details—"détails pratiques ou lieux communs du métier militaire"—consorts well with the wide breeches' pockets, the nauseous cigars, and the visit to the *café*; but there are very good reasons why this sort of stuff should not be talked at our English mess-tables. If strangers are present, it is manifestly ill-bred to give to the conversation

"A stamp exclusive or professional."

If strangers are not present, professional conversation is too apt to degenerate into personal criticism, to render it desirable or safe. The discussion of professional subjects is so near akin to the discussion of professional qualifications; indeed, where difference of opinion exists, the one to a certain extent so surely involves the other, that the "remarkable" rule of which M. De Warren speaks with such astonishment is one of the most salutary provisions in the whole code of mess regulations.

Another French writer, Victor Jacquemont, who had some opportunities in India of observing—though not *from within*, like M. De Warren—the peculiarities of our military system, has expressed his unbounded astonishment at the power possessed by a handful of British officers of keeping such large bodies of men in control:—"C'est un phénomène étrange dans le monde moral, qu'une armée Anglaise; la majorité courageuse, violente et dédaignée, se soumettant silencieusement à une faible minorité, qui semble prétendre à ne lui commander que par force." It would be hard to say how much of this moral control would be lost if the institution of the Mess were to be abolished. "La discipline militaire," says De Warren, "chez les Anglais est en tout point différente de la discipline Française." The segregation of the officers from the men is the main point of difference. The identity of the character of the officer and the gentleman, and the institution of the Mess, not only keep the line of demarcation inviolable, but encircle the officer with a halo of nobility,

through which the soldier contemplates him respectfully from a distance. An English officer can scarcely commit a greater offence than that of associating familiarly with his men. After he has conventionally so demeaned himself, he cannot return within the pale of his own proper society. He has committed an act unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, and he is dismissed the service.* This line of demarcation—this “*démarcation terrible*,” this “*abîme infranchissable*,”—between the officer and the soldier, is the great preservative not merely of military discipline, but of political order in troubled times. The “*phénomène étrange*” of which Victor Jacquemont speaks, could not exist without it. As soon as officers and men begin to fraternize, we shall see no more of it.

It would occupy more space than we can afford to devote to the subject to develop fully the advantages of the mess-system. But enough has been written, we hope, to demonstrate how much the British army would lose in character and efficiency if the institution were to be abolished. But there are some respects in which it might be reformed. The expenses of a well-appointed mess press heavily upon the resources of many officers; and it is not always that the commanding officer of a regiment evinces much concern for the pecuniary sufferings of his captains and subalterns. There are crack corps, indeed, out of which an officer very soon finds it expedient to sell, if he has had the imprudence to enter one of them with slender private resources. The object of all association, whether it assume the shape of a club or a mess, is to supply members collectively at a smaller cost than they could be supplied separately with the same necessaries and conveniences. But any financial advantages which might otherwise result from this mutual system are swallowed up by the increased luxuriousness which is sure to be engrafted upon it. As far as financial results are concerned, we have long ago lost sight of the original design of these institutions. It is the veriest delusion in the world to think that a man can dine more cheaply at his club than he can at his lodgings, or even at a well-regulated dining-house. The hypothesis is, that the amount charged to the consumer is very slightly in excess of the market-price of the commodity consumed; but when a man pays two shillings for a dish of cutlets containing little more than half-a-pound of mutton, he is not readily convinced that he is paying market-prices for his dinner. The mess-system differs from the club-system inasmuch as that at the for-

* This is always a matter of astonishment to the French officer—“*J’ai vu*,” says M. De Warren, “*un sous-lieutenant cassé par un conseil-de guerre pour avoir invité et reçu deux sous-officiers à souper chez lui.*”

mer every dish is in common, and that whether a member dines off the joint or partakes of half-a-dozen elaborate *entremets*, he pays the same for his dinner. But under both systems, we suspect, the cost of the meal is aggravated by the same cause. The member disburses not only for what is consumed, but for what is not consumed. The waste must be very large. In hot climates, indeed, the waste at large military messes is enormous. Setting aside, then, all considerations of the costly manner in which the mess-dinner is served—the plate, the china, the glass, the fine linen, the abundant light, the crowd of table attendants, the band, the billiard table, and other paraphernalia of the mess—it does not seem that the mess itself can, by any possibility, be provided by the mess-manager on such economical terms as the officer can provide it for himself at his own quarters.

But we think it very probable—especially as a contribution towards the support of every mess is received from Government—that some nearer approximation to the cost of the private meal may be attained under an improved system of management. We observe that in India, Sir Charles Napier has addressed himself with characteristic energy to an investigation into the expenses of the mess-system, which, there is reason to hope, will be attended with advantageous results. He has sent to the commanding officers of all the Queen's regiments in India a circular containing the following queries:—

1st, What is the lowest monthly sum for which an officer can live comfortably at the mess of the regiment under your command?

2d, Of such sum, what proportion is for messing, what for wine, and what for extras?

3d, Is drinking wine compulsory on any, and what occasions?

4th, What are the extra expenses, meaning such as are either compulsory by mess rule, or obligatory by custom?

We are decidedly of opinion that Sir Charles Napier is perilously disposed to push certain theories of his own a little too far. In his anxiety to strip glorious war of the pride, pomp, and circumstance which invest it, he must take heed lest he tear off some of the flesh with the outer trappings, and injure the very vitals of the army, whilst only intending to operate upon the surface. The personal eccentricities—the uncouth, unshaven aspect—the outrageous defiance of all the proprieties of military costume, which distinguish the conqueror of Scinde from his contemporaries, may be all well enough in "Charley Napier" among the Irish bogs, or the London club-houses, but they scarcely beseem the exalted character of the Commander-in-chief of a great army, posted in a country the inhabitants of which have an almost childlike respect for, and reliance on, outside show.

He would do well not to meddle too much with the outside of the army—not to encourage subordinate officers to follow his own example of simulating the outer aspect of a Jew clothesman—and, above all, not to shake their faith in the importance to a regiment of a strict regard for personal cleanliness and uniformity of attire. The uniform does not make the soldier—a regard for personal appearance is not a substitute for other soldierly qualities; but it is a soldierly quality. Every good soldier knows its value. There is not an ensign of three months' service who does not know that the good soldier is never a sloven. There is more connexion between dress and discipline than may appear to the uninitiated. It would be wise if we would preserve the one, not to neglect the other.

Sir Charles Napier's crotchets on the subject of dress have been more than equalled by his crotchets upon the subject of eating and drinking. We are a little afraid of his pushing—as all men of the same eccentric stamp are wont to do—his favourite theories a little too far; else we should be glad to see him apply himself, as a vigorous reformer, to an investigation of the expenditure, necessary and unnecessary, of mess-establishments in India. Fortnight after fortnight, as the overland mail comes laden with files of Indian papers, we read in all the journals of the country the alarming words, "*Insolvency of the Army*;" and whilst we write, the London papers on our table contain reports of two cases heard on consecutive days before the Insolvent Commissioners, in which the petitioners are members of the finest, and on the whole, we believe, the steadiest corps in England, the Royal Artillery—reports which might lead us to suppose that the army at home is not more solvent than the army abroad. Now, without by any means expressing an opinion to the effect, that either in the east or west the pecuniary embarrassments of our officers are to be attributed to the expenses of the mess-establishments, we hold, that any measure for the reduction of those expenses which can be effected without impairing the real utility, military and social, of the institution, would be a boon of no common magnitude. Every embarrassed officer knows that the only means of extricating himself from his difficulties is by withdrawal from the mess of his regiment—a step which is sometimes taken with desperate fortitude in the Company's service, but which is not practicable in the Queen's. The fact is, that the institution of the mess is an excellent one, but that into it, as into many other excellent institutions, sundry abuses have crept which require a strong hand to tear them up by the roots. A little more regard for the purses of the junior members ought to be discernible in all the regulations for their

maintenance; and Sir Charles Napier will do good service, either by applying the knife to all the useless excrescences which present themselves, or by throwing a larger share of the burden upon those who are best able to bear it.*

When M. De Warren says, that there is an impassable gulf between the officer and the soldier, and that the hauteur of the former, "*fait même partie de la discipline*," he merely records a fact. But when he adds, "*Pas un mot de consolation, d'encouragement, d'intérêt, ne s'échange entre ces deux classes. Les officiers s'étudient à paraître n'avoir rien de commun avec les hommes auxquels ils commandent. Il les éloignent par une affectation sans relâche de froideur cruelle, la plus insultante que je connaisse*"—when M. De Warren, we say, thus enlarges on the subject, he demonstrates how little real knowledge he possesses of the character of the British officer, and the relations which subsist between him and the men under his command. De Warren, though he held for some time a commission in an English regiment, is too thoroughly French to understand how the kindest relations can be maintained between men who do not drink, smoke, and play dominos together—that words of consolation and encouragement may be addressed to an inferior without embracing him—that there may be sympathy without familiarity, and the deepest interest in the wellbeing, the tenderest concern for the happiness of one's men, without fraternizing with them in barracks, or carousing with them in the canteen. It is no part of our English military system so to separate the officer from his men. Wherever there is such a separation as the French writer here describes, the British officer has failed in his duty. Such failures are unfortunately not rare; but they result rather from indolence and apathy, than from pride and affectation. We cashier an officer for drinking with his men; but he who interests himself

* It does not seem, however, that the Governor-General of India is much disposed to support him. Among the most expensive appointments of the mess is the regimental band. We learn from the Indian papers, that Lord Dalhousie has recently issued a notification, that every officer is to contribute a month's pay towards the expenses of the band, on joining his regiment, and two days' pay *per mensem* in the shape of regular subscription towards its support. In other words, the Indian officer is called upon to spend more money on music than it costs him (if in the Company's service) to secure a handsome provision for his orphan children. His subscription to that noble institution, the Military Orphan Fund, amounts to less than two days' pay *per mensem*. Now, a good regimental band, unquestionably, gives éclat to a corps; it wonderfully enlivens the parade, and off parade is a very pleasant social auxiliary. The band is a cheerful *point d'appui* on dull evenings, in garrison or cantonment; and if it be sufficiently remote from the dinner-table, (which often it is not,) adds something to the enjoyment of a "public night" at the mess. But after all it is more a military than a social appendage to a regiment, and should be maintained rather at the public cost than at that of the officers of the regiment. At all events, such a charge as we have named is monstrous—it is a tax far heavier than the income-tax in this country.

most warmly in all that concerns them—who enters most into their feelings, contributes most to their comforts, most promotes their amusements, most encourages their confidence—in a word, he who most lives for his men, is, according to our English notions, the best officer. Unseemly familiarity may bring an officer to disgrace; but such sympathy as this can invest him with nothing but honour.

It is not unprofitable, however, to contemplate these French pictures of English military life; for even where they are most grotesquely exaggerated, there is something to be learned from the self-examination which they suggest. We see here a systematic disregard for the happiness of the soldier attributed to the officers of the British army; and may learn from this accusation to suspect, that the sympathy between the two orders is not so warm or so general as it ought to be; that many of our officers do not sufficiently consider the responsibilities which devolve upon them, the influence which they may exert, the amount of good which they may do, the happiness which they may diffuse, by rightly using the privileges of their position. It is but a small part of an officer's duty to lead his men to victory in war, to parade them and drill them, to punish and promote them in peace. It is a little matter for the captain of a company to sign the monthly returns, to issue the pay of his men, to keep the character-book, to inspect the kits, to visit the guards and the messes, and to present himself occasionally on parade. It is a small matter to command eighty or a hundred men, with the aid of an effective staff of non-commissioned officers, to whom all the detail work is confidently entrusted. Looking at them as so many curious automata, it is not difficult to set them or keep them going with due regularity of motion. It does not require much brain to keep the external machinery in order; and the heart has no concern in the matter. But looking at the company as an association of eighty or a hundred *men*, eighty or a hundred immortal beings, capable of good and of evil, impressible, plastic creatures, easily to be moulded into shapes of beauty or of deformity—with the worst passions to be developed under one course of treatment, and the best principles under another; to be made miserable by neglect, and happy by attention—to be elevated or degraded, to be wakened into life or brutalized into stupefaction, according as their officers exercise a benign or sinister influence over their lives;—looking at a company of soldiers in this light, it is difficult to conceive any higher and more responsible office than that which involves the guardianship, physical and moral, of so many fellow-creatures. There are no other relations in life which give one man so absolute a control

over his brethren, which bring the two parties into such daily and hourly association, which render the connexion between them necessarily so close and inviolable, which place so much power, for good or for evil, in the hands of an individual. Everything that the master is to his servants—that the father is to his children—that the minister is to his flock—that the teacher is to his disciples—are blended together with much beside, much more superadded, in the relation of the officer to the men he commands. Rightly understood, the obligations which he contracts are of the most solemn and affecting kind; and it is only when these obligations are culpably disregarded, that M. De Warren's picture of the impassable gulf between the officer and the soldier is realized in the actualities of military life.

There is abundant employment for every officer of the British army, employment of the most honourable and the most pleasurable kind, in the simple duties of his profession. When an officer, no matter where he be stationed, complains of *ennui*, he proclaims his own inefficiency—he declares that he is not in the habit of doing his duty—that he has no sense of the responsibilities of his office. "Look into the habits of the officers of almost every regiment of Her Majesty's service," said Sir George Arthur, as quoted by Dr. Marshall, "how are they formed? Do men study at all after they get commissions? Very far from it: unless an officer is employed in the field, his days are passed in mental idleness—his ordinary duties are carried on instinctively—there is no intellectual exertion. To discuss fluently upon women, play, horses, and wine, is with some excellent exceptions the ordinary range of mess conversation. In these matters lies the education of young officers, generally speaking, after entering the service." All this is simply to neglect one's duty, to destroy the character of the British army. As are the officers, so are the privates. "If the officers," it is well said, "were not seen so habitually walking in the streets in every garrison town, the soldiers would be less frequently found in public houses." To expect soldiers to find occupation within the circle of their own barracks, when their officers cannot or will not set them the example, were clearly unreasonable and unjust. If the connexion between the officer and the soldier is to cease as soon as the parade is over—if the officer is then at liberty to believe that his duties are at an end, and that he is free to indulge himself as he pleases, we must not be surprised if the soldier takes the same view of military life and military obligations, and indulges himself in the same pleasant vices, only in a rougher and more brutalized form. Soldiers rarely learn to respect themselves until they have first learned to respect their officers. If we

were asked what of all other things is most calculated to elevate the social condition of the British soldier, we should unhesitatingly answer, an improvement in the character and habits of the officer who commands him.

The first duty of an officer is to set a good example to his men—not merely before the enemy, not merely on parade, but in the face of the whole world, and in all the paths of daily life. Very little passes in the officers' quarters that is not well known in the barracks occupied by the men. The personal servants of our officers are men of the regiment. It is not to be supposed that they are the most discreet and taciturn of lacqueys, that the indiscretions and eccentricities of the masters they serve are not canvassed in the presence of their fellows—that the sayings and doings of captain O'Mally and lieutenant Burke are not reported, with variations and exaggerations, to corporal Jones and private Thompson. It is as well known to the men of his regiment as to his own companions, whether an officer drinks freely at or after mess—whether he swears, whether he gambles, whether he is in debt, whether he indulges in indiscriminate amours. It is known how he passes his time, who are his companions, what is his title beyond that of mere regimental rank, to reproach his inferiors for derelictions of moral duty. What weight can there be in an officer's reproaches, what authority in his exhortations and admonitions, when the party reproached, exhorted, or admonished, knows that he who sits in judgment upon him is habitually guilty of the same follies or the same crimes? What is the value of his precept, when his example lies in an opposite direction? We have heard officers declaiming against the vice of drunkenness, who were notoriously in the habit of going to bed mellow; and it was formerly no uncommon thing to hear an officer uttering fearful blasphemy in deprecation of the crime of swearing. "I have heard an old officer," says an author quoted by Dr. Marshall, "correcting a man of his company who had sworn in his hearing, and with the most horrid curses and imprecations on himself, assuring him that he would put the articles of war in force against him, if he ever swore again." We remember an old commanding officer, who was especially indignant when any of his men were found intoxicated early in the day, and who used to ask them why they did not get drunk, *like gentlemen, after dinner.*

But though the first duty of an officer is to set his men a good example, his professional obligations do not end there—he has other things to do off parade. He may be a very steady, moral man, and yet not a good officer—and yet not do his duty to his charge. There must be active well-doing. He should regard

the men whom he commands as tenderly and assiduously as the shepherd watches and guards his flock. His heart should be in his work. His time should be devoted to the advancement of the happiness of his men. It should be his to inquire into their wants—to encourage and support them in all their difficulties—to obtain their confidence—to win their hearts—to promote their welfare—to increase their comforts—to supply them with the means of useful employment—to aid and to take part in all their harmless amusements—to be ever with them, either in the spirit or in the flesh; and never to weary of well-doing. No officer would ever want occupation—would ever be devoured by *ennui*—would ever find the dullest garrison town, or the most desolate outpost, a dreary place of abode, if he were to give himself up, heart and soul, to the performance of the duties of his high and responsible position. He would find abundant recompense in this devotion of a life to the welfare of the fellow-soldiers whom his Sovereign has entrusted to his care. The day would never be too long for him. The times would never be too dull. A constant round of pleasurable excitement of the healthiest kind would keep his faculties in a state of activity, and his spirits in a state of elevation. He would be a better and a happier man, and he would help to make a better and a happier army. As it is, the best part of the soldier's nature is often suffered to go to rust. He is not likely to care much about his officers and his duty; whilst his officers care nothing about him, and their duty is necessarily neglected. Soldiers are very much like children. They require the aid of people wiser and more powerful than themselves to supply them with occupation, and to take part in their amusements. They require to be set agoing in the right direction, or, with a natural propensity to mischief, they will infallibly go wrong. A little kindly care, a little manifestation of sympathy, will go a long way with the private soldier. It is not until he finds himself wholly abandoned and forsaken—utterly and irrevocably an outcast—that he loses his self-respect, and is careless about appearances. As long as he believes that he is an object of interest to any human being—that there is any one near him to whom his good conduct can yield pleasure, and his evil conduct be a source of pain—there is something to stimulate him to exertion, and to support him under self-denial. But the “I care for nobody” is the natural consequence of the “Nobody cares for me.” When the soldier is left to go to perdition his own way, we may be pretty sure that he will take advantage of the privilege.

These remarks, it will be perceived, apply more directly to the case of commanding officers—commanding officers of regiments,

and commanding officers of companies and troops, than to the subaltern officers of the army. But where the captain of a company is really desirous of doing his duty towards his men, he will associate his subalterns with him in these acts of kindness and beneficence, so that there can be no unauthorized interference on the part of his juniors. Under any circumstances, however, there is very much which may be done even by the youngest officer in a regiment, to make his influence beneficially felt by the men of the company to which he belongs, and that too without any arrogance or assumption to provoke the hostility of his seniors. We do not, however, mean to say that officers, in the performance of what is plainly their duty to their men, may not occasionally be brought into collision with other authorities, or may not provoke the sneers or the censures of their brother officers. Let a man do his duty, and to use an expression well known in the ranks, let him "chance" the rest. "I remember," says Colonel Campbell, in his *British Army as it was, is, and ought to be*, "years ago being visited by a brother adjutant. As he entered my barrack-room, a young soldier placed a book upon the table and retired, which my visitor, a few minutes after, took up, and being surprised at what it indicated as its contents, he asked me, in seeming astonishment, what a private soldier could have to say to such a work? I replied carelessly, that the soldier who had just left was a young man of considerable ability and great promise, and that I wished him to read useful books, so as to fit him, at any future period, for any station he might attain. He looked at me again, and seemed by no means satisfied by what I had said, nor with the book, and then in a very friendly way addressed me :—' You are a very young man—the youngest I ever saw made an adjutant. I have myself risen from the ranks; and have consequently had much experience among soldiers, and know them well. You may therefore take my word for it, that books containing such information only tend to make soldiers question the wisdom of their officers, and to fit them for being ringleaders in any discontent, or even mutinous conduct in their companies; and it also causes them to be disliked by the non-commissioned officers, who have to teach them their duties; and especially the drill-sergeants, who are always jealous of those who are likely to become rivals.' 'No officers,' adds Colonel Campbell, 'are so severe, or have so little consideration for the feelings of soldiers, as those who have risen from the ranks.'"

It would not be difficult to show the reason of this; but we have cited the story only in illustration of the perplexities which beset the officer who would conscientiously do his duty towards his men, and the kind of arguments that he must be prepared to

encounter. Prejudice and narrow-mindedness are to be found in all conditions of life. It is probable, too, that he may be met, in the performance of his duty, by much worse obstructions than this. The story of Captain Douglas, as told in Mr. Warren's "Letter to the Queen," presents an instance of one of those collisions between different military authorities, to which the experience of almost every officer can afford, in some shape or other, a parallel. There was a man, in Captain Douglas' detachment at Alderney, whose wife, a young woman, then approaching the day of her first travail, had accompanied him to that dreary and comfortless outpost, to find that there was no barrack accommodation on the island suited to the requirements of one in that delicate and critical condition. It was plainly, under these circumstances, the duty of Captain Douglas, both as an officer and a man, to exert all his influence in the poor woman's favour, and to obtain, if possible, for her the temporary use of some public apartment (there was no private accommodation in the neighbourhood) in which she might, in tolerable comfort and decency, undergo her approaching troubles. It is to his immediate commanding officer that every man in the army has a right to look, and does look, under such circumstances, for assistance; and if Captain Douglas had not exerted himself to the utmost in behalf of Riley and his wife, he would have failed in his duty as an officer, no less than in humanity as a man. He did exert himself. He took counsel with the medical officer of the detachment, who commiserating the poor woman's condition, offered her the use of a room in the hospital, set apart as a surgery for his own professional purposes; and the arrangements having been made for her reception, she was presently removed. A civilian would naturally think that the matter was thus very comfortably settled to the satisfaction of all parties;—that the commanding officer of the detachment, and the medical officer in charge of it, having agreed upon the arrangement, and it being one which could by no possibility have caused inconvenience to any but the latter, it might have been suffered to take effect without the interference of other functionaries. Not a bit of it. Alderney rejoiced in a barrack-master. The barrack-master had his duties to perform; and he stepped in, quoting chapter and verse to show, that if any portion of the public buildings of the island were applied to any other than their legitimate and prescribed purposes, it was his duty to cancel the arrangement, or to report the circumstance to the Board of Ordnance. Captain Douglas was now in a dilemma. There were the claims of humanity upon the one side; there was military usage and formality on the other. It was his duty to throw his protection over the poor woman; it was his duty to yield implicit obedience to the Royal warrant quoted by

the barrack-master. Endeavouring to reconcile these conflicting claims, he referred again to the medical officer, thinking that, under peculiar circumstances duly certified, even a royal warrant might be slightly transgressed. The medical officer, and another professional gentleman on the island, certified that the poor woman could not be removed without imminent danger, to the place named by the barrack-master; that if she was necessitated to undergo her travail there, they would not answer for the consequences. Fortified by these opinions, Captain Douglas then referred the case to the General commanding the district; and pending the receipt of an answer, took upon himself the responsibility of transgressing the letter of the royal warrant.

The place which the barrack-master had indicated as the only one which could be legitimately appointed for the reception of the poor woman, was a wretched, crazy, deserted building, called the "Old Canteen." "It stood," says Mr. Warren, "in a locality bleak and dreary in the extreme, on the edge of a great common, destitute of trees, and completely exposed to the blighting east wind. It was a solitary, dilapidated structure, which had long been unoccupied, destitute of furniture of every description, and swarming with rats, which had burrowed both within and without it. The appearance which it presented to the two medical gentlemen was deplorable indeed, especially at that inclement season, in the very depth of winter. They went into every room in the building, to see if there were one less unfit than another for the reception of one in Mrs. Riley's critical situation. The old-fashioned French casements were decayed and closed imperfectly, admitting a thorough draught, and all the rooms were both damp and filthy. The expression of Mr. Bains to Captain Douglas, as he removed his hand from the main walls of the least objectionable room, wet from the moisture, was, "*I would not put my dog into such a place!*"

Captain Douglas took the proper course. Conceiving it to be, as in the issue it most miserably proved, a question of life and death, he temporarily set aside the authority of the barrack-master and appealed to the General commanding. The answer was such as might be expected, for the British officer is characteristically humane. The Major-General sanctioned the continued residence of Mrs. Riley in the apartment appropriated to her use by the medical officer; and the heart of the poor woman, which had sunk in terror at the thought of her threatened removal to the "Old Canteen," now began to beat again in cheerfulness and hope. It was, however, but a brief gleam of sunshine. On the 3d of February Captain Douglas received the letter "entirely approving of Mrs. Riley's having been, under the circumstances of the case, allowed to occupy a corner of the surgery;"

and on the 10th of the same month he received, through the Town-major of Alderney, the "Major-General's commands to remove Mrs. Riley from the garrison hospital of the island into the Old Canteen." Into the Old Canteen, accordingly, the poor woman was ordered to be removed. When she first learned her destination, she "became greatly agitated, and fainted. On recovering her consciousness, after a considerable interval, she gave expression to her fears in wild terms, saying that she knew the house to be haunted by the ghost of a woman who had died there, and also that the place was full of rats. The husband's efforts to pacify her were fruitless. After some time, however, she said that 'she did not wish to give any body trouble about herself, and would go to the Old Canteen; but she was sure it would cause her death—that she would never come out alive.'" She went into the Old Canteen, and she never did come out alive. "She passed a miserable night; and insisted on having two or three candles burning at once to protect her from ghosts, and also from the rats. She frequently started up in bed, and stretched out her hands as if to ward off some imaginary object of terror. When she did so, however, she could not draw her hands in again, and her husband did so for her." Early next morning she was taken in labour. Every possible assistance was rendered to her in the hour of her trial. Two women and her husband attended her. The medical officer of the detachment was promptly on the spot; and towards evening, alarming symptoms having exhibited themselves, another medical gentleman was summoned. But nothing was of any avail. The poor woman gave birth to a dead child, and shortly afterwards expired.

We need not pursue the story further. How it happened that the Major-General came to rescind the humane order which he had issued, in the first instance, is as yet a profound and impenetrable mystery.—Though many important matters pressed upon us for consideration—and we had an uneasy consciousness that, viewed with relation to the subject we had set ourselves, this could be little more than the fragment of an article—we have condensed the painful narrative of Mrs. Riley's death in Mr. Warren's "Letter to the Queen," partly because we conceived it to be our duty to give the utmost possible publicity to events which still call loudly for inquiry, and partly because they illustrate, in a striking manner, not merely the lamentable fact, insisted upon in a former paper, that there is a scandalous disregard for decency and humanity in all the arrangements or no-arrangements for the accommodation of the women who are permitted to follow the fortunes of their husbands, but also the relations subsisting between the officer and the people under his charge, and the difficulties which he may sometimes have to encounter in

the performance of his duty. The advice and assistance, perhaps the interference, of an officer commanding a company is often required in cases of a delicate and intricate nature, demanding great tact and temper for their adjustment. Not only the men, but the women of his company, come to him upon every conceivable pretext, and various are the knotty points which he is called upon to solve and the embarrassments which he is solicited to disentangle. He is the depositary of many a domestic secret—the arbiter in many a domestic quarrel. There is the strongest possible mixture of the painful and the ludicrous in the incidents of barrack-life which are brought to his notice;* but there is seldom a case in which he may not do some little good by a word of judicious advice, an expression of kindly sympathy, or a trifling act of liberality, at a time when such things have a tenfold value and a tenfold significance. In no relation of life is the magic of kindness more potential, and in none may a man, at so small a cost to himself, increase the happiness of others and win for himself so large an amount of gratitude, affection, and respect.

We should never hear of such disturbances as have recently given an unhappy notoriety to the 3d Dragoons if the officers of a regiment only took proper pains to make their men happy and comfortable in barracks, and to supply them with the means of innocent occupation and amusement at home. "Much of the dissatisfaction of soldiers," said one of the ablest and most high-minded officers in the British army, the present Lord Hardinge, "and their disposition to desert or marry, is caused by the want of agreeable occupation in barracks. * * * He is frequently not allowed to mend his shoes or smoke in his barrack-room, on the plea of insuring cleanliness, very prejudicial to his real comfort." "The barracks," said Sir George Arthur, "should be made as comfortable as possible, and every encouragement be held out to induce the soldiers to take their recreation within

* The experience of every man who has commanded a company of soldiers will afford him numerous examples corroborative of this truth. The lights and shadows of military life chase each other with strange rapidity. A soldier's widow came one day to the writer of this article begging for permission to dig up her husband. It was in India. The man had died during the absence of his wife, who had accompanied a lady on a short voyage to sea; and now the poor woman, on returning to the regiment to find herself bereaved, was clamorous for one more look at her poor Darby. In vain the writer represented that the man had been buried more than a month, and that corruption comes on with terrible rapidity in hot climates. The longings of the woman were not to be appeased by any such representations, and leave was at last granted to prefer her request to the chaplain of the station. On the following day she came again to the writer's quarters, and, in an agony of tears, told him that she had seen the chaplain, and that he had listened to her prayer—"but oh, your honour, it might have been anybody's husband—it was not a bit like mine!" A few weeks afterwards she presented herself again—all smiles and blushes. She came to ask for leave to marry a young man in another company, and for a character to satisfy the commanding-officer of her husband elect. We believe that she buried him too; but never tried the experiment of exhumation again.

their barrack walls." "I attribute," writes Dr. Marshall, "many of the offences of soldiers to want of comfort in barracks." But if officers eschew their barracks—if they can find no occupation for themselves at home, and take no trouble to secure employment for their men, we cannot expect the latter to keep out of the streets, the taverns, and the brothels. We cannot expect them to reverse the order of morality, and to set an example of quiet and decorous conduct to the officers by whom they are commanded. We know that there are difficulties to contend against—that there is a great want of accommodation in barracks, and that many benevolent schemes may be frustrated by mere mechanical impediments, which are not to be overcome. But there is no reason why we should attempt to do nothing, because we cannot do *everything* we could wish, for the amelioration of the social condition of the soldier. Every officer in the British army, no matter what his rank, no matter what his position, no matter where he is posted, can do much to increase the happiness and to elevate the character of the men under his command. If he can do nothing else he can set them a good example and lend them good books to read. The regimental library is always a very important auxiliary, and the officers of a regiment will do well to see that constant additions are being made to it. In these days of cheap literature, an officer, at the sacrifice of a couple of cigars a-week, or an occasional pair of kid gloves, may contribute largely to the amusement and edification of his men, and keep many a rover out of mischief. Much good, too, may be done by encouraging soldiers to apply themselves when off duty to different kinds of mechanical labour. Many of them are skilled artisans, and would gladly exercise themselves again in the trade which they followed before they enlisted—as shoe-making, carpentering, and the like.* The establishment of regimental gardens,

* We know that an objection may be raised to this, on the ground that the money which the soldier is thus enabled to earn is too often spent upon drink and in licentiousness of other descriptions; and it is too true that, under the system which has hitherto obtained in the British army, the possession of money is a sore temptation to the soldier. We remember a young man, by trade a carriage-painter or sign-painter, who joined his regiment in India, and shortly afterwards, encouraged probably by the recollection of some successful attempts he had made in England, began to paint the portraits of his comrades. He soon attracted the attention of his officers, who interested themselves in his behalf, and encouraged him to proceed with his work. Before long he was painting rich natives in the neighbourhood of the cantonment in which he was stationed, at a charge of two hundred rupees a head, and might, in a very short time, have purchased his discharge, and pursued his profession with every prospect of success, for he had really considerable talent. But, instead of this, he took to vicious courses, and went to perdition faster than any man we ever knew. The temptation was too great for him, and he was ruined by his good fortune. This, however, is an extreme case, and might not have happened, if there had been sufficient attractiveness in barracks to keep the man from the canteen and the liquor shops.

we are also inclined to think would have a very salutary effect upon the moral, and therefore the physical condition, of our soldiery. If, wherever it is practicable, a few acres of ground, in the immediate rear of barracks, or as contiguous to them as possible, were given up, under certain fixed rules, to the men of a regiment, for purposes of cultivation, not only would the messes be well supplied with wholesome vegetables, but a large number of men would be kept out of the grog-shops. It is not very long since Mr. Cobden cited in proof of the immorality of our soldiery, and their disturbing influences upon civil society, that in the near vicinity of certain barracks that he named, the value of house-property had alarmingly declined. We do not question the fact. We would simply ask, whose fault is it? In the first place, it is sufficiently notorious, that under the auspices of that costly and cumbrous inutility, the Board of Ordnance, the sites of many of our barracks have been most infelicitously chosen; and it is a fair question, whether the soldiers or the civilians suffer most by their proximity to each other? And in the next place, it is only right that financial reformers should be told, that as soon as ever there is an out-cry against military expenditure, those very measures which are most calculated to render the soldier a steadier and better man, and therefore less of nuisance to his neighbours in civil life, are the very first to be suspended. We begin by retrenching in such matters as barrack-accommodation and regimental schools. The soldier is a pest to the neighbourhood in which he lives, mainly because there are no sufficient inducements in barracks to keep him from wandering about the streets. We grudge the soldier the means of improvement, and then make it a reproach to him that he is not improved. If Mr. Cobden and his friends wish to see in the Ordnance estimates, any retrenchments under the head of barrack-accommodation, they must not complain, at the same time, that the value of house property in the neighbourhood of barracks has calamitously declined.

We are afraid that it is in vain to look at present for any increased expenditure of public money upon those reformatory aids and auxiliaries, which are sure to bring back to the State the sums expended upon them multiplied fifty-fold. Under the pressure of immediate necessity, Governments, like individuals, are compelled to be "penny wise and pound foolish." Often that which looks best upon paper, as a very palpable financial retrenchment, is in effect a very ruinous bit of extravagance. An immediate petty gain is often a large ultimate loss. An immoral army must always be an expensive one. Any retrenchments, therefore, which retard the moral improvement of the soldier, must in the end involve large sacrifices of public money.

We cannot, however, in the present state of the country, look for any other results. A sop must be thrown to Cerberus. But in the meanwhile, we may hope that some reformatory agents may be at work within; that the seeds of improvement have been already sown; and that, in spite of the absence of those outer material aids, the importance of which it is difficult to over-estimate, the moral condition of the soldier may every year present a more encouraging aspect to the eye of the Christian philanthropist. We believe that the Limited Enlistment Act, a measure which, forty years ago, Thomas Chalmers* advocated with characteristic energy and enthusiasm, coupled with

* The passage, which is contained in his "Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources," is worth quoting. There are portions of it which some financial economists will do well to consider. "I can never consent," writes Thomas Chalmers, "to call that a voluntary service into which men are decoyed by artifice, or driven by vice or by misfortune—to which they fly as a refuge from infamy, or as the last shift for an existence—which is held out as an asylum to acquitted criminals, and a hiding-place to all whom ignominy and misconduct have compelled to abandon the neighbourhood of their acquaintances. The army is not a voluntary service unless men are allured into it by rational inducements; but instead of this, the only possible way of getting men is by tricking them into an imprudence. You beset them in the hour of intoxication; you try to overset their firmness by holding out the immediate temptation of a bounty; you avail yourselves of all their little embarrassments, and employ a set of despicable agents, whose business it is to wheedle, and falsify, and betray. . . . *The liberal policy of sufficient pay is unknown to you. You grudge every penny that is bestowed on the defenders of the country.* Yes, the wealth of the country is otherwise bestowed. It is spread with the most prodigal hand upon these labourers who provide their employers with the gewgaws of splendour and fashion and luxury; while violence and constraint and misery are the inheritance of those brave men who form the palladium of our nation's glory, and the protection of its dearest interests. . . . Let us hasten to redress this crying enormity. Let it be a voluntary service. Individuals, when they want servants, go to market and enlist them for a term of months. Let Government imitate their example—let it go to market and enlist for a term of years. Let it be no longer a slavery for life; and let the burning ignominy of corporal punishment be done away. Make the situation of a soldier respectable; and annex to it such advantages as may be sufficient to allure into the army the strength and substance of our most valuable population."—*Dr. Hanna's Life of Chalmers*, vol. I. These principles, we know, were advocated, nearly half a century ago, by Mr. Wyndham and other politicians; but we were hardly prepared to find Chalmers advocating Army Reform with so much zeal. Whilst reverting to this subject of Limited Enlistment, we cannot forbear from quoting a remarkable passage in Mr. Macaulay's *History of England*, illustrative of the little danger of allowing large bodies of disbanded or retired soldiers to fuse themselves into the general mass of society. The historian is speaking of Cromwell's army at the time of the Restoration. "The troops were now to be disbanded. Fifty thousand men, accustomed to the profession of arms, were at once thrown on the world; and experience seemed to warrant the belief that this change would produce much misery and crime—that the discharged veterans would be seen begging in every street, or would be driven by hunger to pillage. But no such result followed. In a few months there remained not a trace, indicating that the most formidable army in the world had just been absorbed into the mass of the community. *The Royalists themselves confessed, that in every department of honest industry the discarded warriors prospered beyond other men, that none was charged with any theft or robbery, that none was heard to ask an alms; and that if a baker, a mason, or a waggoner attracted notice by his diligence and sobriety, he was in all probability one of Oliver's old soldiers.*"

the laudable effort now making to elevate the character of the officer—may, in some measure, compensate for the absence of those aids by drawing into the army a better class of men, and causing a greater amount of interest to be taken in them, a greater amount of watchfulness exercised over them, a more fatherly and friendly care to be lavished upon them. It is our conviction that both in the army and out of the army a higher sense of the duties and responsibilities of the British officer is gaining ground; and that as every year we see him setting a brighter example to his men, and more diligently performing his active obligations towards them, the British army will rise in efficiency as in moral character; and it will no longer be a reproach to our country that the barrack-room is the last refuge of those whom society has spued out, in scorn and indignation—the dregs of humanity, the very filth and ordure of civilized life.

ART. IX.—1. *Report of Commissioners on the Law of Marriage.* 1848.

2. *Evidence of Dr. Pusey.* Oxford, 1849.

3. *The Hebrew Wife.* By S. E. DWIGHT. Glasgow, 1837.

4. *Unlawful Marriage.* By Dr. JANEWAY. New York, 1844.

5. *Pamphlets.* By REYNOLDS, FOSTER, and others. 1840-49.

6. *Mr. STUART WORTLEY'S Marriage Bill.* 1849.

7. *Mr. STUART WORTLEY'S Letter to Principal Macfarlan.* 1849.

BEFORE this Article appears in print, notice may very probably have been given in Parliament of a renewed motion to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Mr. Stuart Wortley, the champion of this cause, indicated an intention of this sort, before the close of last Session; and, apart from his own zeal, there is a knot or clique of interested individuals too watchful to allow his intention to sleep. That we do not err in ascribing to such a source the renewal, from time to time, of this agitation, appears evident from two considerations. In the first place, what popular movement has spontaneously sprung up in its support? Where has there been an audible whisper in its favour since Parliament rose, either in public meetings or in the public press? What body of any influence—what Church, or communion, or association—is lifting a little finger? What single man of mark is agitating either the political, or the legal, or the literary, or the theological world, upon a question in which all the four are interested? Then again, it is impossible even to glance at the Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Crown to inquire into this subject, without perceiving that there has been a case got up to serve a purpose; not of course by the Commissioners themselves, but by certain parties whose importunity seems to have been mainly instrumental in procuring the inquiry, and whose indefatigable industry and skill appear conspicuous in the management of it. The fact is, there had been a private commission of investigation, before the issuing of the Royal commission; and the private commission was in the hands of legal gentlemen, retained apparently on one side, in the usual way, by private individuals engaging their services. Thus towards the end of 1846, Messrs. Crowder and Maynard, solicitors we presume, apply to Mr. Foster, barrister, "on behalf of their clients," for his opinion relative to marriages within the forbidden degrees of affinity; "it being thought by them that the understood prohibitions were not in fact strictly according to the letter of the law;" and it being farther "stated by them, that very great hardship resulted to many parties in consequence of that

understood state of the law." Mr. Foster, then, had submitted to him first, a question of law, and secondly, a question of practical expediency. As to the first, he advised the trial of a case. With reference to the second, he says :—

"I then advised my clients to ascertain, as far as was practicable, the number of cases of infringement of the understood law which might exist throughout the country, in order to warrant them in making an application to Parliament, if the facts should be so numerous as to justify them in making such an application. I advised them, in making this inquiry, to take care that it should be a *bona fide* inquiry; that there should be no attempt whatever to get up a case, but that, as far as possible, a fair and proper statement of the existing facts should be arrived at. They adopted the plan which I suggested to them, which was to divide the country into districts, and to send into each district some gentleman of station and character to superintend the inquiries to be instituted in that district, whose duty it should be to be careful about the facts which he ascertained, to verify them as far as they could be verified, to take care that he was not deceived in his information, and that, as far as possible, he communicated to us the truth. In such districts as were too large for the active superintendence of any one gentleman, the gentleman appointed to such a district was to have under his own immediate supervision such subordinates as were deemed necessary to ascertain facts in the towns, who should report to him; but that each gentleman should be responsible for the facts ascertained in his district. The gentlemen appointed were requested each day to report to me the facts thus ascertained. In all those cases, the gentlemen appointed to a district were either barristers, or students-at-law studying for the bar. In many of the cases, the subordinates were also barristers, or students-at-law studying for the bar. To Yorkshire and to Lancashire Mr. Aspinall was appointed, and he had under his supervision four or five agents in the large towns, such as Manchester and Leeds. In Manchester, he had a gentleman of the name of Sleigh under him, who is here to-day, a barrister who, if the Commissioners wish, will be examined before them. For Leeds, he had a gentleman assisting him, Mr. Charles Newton, also a barrister, who will, I expect, be here to-day. The statements of those gentlemen were forwarded to him; and a conjoint statement of the whole was each day or every other day forwarded to me. That was the machinery adopted for ascertaining facts. The letters of each gentleman, as they were received, were filed upon these files, which are here" (*producing the same*).—*Report*, p. 1.

Now, giving all credit to Mr. Foster for his sound and candid advice, "That it should be a *bona fide* inquiry; that there should be no attempt whatever to get up a case;" we humbly think that the plan proposed by him, and adopted upon his suggestion, could not possibly be worked with impartiality, and could not lead to any other result than the very result he so earnestly

deprecates,—the getting up of a case. Palpably the object is to search for instances of alleged grievance under the existing law. It is a professional precognition of witnesses on one side ; and these witnesses, every one of them, interested parties. There are grave objections, as we shall presently show, against such a method of ascertaining the practical bearings of a question so deeply affecting the arcana of the domestic affections, with which “ barristers and students at law ” are not precisely the best persons to deal ; and still graver objections against that officious and unauthorized intermeddling with the privacies of social life, which tends to insinuate doubt and fear, if not even worse feelings of unhallowed desire, where all should be certainty, and purity, and peace. If the law complained of is to be brought to trial, there are two fair ways of doing so. Let it be candidly and cautiously looked at, on its merits, according to the Word of God, the usage of nations, and the experience of history. Or if it is deemed expedient to observe and trace its actual influence on public morals, let there be competent men appointed ;—not to hunt for grievances among the transgressors of the law—but calmly to survey its operation among those who keep, as well as those who break it ; so that they may deliberately form their judgment, after a large induction of particulars, on its tendency to make or mar the happiness of households. But to us it seems intolerable, that a law which has for ages been the law of the land, and which the great majority of serious men hold to be the law of God, should be impugned by the mere force of accumulated groans from a set of selfish, if not sensual violators of it ; and that, too, when in no single instance can a plea of conscience be set up for its violation, or any motive alleged more respectable than strong passion, or sickly sentiment, or some coarse consideration of expediency.

To return, however, to the point now before us, we request our readers to observe, that the same sort of influence that originated the present movement, seems to have hitherto guided it throughout. The professional gentlemen retained by Messrs. Crowder and Maynard “ on behalf of their clients,” did their business faithfully and well. They got up a case for Parliament ; and with scarcely so much of Parliamentary notice or discussion as usually marks the passage of a Turnpike Act, or Divorce Bill,—we may rather say, with far less,—they succeeded in obtaining an application to the Crown to issue a Commission of Inquiry. It was a sufficiently select Commission ;—comprising two names certainly entitled to weight,—Lushington and Rutherford,—with a bishop besides, John of Litchfield, a baronet, and two commoners, of whom Mr. Stuart Wortley is one ; all doubtless honourable men ; and, of course, the most competent that

could be found for conducting such an inquiry. We do not happen to recollect that either the appointment of the Commission, or its subsequent proceedings, attracted much notice; we question if almost any beyond the parties previously interested, or the clients of Messrs. Crowder and Maynard, knew much about the matter. Accordingly, we find from the First Report of the six Commissioners, that, with few exceptions, the evidence led before them, is precisely what our busy friends, the "barristers and law students," had been industriously getting up; and the whole cause is substantially in their hands.

It is not for us to point out what might have been a better and more satisfactory method. We can imagine a more ample discussion in one or both of the Houses of Parliament; and one or two Select Committees of these Houses appointed to investigate the question. We can imagine the first raising of the question, fully and fairly, before the Lords and Commons, and the subsequent remitting of it to Select Committees; with the eyes of all classes in the community turned upon the whole procedure, and a trumpet-sound over all the land, announcing the intended innovation. But nothing of the sort has taken place. On the contrary, the entire conduct of the affair has all the marks of a hole-and-corner,—nay, an almost clandestine mode of action. We doubt if there have been a couple of hundred people in all the country, seriously alive to the attempt which, for five years, has been systematically made, towards so fundamental and vital an overturning, not only of the law of marriage, as regards prohibited degrees, but of what is far more serious, the received and sanctioned opinions of the general community, on a subject so deeply touching their dearest interests and affections.

We might dwell on the sort of evidence taken, as a confirmation of our impression. We are not very conversant with Reports of Royal Commissioners; but it strikes us as strange, that of forty-one witnesses, nine, or nearly a fourth, should be anonymous. We do not understand this. It may be all in order, but it rather detracts from the credit of these gentlemen, who, though they have done what they think a praiseworthy deed, are evidently not prepared to be martyrs in the cause. Then, of the remaining thirty-two, the greater number might as well have been anonymous also, for any great weight their names are entitled to carry on such a question. Richard Cobden, for example, mighty as he is on Free Trade and Russian Loans, is no oracle here, and in fact has nothing to say, except about the marriage of his own sister with her brother-in-law. Several Church of England ministers are examined, of whom Dr. Pusey alone goes into the question in a manner worthy of a scholar and a divine. His evidence is the longest in the Report, and is in the

highest degree elaborate and valuable. Dr. Wiseman, much more briefly and far less ably, expounds the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome. Dr. Cox and Mr. Binney appear on behalf of the English Congregationalists, with statements and views sufficiently crude. Ireland sends Mr. Matthews of the Castle to speak for her. And Scotland is favoured by having her learned Lord Advocate as her mouthpiece, who has, it appears, not only consented to sustain the double character of judge and witness, but undertaken also, single-handed, the task of representing, or rather—we regret to be obliged to correct ourselves, so far as this question is concerned—misrepresenting—his country.

There is also a large and miscellaneous appendix, consisting of various returns, letters, and opinions of divers parties at home and abroad; a few of whom, such as Dr. Bunting and Chevalier Bunsen, would command respect, were it not apparent that they write without much study of the question—so brief and cursory are their communications. Of the rest we need say nothing, excepting that one or two of the papers give information as to the usage of America and other countries, valuable so far as it goes, but obviously partial and one-sided. We have fallen, however, by chance on some rather curious specimens of the anonymous Benedicts, whose sore grievance it is proposed to remedy;—at the slight expense of totally revolutionizing the marriage-law of Britain, and hazarding a violation of the marriage-law of God.

Take the following, from the letter of a certain Wm. —, given in the Appendix.

“These are the main features of the case, but there are two or three circumstances connected with it which I also wish to mention. My sister-in-law (‘in law’ is well added, for, take my experience, nature will never recognise the relationship) on occasion of one of her visits, informed me that my late partner’s wife, who was very intimate with her, and exceedingly kind, told her there were some parties who doubted the propriety of her occasional residence at my house, but, she added, We, who know you so well, do not take that view of it. At another time, when preparing to leave Cornwall to come to Liverpool, her mother said, ‘Your aunt Susan has hinted at the possible danger of such visits, but I replied, We know Mr. — too well to fear anything improper.’ When the late Lord Wharnccliffe brought forward his motion on the subject in the House of Lords, Miss A. was staying at my house, and without the slightest influence on my part, my late partner, Mr. —, said to me, ‘—, what a comfort it would be to you and to your children if they would alter the law so that you might marry Miss A.’

“I will only farther add, that had not the state of the law permitted my sister-in-law to live under my roof, in all probability no such

mutual attachment would have grown up between us, so that one effect of the present law is to lay the surest foundation for its breach.

"If you think the statement of my case would at all assist the Commissioners, you have my full permission to make it known to them, and, if needful, I shall be ready at any time to appear personally before them; for I assure you my union with the lady in question is the paramount object of my life, and the law which prevents it I feel to be a sacrifice of my natural liberty which I do not feel called upon to make."—*Report*, p. 142.

This worthy "William" is, or was, waiting for an alteration of the law in his favour; and threatens, in brave words, that if not indulged his country shall suffer loss. "I am prepared," he gallantly exclaims, "if necessary, to expatriate myself, and to become the citizen of another State." And mark his strong claim: "Had not the state of the law permitted his sister-in-law to live under my roof,"—he would not have fallen in love with her. We presume he means to say, that he received the lady as an inmate of his family, believing a marriage with her to be unlawful, and that otherwise he would not have done so. And yet his well-regulated mind first suffers an attachment to grow up between himself and a woman he believes it unlawful to marry; and then throws the blame of this on that state of the law which, with less romantic, or more honourable men, would have been the very thing to prevent such a result. It is almost like the school-boy's excuse, that he would not have thought of such a piece of mischief if the master's prohibition had not put it in his head.

The best apology for our friend "William" is, that his conduct may be partly explained by the wretched agitation kept up among the homes of England, to please the "clients" of Messrs. Crowder and Maynard, who have to answer, we are persuaded, in many other instances besides this, for the wreck of domestic peace, as well as the destruction of all delicacy of feeling and honesty of principle. It is a miserable fruit of their coarse and prurient meddling with the sanctities of domestic life, that it makes respectable men think and act so unscrupulously, and trifle so recklessly, not only with the affections of the female heart, but with their own convictions of conscience, as this witness manifestly has done.

We have only to add, that "William" is, as he tells us, "now forty-six years of age,"—considerably younger than many of his companions in misfortune, among whom one worthy, with exquisite *naïveté*, makes the remark, "we," *i.e.*, himself and his sister-in-law, "are both above sixty years of age, and may not therefore be charged with the frivolities of youth." Amiable sexagenarians! on whose heads the snows of threescore winters have fallen without quenching the flame of romantic love! Charge *you* with the frivolities of youth! Forbid it, ye grey-

haired Cupids, fondly fluttering round the re-kindled torch of so venerable an avatar of the Hymenæal god! It is an edifying spectacle.

But, seriously, and in sober sadness, will the people of England listen to complaints like these; and not only change their laws, but unsettle their whole habits of thought and feeling, for the sake of such instances of irregularity, were they accumulated in far richer abundance than they are? As to Scotland, the case is infinitely stronger against a change, as we shall presently show. Meanwhile, let us calmly look at the state of matters as regards this question in England.

The Commissioners, at whose Report we have been glancing, were appointed—in fact, if not in form—to inquire into the working of an Act passed in the reign of William the Fourth, commonly called Lord Lyndhurst's Act, (5 & 6 Will. IV. c. 54;) and for the sake of many of our readers, especially those north of the Tweed, it may be necessary to explain somewhat fully the occasion and bearings of that Act.

With this view, we call attention to the following extract from the very able speech of Mr. Badeley in a case recently tried before the Court of Queen's Bench:—

"Then, my Lords, what is the effect of the statute of William IV. ? simply to affirm the judgment of the Ecclesiastical Courts. It makes no difference in that respect; and although objections have been made to the statute, as if it really inflicted a hardship, I apprehend it is not open to that objection. That statute did not interfere with the principle of the law at all; and when it stated that such marriages should in future be 'void, and not merely voidable, it merely made a distinction without a difference,' 'voidable,'—in cases of marriage always meant 'void,' for void they were according to the ecclesiastical law; and they were only said to be *voidable*, because the courts of common law then had no jurisdiction upon the subject. The determination of the validity or invalidity of a marriage was left entirely to the Ecclesiastical Courts. It was Ecclesiastical law, and Ecclesiastical Courts which regulated those matters; and provided a marriage came before the courts, having the stamp of the Church and the authority of the Church in its favour, the courts of common law received it, and left it to the Ecclesiastical Courts entirely to set it aside if invalid. But when it was set aside—when the Ecclesiastical Courts did interfere, then the marriage became void, and void *ab initio*. It was null and void to all intents and purposes; and in proof of that I would refer your Lordships again to a portion of my Lord Lyndhurst's judgment in the case of the Queen v. Millis, in illustration of that particular point, for he says, (mentioning some authorities which had been furnished to him,) 'It (the libel in the case which he was citing) prays that the marriage may be pronounced to have been and to be, '*fuisse et esse*,' null and void, &c.; the evidence is set forth, and is followed

by the sentence, which dissolves the marriage *de facto*, with Alicia, and pronounces it *fuisse et esse invalidum*. And his Lordship afterwards says—'It farther appears, from the terms of the sentence, that the dissolved marriage was pronounced to have been and to be (*fuisse et esse*) void, agreeably to the rule of the Ecclesiastical courts—that when a marriage, voidable by reason of pre-contract, is annulled, it is annulled *ab initio*.

"And, my Lords, in that work, edited by my Lord Medwyn, which I have cited, it is shown, that in all those cases where, by the process of the courts, marriages have been impugned upon the score of consanguinity or affinity, the marriage is declared *fuisse et esse nullum*. Therefore it was merely a distinction arising from the want of jurisdiction in the temporal courts which led to the expression 'voidable' and 'void;' *voidable* meant *void*, and the marriage was only awaiting the decision of the Ecclesiastical Court to determine that it had been *void ab initio*. The statute, therefore, of William IV., when it said they shall be 'void and not merely voidable,' did this; it merely transferred to the temporal courts, or, at least, gave to them jointly with the Ecclesiastical Courts that power of determination upon the validity of certain marriages which had been confined to the Ecclesiastical Courts before. It enabled the courts of common law to determine at once that a marriage was void when it appeared to be within the prohibited degrees. It authorized them to take immediate cognizance of a matter of which before they had no judicial knowledge, and rendered it unnecessary for them to wait for the decision of the Ecclesiastical Courts to judge that a marriage was invalid. The statute made no alteration with regard to marriages themselves in that respect, because they were always void by the Ecclesiastical law when within the prohibited degrees. It only enabled the courts of common law in a more summary manner and at once to determine for themselves, when the question came before them, without the assistance of the Ecclesiastical courts.

"Then, my Lords, objection was made to that statute, as if it were inconsistent with itself, in allowing certain marriages within the prohibited degrees of affinity, which had been solemnized before the passing of that act, to stand, and by refusing to have them impugned. Why, my lords, in that the Legislature did no more than the courts had previously done. It made no difference with respect to the marriages themselves. It simply did this, it adopted a new period of limitation, it was in the nature of a statute of limitation, and it was merely a statute of limitation for this purpose, making no difference in principle whatever, because we know from repeated cases upon the subject, that after the death of either of the parties the temporal courts would not allow the ecclesiastical courts to institute, or carry through, any process for avoiding the marriage, because of bastardizing the issue; and therefore, when either party had died, the period of limitation had arrived, after which the marriage itself could not be annulled. The Legislature, by the statute of William IV., has merely adopted a new limitation. It has said that the marriages which were in existence

prior to the passing of that act, and for the annulling of which no process had been instituted, should not be allowed to be annulled afterwards. It followed precisely the rule which the temporal courts had adopted, where either of the parties had died, and only therefore adopted a new period of limitation in certain cases. But, my Lords, the statute does not pretend to say that those marriages were either good or valid; and although I have looked carefully at the statute, I see nothing in it whatever to prevent the parties who have contracted those marriages from having a process instituted against them in the ecclesiastical courts for the incest, although not to set aside or annul the marriage. The statute leaves the matter precisely on the same footing as the Court did in the case of *Harris v. Hicks*, in 2 *Salkeld*, where, after the death of one of the parties, although the temporal courts said, 'We will not allow the ecclesiastical courts to carry on any process which shall annul the marriage, so as to bastardize the issue, we will not prevent them from punishing the surviving parties for the incest.' And that case, my Lords, has been expressly confirmed by Lord Hardwicke, in his judgment in *Brownsword v. Edwards*, in 2 *Vesey*, page 243. He adopted the rule laid down by the temporal court, and said that although the marriage could not be annulled by a process for that purpose, the parties might still be punished for the incest. The statute of William IV. leaves these marriages precisely in the same position. It does not pretend to affirm them, or to say that they are good marriages, or according to the law of God. It leaves the parties in their guilt, and, as I would submit, open still to punishment in the ecclesiastical courts for incest, just as in *Harris v. Hicks*, they were left by the temporal courts in cases before the statute."—*Speech of E. Badeley, Esq., in Pusey on the Law of Marriage*, pp. 164-167.

We believe this to be a fair statement of the case as respects Lord Lyndhurst's Act of 1835. It is more briefly put, though not so distinctly, in the Report of the Commissioners:—

"The question, whether marriages within the present prohibited degrees of affinity were permitted by the law of God, was the subject of much discussion when King Henry VIII. sought to be relieved from his marriage with Queen Katherine. This marriage was pronounced null and void by Archbishop Cranmer. From that period the Ecclesiastical Courts dealt with these marriages, at first, by pronouncing them null and void, notwithstanding one or both of the parties might be dead when the suit was sought to be commenced. But in the time of James I. the Courts of Common Law interfered, and prohibited the Spiritual Courts from proceeding to pronounce them null and void after the death of one of the parties. Hence all these marriages came to be called voidable marriages, in contradistinction to those which were void, as in the case of a marriage where there was a first husband or wife living at the time of the second marriage; or where one of the parties was a lunatic at the time of celebrating a marriage. Marriages therefore within the prohibited degrees were only voidable; and if they were not pronounced null

and void, by the competent ecclesiastical tribunals, during the lives of both parties, their validity could not be afterwards questioned, nor the legitimacy of the children impeached.

"This state of the law continued unaltered in England until the year 1835, when the Statute 5 and 6 Will. IV., c. 54 (commonly called Lord Lyndhurst's Act) passed. The effect of that Statute was to prohibit the Ecclesiastical Courts from entertaining any suit for the purpose of pronouncing null and void marriages, within the prohibited degrees of affinity, celebrated before the passing of the Act; and all such marriages, celebrated before the passing of the Act, and all such marriages celebrated after the passing of the Act, were declared by it to be null and void."—*Report*, p. v.

The law of England, then, before 1835, was clearly and unequivocally against such marriages. It is true that a certain laxity prevailed; but this was only one of the many consequences flowing from the anomalous and inexplicable relations of Church and State in England. Marriage being held to be an Ecclesiastical affair, a process for declaring its nullity in any case must originate and be prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts. But there is no doubt whatever as to the law in these courts; and just as little as to their decisions being recognised as legal and irreversibly binding, by the civil tribunals. It was felt, however, to be an inconvenience—and no wonder—that the Ecclesiastical Courts alone could take the initiative in such processes, and that the Civil Courts could take no cognizance of any illegality or irregularity of this sort, in a marriage question, unless it happened to be first decided upon by the so-called judicatories of the Church. For how was this state of matters apt to work? A marriage with a wife's sister was not likely to be brought into the Ecclesiastical Courts during the lifetime of the parties;—in fact, this could scarcely happen without bad faith on the side either of the husband or of the wife. But after the decease of one of the married persons, it became the obvious interest of many others in the connexion, to raise questions about the validity of the marriage, with a view to the settlement or inheritance of property. In these circumstances, there was a manifest propriety in the rule of law adopted by the Civil Courts—or rather forced upon them by the necessity of the case—that they would recognise no suit or sentence in the Ecclesiastical Courts, unless the suit was instituted, and the sentence passed, during the lifetime of the parties whose marriage was in question. This was really, in substance, a statute of limitation, arising out of the impotency of the Civil Courts themselves. It recognised or gave effect to the decisions of the Ecclesiastical courts; but inasmuch as the courts of civil law must, in this question of marriage, wait upon the verdict of another

tribunal,—having no authority to deal with it themselves,—they very reasonably refused to wait indefinitely ; declining, so far as their jurisdiction was concerned, to allow that jurisdiction to be put in motion by a process or issue in the other tribunal, unless it was instituted during the lifetime of parties. Lord Lyndhurst's act is a common-sense amendment of this anomaly. It removes the disability of the civil courts. And while it still requires them to administer the former law, it gives them power, and obliges them to do so, without depending on the contingency of a trial taking place elsewhere. Nothing surely can be more reasonable than this.

Such being the state of the law as to England, how does it stand in Scotland? Here, the matter of surprise is that any doubt at all on the subject should have arisen. There rests upon the witness raising that doubt a responsibility of which we fondly hope he is not himself aware. We have no hesitation in saying, and we are prepared to prove, that without a year's interval or intermission, the law of Scotland, both civil and ecclesiastical, has been, since the Reformation, unequivocally against the marriages in question. We can prove this historically ; but before doing so—or whether we succeed in doing so or not—we think we can adduce a conclusive legal argument, not certainly upon our own authority, but upon the authority of a most influential minority in the Court of Session, and an unanimous verdict in the House of Lords.

There can be no doubt as to these marriages being declared incestuous in the Westminster Confession of Faith. That document, in the most express terms, puts relation by affinity on the same footing with relation by consanguinity. Its terms, as to this point—and we quote its whole doctrine regarding prohibited degrees of marriage—are as follows :—

“Marriage ought not to be within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity forbidden in the word ; nor can such incestuous marriages ever be made lawful by any law of man, or consent of parties, so as those persons may live together as man and wife. The man may not marry any of his wife's kindred nearer in blood than he may of his own, nor the woman of her husband's kindred nearer in blood than of her own.”—*Westminster Confession of Faith*, Chap. xxiv. Sect. 4.

Nothing can be clearer than this. And nothing can be clearer than the recognition of the Confession of Faith as the law of the land, by the Act 1790. In proof of this, we point to the decision of the House of Lords in the case of the Barber's Apprenticeship at Dundee, against whom proceedings were instituted, on the ground of his refusal to work on Sunday. The Law Lords in the Upper House were unanimous in holding, that the Confession of Faith, as bearing on that case, was decisive as to Sta-

tute law upon the subject. In fact, so thoroughly does the Lord Chancellor proceed upon this principle in that case, that he cites the very terms of the Confession, as if they had been the terms adopted in an Act of Parliament,—of its own accord and *proprio motu*,—without the least distinction between that section of the Confession and an ordinary formal clause in a deed of civil legislation. After reciting the Act 1579, “prohibiting all handy labouring or work to be used on the Sabbath,”—his Lordship proceeds:—

“The next Statute is in 1690, by which it is provided, ‘This Sabbath is then kept holy unto the Lord, when men, after a due preparing of their hearts, and ordering of their common affairs beforehand, do not only observe a holy rest all the day from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations, but also are taken up the whole time in the public and private exercise of His worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy.’”—*Shaw's Appeal Cases*, vol. ii. pp. 483-484.

In this view of the law, and the grounds of it, Lord Wynford and Lord Brougham thoroughly concurred with Lord Cottenham. And if the view be correct, it would seem inevitably to follow, that the section of the Confession of Faith which we have just quoted regarding marriage, is on the same footing precisely with the section quoted by Lord Cottenham regarding the Sabbath; or in other words, is the plain Statute law of Scotland upon the subject. It seems to us, we own, passing strange, that any doubt should be thrown on what is so very clear, if words have any exact significancy at all. Even apart from the decision given in the case of the Dundee barber, we cannot imagine what the Act of 1690 can possibly mean, if it does not make the Confession of Faith the law of the land. And the authority of the highest tribunal in the country should surely settle the question.

But the Lord Advocate Rutherford, is of another mind. He thus states, in his evidence, his opinion as to the Act 1690.

“With reference to these authorities, it is necessary to have in view the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, as ratified by Parliament in 1690. The Confession of Faith, in chapter 24, section 4, says expressly, ‘Marriage ought not to be within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity forbidden in the Word, nor can such incestuous marriages ever be made lawful by any law of man or consent of parties, so as those persons may live together as man and wife. The man may not marry any of his wife's kindred nearer in blood than he may of his own; nor the woman of her husband's kindred nearer in blood than of her own.’ And there can be little doubt, with reference to that Confession of Faith, as ratified by Parliament, that no clergyman of the Established Church of Scotland could celebrate marriage between persons so related, with the knowledge of the rela-

tion, without incurring censure, and, it may be, deprivation from office. He could not do so without committing a very high offence against the laws of his Church. But while this is the current of authority, and certainly with very little dissent, so far as I see, it is also clear by the law of Scotland, that everything is thrown back upon the 18th chapter of Leviticus. The Statutes which Mr. Erskine, and other institutional writers, referred to in the passages I have quoted, are Statutes punishing the crime of incest, as declared in that chapter of Leviticus, and introducing into the law of Scotland upon that subject what was the law of Moses: I do not think that the ratification of the Confession of Faith can be held to constitute a *legislative* construction of those particular Statutes. Although, no doubt, in ratifying the Confession of Faith, it does countenance the construction which the Church of Scotland has put upon that chapter of Leviticus; because, of course, it is with reference to that chapter of Leviticus that the Church of Scotland, in the Confession of Faith, has made the declaration, that marriage shall be prohibited within the same degrees of affinity as of consanguinity. Then thrown back upon the chapter of Leviticus, as the *regula regulans* of the law of Scotland in the matter, and it being there that we are to find the declaration of those degrees which are forbidden, the question comes to be—and I think the legality of a marriage, if it were tried, would depend upon that question—whether that 18th chapter of Leviticus does or does not prohibit the marriage of a man with the sister of his deceased wife?”—*Report*, p. 101.

It may be very presumptuous in us to criticise the legal opinion of so eminent an individual, recognised on all hands as the chief living ornament of the Scottish Bar; but we comfort ourselves with the thought that we have the sanction of equally great names in favour of that principle of interpretation for which we contend. The Act 1690, ratifying the Westminster Confession of Faith, not in a general way, but in elaborate detail, and without exception or qualification—engrossing it, word for word, as part of the statute, and giving to it, in the fullest sense, a national and legal character—does more than merely allow or enact a doctrinal creed for the Church. It declares the mind of the State, and is binding upon the State. Especially it must be held to be so in all matters implying a joint exercise of jurisdiction on the part of the Church and the State respectively, otherwise, it is a kind of delusion or fraud; it settles nothing; it gives no security whatever for harmonious action between the two bodies; it opens up, on the contrary, occasions of incessant misunderstanding and collision. If the Confession had contained nothing but heads of doctrine there might be plausibility in arguing that what Parliament intended to do, when they ratified it, was simply to approve of it as a creed for the Church. But when the Confession touches those relations of civil and social life which the State

must regulate in some way, what can be more unreasonable than the idea that it meant to legislate for the Church merely in these particulars, and not for itself and for the community at large? Could they intend to sanction the views of the Confession relative to Sabbath observance as the views on which the Church was to act, without giving them also the force of civil law? And the case is far stronger as regards marriage. The Confession expressly identifies relation by affinity and relation by consanguinity, in so far as the prohibited degrees are concerned: and it is admitted that the Act 1690, ratifying the Confession, would make it unlawful for a minister of the Established Church to celebrate a marriage between a man and his sister by affinity, so that he would be liable to the severest sentence for doing so. Can it really be maintained for a moment that the State, thus holding the Church bound by a peremptory rule, did not, at the same time, bind itself? The Act 1690 is an Act establishing the Church and securing to it the privileges of State protection and support: and yet it is gravely contended, according to the opinion we are canvassing, that in so vital and important a particular as the forming of the marriage tie, the State approves, by that Act, of the Church holding certain marriages to be incestuous, while it reserves to itself and its own civil courts the liberty of holding them to be lawful and good; or, in other words, the State pronounces it illegal for the Church to celebrate legal marriages, and that, too, when the only legal way of celebrating marriage at all is through the offices of ministers of the Church. There are anomalies in law sufficiently startling to the uninitiated; but we never heard or read of an anomaly like this.

But the Act 1690 is not the only law upon the subject still in force in Scotland. It is admitted that the original statute 1567 stands unrepealed. That statute was passed immediately after the Reformation, in the very session of Parliament in which the Reformed Church received the sanction of law; and it is remarkable that in this, as in other matters, Scotland was indebted to her Presbyterian Church for the first utterance of a clear and emphatic voice, which her Parliaments had simply to echo and confirm. The first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held at Edinburgh on the 20th December 1560. It was no mere clerical conclave or ecclesiastical junta. Nobles and commoners sat with ministers, in equal, if not larger numbers. On the second day of their sitting—21st December—the Assembly adopted a “Declaration in reference to marriage in the second and other degrees of consanguinity forbidden by the Pope, that by the law of God, marriage may be solemnized betwixt parties in the second, third, and fourth degrees of affinity and consanguinity, and such others as are not expressly prohi-

bited by the Word of God. The authority of the States (of Parliament) is craved to be interposed to this finding as law."

Seven years elapsed while the Church was struggling for her independence and establishment; but one of the very first things attended to by the Estates, when they come to legislate against Popery, and in favour of the Reformed religion, is to do precisely what the Assembly had craved, and to "interpose their authority to the Church's finding, as law." The Act (1567) has two sections bearing on this question—the one prohibitory, the other permissive. The prohibitory part of it defines the crime of incest, as punishable, at that time, capitally. The permissive part is an assertion of the liberty of the subject against the intolerable restrictions imposed by the Church of Rome. The former declares, after a solemn preamble, that

"Quhat-sumever person or persones, that committes the said abhominable cryme of Incest, That is to say, quhat-sumever person or persones they be, that abuses their bodie with sik persones in degrie, as God in his word hes expreslie forbidden, in ony tyme cumming, as is contained in the xvij. Chapter of *Leviticus*, sall be punished to the death."

The latter we give entire, so far as this point is touched:—

"ITEM, Our Sovereine Lord, with advise & consent of my Lord Regent, and the three Estaites of this present Parliament, hes statute, and ordained, that the halie band of mariage, made be all Estaites and sorts of men and women, to be als lawful and als frie, as the Lawe of God hes permitted the samin, to be done, without exception of person or persones. And hes declared, and declares, that secunds in degrees of consanguinitie, and affinitie, and all degries outwith the samin, contained in the word of the eternal God, and that are not repugnant to the said word, might and may lawfully marry at all times sen the viij. day of March, the zeir of God ane thousand five hundred fiftie aucht zeiris, notwithstanding ony Law, statute, or constitution made in the contrare."—*Alexander's Acts of Parliament*, p. 46.

Now, if any doubt was to be raised on this statute, we might imagine it to turn upon this circumstance, that the penal clause refers to the original Bible law, without commentary or explanation; while the permissive clause gives the gloss, identifying affinity and consanguinity, out and out. We could conceive of an ingenious advocate, in a criminal case of incest, pleading that the words in the statute constituting that crime, must be construed in the most restricted sense, so as to send the Court back upon the chapter in *Leviticus*, which is referred to, but not explained; while yet he might admit that the validity of the marriage, as to all civil effects, was rendered null, by the plain identification of affinity and consanguinity, in the clause legalizing

marriages beyond the first degree. But we cannot comprehend the logic or the relevancy of the Lord Advocate's reasoning:—

“ But I do not think that the public prosecutor would now choose to bring any indictment against parties with respect to that marriage, or think it his duty to try them for committing, by forming that connexion, the crime of incest. And that brings me to the other part of the case, which is the case in a criminal view, because it is important to look to that as more clearly showing that the chapter of Leviticus is the foundation of the law of Scotland, and, in truth, the law itself. For in those Statutes which have been referred to, of 1567, chapter 14 and chapter 15, the first, which is a Statute against those who commit incest, expressly orders that those persons shall be guilty of the crime of incest who ‘abuse their bodies with such persons in degree as God in his Word has expressly forbidden in any time coming, as is contained in the 18th chapter of Leviticus, shall be punished to the death.’ And then the next chapter, chapter 15, treating of lawful marriages in degrees not forbidden by God's Word, ordains, ‘the holy band of marriage, made by all estates and sorts of men and women, to be as lawful and as free as the law of God, has permitted the same to be done without exception of person or persons;’ an enactment intended to remove the difficulties of marriage imposed by the laws and constitutions of the Catholic Church. And it goes on to say, ‘And declares that seconds in degree of consanguinity and affinity, and all degrees without the same contained in the Word of the eternal God, and that are not repugnant to the said Word, might and may lawfully marry at all times since the eighth day of March, the year of God, 1558th year, notwithstanding any law, statute, or constitution made in the contrary.’ Now, in any criminal prosecution, there cannot be the least doubt that the Court, if called upon to try the crime of incest, must find that law, as explained, of course, by the practice of the Court in former decisions, in the chapter of Leviticus. The Criminal Court of Scotland would not, in the least degree, be bound by anything that is simply said by institutional writers, nor at all by the Confession of Faith of the Church, though ratified by Parliament. And I observe that the late Mr. Baron Hume, in his work on the Criminal Law, which is a work of great authority, after referring to those Statutes which I have partly quoted, and referring to another Statute in 1649, which extended the law of incest still further, so as to include a great many other degrees, besides those that could be held at all to be touched by Scripture, but which statute fell under the Rescissory Act passed in the beginning of Charles the Second's reign, goes on, in considering the relations of affinity, to treat of the case of a marriage with a sister of the deceased wife. He mentions one case in which a woman had been sentenced to death for incest, committed with the husband of her deceased sister; but he mentions, at the same time, that Lord Roystoun, who was considered a lawyer of authority, observes in his notes, ‘Sed dubito an jure, for, since King James' Act has an express reference to the

Judaical Law, Leviticus 18, it ought not to be extended to other cases not therein expressly mentioned.' I should say, on referring to the passage, that, although Mr. Hume very cautiously expresses his opinion in the way of doubt, he rather leans to the opinion, that no criminal prosecution could lie for that connexion, as being an incestuous connexion; and if no criminal prosecution could lie for that connexion for the reasons that I have already given, that both the criminal and the civil law of Scotland are equally founded upon that chapter in Leviticus, I do not think that marriage could be considered civilly unlawful, nor the consequences of a lawful marriage refused to the connexion, whether as regarded the parties themselves or their issue."

From the severity of the penalty, there has always been an unwillingness to prosecute for the crime of incest in Scotland; and this has led to a disposition towards construing the Act 1567, as indefinitely as possible, so far as its criminal and penal clauses are concerned. And hence some benevolent Scottish jurists have been so anxious to explain away this whole statute, that they have contrived to sink altogether the identification it contains of affinity and consanguinity. For our own part, we think it clear that a criminal process for incest, under that old statute,—which is still the law in Scotland,—must issue in the condemnation of the brother and sister by affinity, equally with the brother and sister by consanguinity. That, however, is not the question. Practically, the criminal law is, in this matter, dormant; chiefly because it has done its work, and put such marriages as it condemns wholly out of use. Even admitting, however, that the penal part of the statute might be understood as leaving it open to the judge to interpret Leviticus for himself, since no interpretation is there given, the very reverse is true, as regards the permissive portion of it, in which, it is expressly stated, that affinity and consanguinity are to be viewed as identical. And it seems impossible to doubt that so unequivocal an enactment must be held as fixing the law for all civil purposes, however anxious some authorities on Scottish law may have been to find an open door as to the formidable criminal penalty of death.

But, after all, since both the English and the Scottish law, on this subject, rest on the authority of Scripture, the appeal must ultimately lie to that sacred standard. The question for the people of England and Scotland is—What says the Word of God?

Theological discussion and critical analysis are not precisely suitable to these pages; and we do not intend to inflict any such penance upon our readers. But we must be allowed to indicate the bearing of the scriptural argument upon this subject, before

we close with a few words as to the social tendency of the present movement.

The proof-passage on this question, is the 18th chapter of Leviticus, verses 6-18, although much light is also cast upon it by other portions of the Divine Word, as well as by those general principles applicable to the subject which the whole tenor of Revelation suggests. In interpreting that chapter, an amount of hair-splitting verbal criticism and ultra-refined special pleading has been expended, chiefly by lawyers turned divines, that would do credit to the most expert practitioner in the courts of the Old Bailey. By exactly parallel reasoning to that of many of these gentlemen, we would undertake to prove from Scripture that women have no souls, and do not sin, and will not die. A world of pains is taken, for instance, to show that wife, in these verses, does not mean widow; and that the connexion forbidden is not matrimonial. Any plain common-sense reader, unwarped by prejudice, may see through the fallacy. "Thy father's wife" means the woman married to thy father, whether still his wife, or divorced, or a widow; and the connexion with her that is forbidden is sexual intercourse, whether covered with the cloak of marriage or not. Again, it is argued by some, though they are very few, that the law in that chapter is not moral, and therefore universally binding, but municipal or ritual, and therefore peculiar to the Jewish economy. Let any one peruse calmly the first five and the last seven verses of the chapter, and if he has a spark of reverence for holiness and the Holy God, let him say if language more express and solemn could possibly be used, to mark the unalterable Divine hatred of one and all of the practices prohibited in the intervening section, whether committed by heathen nations or his own people, by Gentile or by Jew. Driven from this refuge, our ingenious friends betake themselves to an analysis of the prohibited degrees in detail; insisting much on our adhering to the exact letter of the statute, and protesting against any constructive interpretation of it. Even here they break down; for, if their way of reading the statute is the right one, then the only degrees prohibited are those expressly specified, and all other marriages are lawful;—a conclusion somewhat too broad even for them, inasmuch as it would legalize sundry monstrous incests which they would hold it to be a foul imputation on their character to be supposed for one moment to tolerate.

But what is this principle of constructive interpretation, or "parity of reason," to which they object, as stretching the Divine prohibitions so much farther than the letter of the enactment warrants, and so restricting unduly the liberty of marriage? Let a plain tale put down a hundred sophistries.

The general law is announced broadly at the sixth verse : "None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him, &c. I am the Lord." Then follow instances or examples of the nearness of kin intended. Instead of an abstract description or definition, which might be open to cavil, the Legislator, with far greater wisdom, gives a few cases, sufficient, with every honest man, to remove all doubt. Of these cases seven, or about one-half, are cases of relationship by affinity. Marriage is forbidden with a step-mother, a father's brother's wife, a daughter-in-law, a brother's wife, a wife's daughter, her son's daughter, her daughter's daughter. Thus evidently affinity is treated as equivalent to consanguinity. But farther, if it be admitted that these prohibitions are addressed to both sexes equally, or that what is forbidden in a man, implies the corresponding connection forbidden in a woman,—and any other principle of interpretation is simply monstrous,—then the 16th verse, directed against a man's intercourse with his brother's wife, is directed just as emphatically and unequivocally against a woman's intercourse with her sister's husband. Nor is it of the slightest relevancy here to bring in the law of the Levirate, or the special and exceptional provision made for a man marrying his brother's childless widow, in order to raise up seed to his brother. Let a similar provision be found, making it not merely lawful, but obligatory, that a woman shall marry her sister's childless husband, and for a similar reason. Until then, however, we venture humbly to acquiesce in the Divine prerogative of dispensing with his own law, for a special and temporary purpose, under a national dispensation of his covenant; and we firmly protest against any dispensing power being usurped on earth, whether by Pope or by Parliament.

There is yet another consideration to which we must advert. In these prohibitions the reason is frequently given, particularly where it is a case of relationship by affinity; and the reason is very significant. Let our readers turn to verses 8 and 16, and also to the twentieth chapter, verse 20, and mark the ground on which intercourse, in these instances, is forbidden. Plainly it is this, that marriage makes a man and his wife so intimately one, even in some sense physically, that to have connexion with the one must be viewed as amounting virtually to the same thing as if it were connexion, if that were possible, with the other. The idea is conveyed, according to the Scriptural language applicable to the subject, with remarkable delicacy, but with not less remarkable force; and it is an idea, the bare hint or suggestion of which, from such a quarter, is well fitted to startle any mind in which there remains anything at all of a right fear of God and a right horror and hatred of evil.

Here, indeed, we touch the principle on which this whole law proceeds. It is the principle indicated in the beginning, at the original institution of marriage—"Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh." (Gen. ii. 24.) That principle is emphatically recognised by the Prophet Malachi, when he indignantly reproves the cruelty of Jewish husbands parting lightly with the wives of their youth. (Mal. ii. 15.) It is sanctioned by our Lord, and assigned by him as his reason for abridging, or rather annulling, that liberty of divorce which had been conceded to the Jews for their hardness of heart, and which they had so hard-heartedly abused. (Matt. xix. 4-6.) And it is applied by the Apostle Paul, with tremendous power, as an argument against impurity, and again, with admirable tenderness of spiritual feeling, as a motive to conjugal love. (1 Cor. v. 16; Ephes. v. 31.)

Nothing surely can be plainer than this principle pervading all Scripture, that marriage makes husband and wife, to all intents and purposes, one person; certainly, so far at least as "the flesh" is concerned, and therefore specially with reference to all relationships of "the flesh." And if this be true, the conclusion is irresistible that affinity and consanguinity are, to all intents and purposes, identically one and the same thing. To all the wife's relations, according to "the flesh," or by consanguinity, the husband is as the wife; they are "one flesh." To all the husband's relations, according to "the flesh," the wife is as the husband; they are "one flesh."

We have by no means exhausted our Scriptural proof. We omit the evidence furnished by the Baptist's reproof of Herod, and the Apostle Paul's stern censure of the crime tolerated at Corinth; although we hold it to be clear as day, that in both cases, whether the intercourse was adulterous or not, it is mainly as being incestuous that it is stigmatized: and in both cases, the incest turns upon a relationship by affinity alone. Nor can we spare time for meeting the many objections urged against these views; of most of which objections the capital fault is, that if they prove anything, they prove rather too much. Thus, sage counsellors in America have discovered, that affinity ceases altogether on the dissolution of a marriage by death; so that a widower is in no sense related to his mother-in-law or to his step-daughter, but may marry either, if he pleases, or both, in due succession.* And the Supreme Court of Massachusetts has, it seems, found this to be good law! But really, after all, why should we be so surprised? Our transatlantic friends are

* Janeway's "Unlawful Marriages," p. 178.

only, as is their wont, "going the whole hog." Having got a principle, they go through with it. For either affinity is equivalent to consanguinity, or it is not. But if not, then what precisely is it? And what restrictions can be imposed upon marriage between relatives by affinity that are not purely arbitrary and capricious—based on shifting views of taste or of expediency, but without one single steady element of consistency to give them weight? Why should sisters, by affinity, be marriageable, more than mothers, or daughters, or nieces? We pause for Mr. Stuart Wortley's reply.

Meanwhile we return, with a feeling of relief, to the simplicity of Divine legislation. Take that chapter in Leviticus, fully and fairly, as the basis of the law of incest, and interpret it by the ordinary rules of common sense. What results does it give? Chiefly these two: *first*, that beyond the first degree in collaterals all marriages are lawful; and, *secondly*, that relationship by affinity and relationship by consanguinity are identical. Or otherwise, let there be two columns formed, the one consisting of myself in the centre,—my father, my grandfather, and so on, upwards,—my son, grandson, and so on, downwards; and let the second column, placed alongside the first, contain the sisters of all these parties respectively. Within all the relations thus indicated, marriage is unlawful; that is, no man in the first column may marry any woman in the second. And if we add the rule, that I and my wife are one, and that all related to her are in the same degree related to me, we have the Levitical law of marriage and of prohibited degrees clear and complete.

Is there nothing in the very simplicity and completeness of this law fitted to prove at once its Divine authority and its perpetual obligation? Have we not here the wisdom of God? Is it safe to prefer to it the opinion of man?

But we may be reminded that we have not touched the vexed question of the 18th verse, and the sanction apparently given there to a widower's marriage with his sister by affinity; and our reason is, that we have not founded at all on that verse as favourable to our views, and therefore we are the less bound to deal with it, as it may be alleged to be adverse. We believe it to be entirely consistent with the law as given in the previous verses, and indeed corroboratory of it. Still we have not taken advantage of the text at issue, because it is confessedly one of most difficult and doubtful interpretation; so much so, that there is scarcely a sentence in all the Bible whose meaning may be said to be so uncertain. This is partly owing to its own obscurity—partly to our ignorance of many of the domestic details of Jewish life—but still more to the dust raised by the very controversy we are now discussing. Various glosses have been suggested,

all of them more or less liable to difficulty. One thing, however, is clear. The reason of the prohibition in the 18th verse—whatever that prohibition may be—is different from the reason assigned for all the previous ones; it is not nearness of kin at all, but the risk of family vexation. Whoever it may be that a man is forbidden to marry in the 18th verse, the ground of the interdict is peculiar. He is forbidden to have intercourse with the women previously indicated, because of their nearness of kin; he is forbidden to have intercourse with this woman, upon a totally different consideration. This remark might suffice to withdraw the text altogether from the argument; it clearly is not a text legislating upon the formal ground of relationship at all. For our own part, we think that by far the most natural interpretation is that suggested in the margin of our authorized version, making it a prohibition of polygamy: "Thou shalt not take one wife to another, to vex her." We see nothing whatever against this view, either in the law or the history of the Jews. That in point of fact polygamy was practised, though far less generally than is often assumed,—nay, that Moses may have referred to it in some of his enactments, though that is very doubtful,—will not prove at all that polygamy among the Jews was lawful. We believe it to have been the reverse; and we rather lean to that rendering of the verse before us which brings out an express prohibition of that sin.

There is indeed one view of this text, as it stands in the authorized version, which seems to us consistent and tenable; but it lends no support to the doctrine we are opposing. It is this. Let it be granted that it is marriage with a sister by affinity that is here forbidden, and that the lawgiver, without sanctioning, assumes the practice either of polygamy, or of divorce. Knowing the possibility of a man allowing his wife to be supplanted in his affections, by a younger, perhaps, and fairer sister, and so being tempted to make way for her, either by a deed of divorce, or an act of polygamy,—the law interposes a stern and summary interdict; and without at all superseding the reason already sufficiently given, founded on nearness of kin, adds another specially applicable to the case on hand, founded on an appeal to the generosity and good faith and good feeling with which a husband should regard the wife of his youth. All this, however, is very far short of a permission to marry the sister after the wife is gone. On the contrary, we are thoroughly persuaded that every right-thinking man and woman will instinctively feel, that the very reason which is so affectingly urged against the one arrangement, should equally prevent the other also.*

* There is good cause why something additional to the consideration of near-

But we must hasten to close our argument. The view we have given of the law, as fixed by the 18th chapter of Leviticus, apart from the criticism on the 18th verse, may be fairly said to have the sanction of the universal Church, almost without a dissentient voice, down to very recent times. The great body of the Jews interpreted the law precisely as we do ; for it is a late after-thought of the Talmudists to insinuate doubt in regard to it. The Church of Rome has always held clearly that affinity and consanguinity are equivalent, and has admitted, that the only degrees prohibited by the Divine law, are those which we have enumerated. The universities of Europe, in the days of Henry VIII., gave forth no uncertain sound. The Reformers were of one mind, with scarcely any, if any exception. The law in England and in Scotland was framed accordingly. Public opinion has, beyond all question, ratified the law. And yet now, all is to be unsettled, all is to be changed.

We are deeply grieved to see some of our leading theologians hastily committing themselves on the side of this change. We do not here refer merely to the cursory remark made by Dr. Chalmers, in his Daily Scripture Readings, of which a most industrious use is made. That is a posthumous work, and must be received as such. It gives the first fresh thoughts of that wonderful man as they arose, not in the systematic study, but the devotional and practical use of his English Bible ; and fresh indeed these thoughts are. But it is an abuse of the precious volume, to press its hasty utterances of deep eloquence and shrewd sagacity into the service of a controversy which evidently the illustrious author had never seriously considered. It is plain, in this instance, that he had little or no acquaintance, either with the various opinions as to that 18th verse, or with their bearing on the all-important question of marriage : he does not seem so much as to have noticed the marginal reading. And, turning over a few pages, we find him, in his notes on the 20th chapter, admitting the very principle of affinity being equivalent to consanguinity, which really and conclusively settles the whole dispute. There are others also, we fear, besides Dr. Chalmers, whose crude sentiments may do harm, and tend to lead to issues they would themselves deplore. Could our voice reach such men as Dr. Bunting, and other leading men among the Nonconformists of England, we would most earnestly implore them to pause.

ness of kin may well be put in as a motive against the connexion in question ; and what more delicate than the suggestion in these few words, "to vex her !" A man is more tempted to love his wife's sister than his brother's wife, for very obvious reasons ; and in this view, there seems to be a peculiar beauty and propriety in such a hint. The garbage raked up by Messrs. Crowder and Maynard is instructive on this point. But a prohibition of a practice up till a certain date or event, by no means implies a permission of it afterwards.

The question, as now raised, is new to many minds; for the unbroken consent of ages has superseded discussion. We have the firmest persuasion that no sound divine, sitting down to study the question thoroughly, in the light of Scripture, can rise with any doubt whatever as to what is the mind and will of God. But a vague impression is allowed to go abroad, that since differences of opinion prevail, revelation cannot surely be very explicit on the subject. We believe it to be explicit enough for all who choose to be guided by it;—"he that hath ears, let him hear." We believe the evidence to be fully stronger on this than on almost any other disputed point of doctrine, even the most fundamental. Nor will it do to allege, that surely if God had intended to make the rule we are contending for absolute, he would have said so more distinctly. This is the artifice of a weak mind, or a dishonest heart. The only legitimate inquiry is,—has he said so at all, or no? We entreat ministers and Churches to give attention to this subject. Let them look to America, and take warning in time. Let them look to the continental States, whose example is so loudly vaunted. We deliberately believe that concession here is the first step towards a total dissolution of manners, and the first blow aimed at the sanctity of England's homes.

We might separate Scotland from the sister country in this question, for Scotland has more to say than England against the contemplated change. North of the Tweed, the absurd distinction between void and voidable never prevailed to unfix men's minds. On all hands, it is allowed that Scotland has never had but one doctrine and one practice. Even the lawyers who are now insinuating doubt as to what the law might be found to be, if a case were tried, say in the same breath, that Scotland is, and always has been, unanimous. To force upon her a new Act that would legalize what all her Churches, with one voice, condemn, and all her people hitherto have abhorred, as incest—and to do so merely to suit some English tastes—is a wrong and insult, we say it deliberately, that would go far to nullify all the other benefits of the Union.

But even as to England, has the present law, as rectified in 1836, had anything like a fair trial? Or has the innovation now first proposed, received anything like adequate consideration? Some ten or twelve years only have elapsed since the anomaly that introduced disorder was removed; and during these years, the hired agents of a mischievous agitation have been busy. The wonder really is, that they have done so little harm, and got up so poor a case. Did any one imagine that Lord Lyndhurst's Act would all at once remedy the evils of a state of matters so absurd, as to admit of marriages being con-

tracted with sisters and nieces by affinity, that might at any hour within the lifetime of the parties be dissolved? There must be evil fruits of such a system long after it is abolished. But really, we repeat, we would not have thought it strange if Messrs. Crowder and Maynard, with their subalterns, had ferreted out twice the number of gallant widowers to be sympathized with or applauded, for losing or winning as their second brides, the women they had learned to call their sisters. At all events, the law, on its present footing, has met with a very general acquiescence; the grumblers form the exception; the people at large are satisfied; and there has been too little experience yet to justify an immediate change.

One word more and we have done. On many questions of practical duty, men are now affecting to be wiser and better than the Bible. Plans of social progress and improvement are rife, that have an air of transcendental refinement about them, unknown to the homely morality of the Word of God. We are becoming too sentimental to endure that even the murderer shall be put to death. And now we are for bettering God's ordinance of marriage itself; and we see a fine, romantic, tender charm, in an alliance of brothers and sisters, on which God has stamped his curse. What may such things betoken? Are they ominous of such unbridled lawlessness and lust as marked the days before the Flood? Are they signs of the days not unlike these that are to precede the coming of the Son of Man?

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